INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942,

from the British Library, London

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

Adam Matthew Publications

ADAM MATTHEW PUBLICATIONS LTD
Pelham House
London Road
Marlborough
Wiltshire
SN8 2AA

Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942 from the British Library, London

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

All documents in this microfilm edition are held at the British Library, London

Images of the documents are copyright ©British Library 2008

This microfilm edition first published in 2008 by Adam Matthew Publications Ltd
and copyright © Adam Matthew Publications Ltd 2008

Filmed at the British Library, London and by Total Document Solutions, Bicester

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced without prior permission

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942
Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

Introduction

Bombay, known as Mumbai since 1995, is the capital of the state of Maharashtra. It is the world's most populated city, with an estimated population of 13 million and is the commercial and entertainment capital of India, housing the headquarters of the large Indian banks and Bollywood, India's Hindi film and television industry. The early decades of the twentieth century were very significant in shaping the future of this modern metropolis.

The town of Bombay was the East India Company's first port in 1668 and in 1687 became the Company's headquarters. During the American Civil War (1861-1865) the city became the world's chief cotton trading market and the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 transformed it into one of the largest seaports on the Arabian Sea.

By 1906 it had a population of one million, making it the second largest city after Calcutta. It was the capital of the Bombay Presidency and was a major base for the Indian independence movement – especially boycotts of non-Indian goods, the political activities of prominent moderates and their demands for Dominion status, the All India Home Rule League and the protests from the large migrant labour force such as the general strike of Bombay mill workers in January 1919. Later on, it was in Bombay that the Quit India movement was launched in August 1942. After India's independence in 1947 it became the capital of Bombay state.

Criticism of British rule, British agents and the administration of justice throughout the Bombay Presidency increased in the period after 1880. Lord Ripon's repeal of Lytton's Vernacular Press Act in 1881 saw the abolition of the Press Commissionership. The relaxation in the attempted exercise of political control by the British over the press in India opened the way for vigorous debate on the future of India. The writings of the Indian intelligentsia found their way into an increasing number of new newspapers, Anglo-Indian and Vernacular. The increasingly active independence movement later formed into two separate camps in 1907. There was the *Garam Dal* (the extremists or "hot faction") of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who founded the Marathi daily *Kesari* (The Lion), and the *Naram Dal* of Gopal Krishna Gokhale (the moderates or "soft faction"). Gokhale was a champion of public education and a mentor to men such as Mahatma Gandhi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the future founder of Pakistan. Tilak was arrested and tried for sedition in 1908 after he had defended the Bengali youths who had killed a District Judge. *"In spite of the verdict of the Jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of men and nations and it may be the will of providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than my remaining free".* These were his last words at his trial and they are now imprinted in the wall of Room No 46 at the Bombay High Court. The Press Act of 1914 only served to exacerbate problems with its imposition of even stricter censorship on the press. Any editor who disregarded the rules on what could be published was liable to find himself in prison.

These reports of the Bombay newspapers, 1901-1921 cover landmarks in India's history - the repercussions of Lord Curzon's arrival as Viceroy in 1899, the partition of Bengal in 1905, the founding of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1910, the Press Act of 1914, Gandhi's arrival in Bombay in 1915, the new Government of India Act and Rowlatt Act of 1919, the Amritsar Massacre of the same year and the growth in the demand for Home Rule.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, founder of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1910, and a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1893, is recognised as a significant figure in Indian history. He is known as 'the Father of Municipal Government in Bombay'. He had been municipal commissioner in 1873 and was chairman of the Municipal Council in 1884-5 and again in 1905. He had been responsible for drafting the Bombay Municipal Act of 1872 setting out the duties of the municipal corporation in key areas such as sanitation and health, the water supply, the creation and maintenance of roads, the management of hospitals, refuse collection and disposal, sewerage, cemeteries, crematoria, parks, public spaces, beaches and building works. When Gandhi arrived in India from South Africa, Mehta presided over the public meeting held to welcome him. He was twice President of the reception committee when the Congress sessions met in Bombay in 1899 and 1904. Mehta had also presided over the Congress meeting in Calcutta in 1890. In his dual role of political activist and newspaper owner Mehta made his English language weekly into an important nationalist voice of its time documenting the political upheavals of a volatile pre-independent India.

The Indian National Congress, formed in 1885, was comprised chiefly of members of the western-educated professional elite. The very first meeting of Congress was in Bombay. Public opinion had started to turn against the British government of India and it sought to represent the views of the populace from both urban and rural areas. There was an undercurrent of feeling that British rule was unfair and this is reflected in the newspaper reports contained in this collection. Agitation and disturbances in the streets were common and the media played a huge role in re-enforcing feelings of real and imagined grievances. Congress during the first two decades of the twentieth century continued to be a moderating influence with the professional elites keeping the upper hand.

During the First World War the newspaper reports provide a good indication of the mixed reactions to Indian involvement in the conflict. The Indian National Congress decided that the cause of Indian Independence would be best served by helping the British Empire as much as possible – but many people in India disagreed. Despite this, 800,000 troops fought in the various different theatres of conflict. Some 1.5 million volunteered to fight. Tilak was released from prison in Burma in 1914. He re-united with his fellow nationalists and rejoined the Indian National Congress in 1916.

With lots of Indian soldiers fighting on behalf of the British Empire there were growing demands for Dominion status for India. The All India Home Rule League was founded in 1916 by Annie Besant, Muhammed Ali Jinnah and Tilak to demand self government for India. Jinnah headed up the League's Bombay branch. Although Tilak was a critic of Gandhi's strategy of non-violence, in his later years he mellowed considerably and favoured political dialogue and discussion as an effective way to obtain political freedom for India. Gandhi paid his respects at Tilak's cremation in Bombay in 1920 along with 200,000 people.

The Government of India Act of 1919 was passed by the British to enable more Indians to participate in the government of India. The Act provided for a dual form of government whereby in each province some areas of government were answerable to a Provincial Council and other areas of government remained under the control of the Viceroy. The Indian National Congress was unhappy at these reforms and condemned them, believing they did not go far enough in political reform.

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915. His struggle from this point to 1921, when he was invested with executive authority on behalf of the Indian National Congress, can be followed in these newspaper reports. He believed that Indian independence could be obtained not by violence but by non-cooperation and peaceful resistance and under his leadership the National Congress was reorganised with the goal of "Swaraj" (self rule). As part of his strategy he adopted the "swadeshi" policy, the aim of which was to boycott foreign made goods, especially British goods. He also encouraged Indians to wear homespun cloth (khadi) and to actually spin the material themselves in support of the independence movement. He took a major role as peacemaker after the Amritsar massacre on April 1919 when innocent civilians were massacred in the Jallianwala Bagh near the Golden Temple in the Punjab by British troops. After the disturbances at Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh in February 1922 when Gandhi felt that his movement was becoming violent he called off the campaign of civil disobedience. He was arrested in March 1922 for sedition and was sentenced to six year's imprisonment of which he only served two owing to ill health. He spent most of the 1920s out of the limelight but returned to prominence in 1928 when he resumed his campaign for Indian independence and for Home Rule.

The Rowlatt Act of 1919 was passed by the British to extend "emergency measures" after the end of the First World War and was aimed at controlling public unrest. It singled out the Bombay Presidency and the Punjab as "centres of dangerous conspiracy". It had powers to imprison without trial any person suspected of terrorism in India. It caused great upheaval and Gandhi among other leaders was extremely critical of the Act. It was to lead to the massacre at Amritsar when two leaders of the Congress were arrested and a demonstration took place.

As well as much on political life in India, there is also lots of information to be found on advances in communications and living standards in the country which had begun in the late nineteenth century, with the construction of major roads linking the main cities and regions and the development of the railway system. An enormous amount of detail about the impact of the railways can be found in the newspaper reports together with information on the expansion of education, the increase in industrialisation, the growth of agriculture and the development of the first suburbs.

Indian Newspaper Reports

The Indian Newspaper Reports from the Asia, Pacific and Africa Department at the British Library, constitute an important series to be found in the Record Department Papers of the Oriental and India Office Collections. The reports consist of abstracts taken from Anglo-Indian and Vernacular newspapers for the various different regions of India.

The reports were completed weekly and consist of typewritten abstracts of the contents of Indian newspapers with some extracts, translated by an official translator whose name is given at the end of the week's report. An extremely wide variety of newspapers was looked at weekly, ensuring that a wide spectrum of ideas, views and politics was addressed. The reports list the languages of the newspapers, where the papers were published, with a note on the number of issues published, how often and the name, age and religion of the editor.

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

The newspaper reports for Bombay included in Part 7 cover the years 1901-1921 and complete those for Bombay started in Part 6. The abstracts and extracts contained in the reports will provide scholars with an invaluable insight into Indian social and political events, urban and rural conditions, criticisms of the British government, popular protest and the development of nationalist feelings.

The lists of Native Papers (from 1913 called Indian Papers) contain around 165 newspapers each week (over twice as many as those of the average list in Part 6), divided into the following languages: English; Anglo-Gujarati; Anglo-Kanarese; Anglo-Marathi; Anglo-Portuguese; Anglo-Sindi; Anglo-Urdu; English, Marathi and Gujarati; English, Marathi and Kanarese; Gujarati; Hindi; Kanarese; Marathi; Sindi; Urdu; Marathi and Kanarese; Marathi and Urdu; Portuguese and Konkani. The largest amount of papers consulted are in Marathi and Gujarati. In the early years of this part the report for each week has a list of the papers consulted but by the latter part the list is only given at the beginning of each year.

Extracts from the lists for the weeks ending 2 April 1910 and 29 March 1913 will give an idea of the names of papers listed, the editors and the circulation figures:

English

Indu of Bombay	Bombay	Daily	John Wallace, C of E, English, Age 50	1,000
East and West	Bombay	Monthly	Behramji Merwanji Malobari Parsi, Age 55	1,000

Anglo-Gujarati

Gujarati	Bombay	Weekly	Manilal Ichchharam Desai Hindu, Age 32	8,000

Anglo-Sindi

Sindhi	Sukkur	Weekly	Mulchand Bhagchand Hindu, Age 34	1,000

Sindi

Zemindar Gazette	Mirpur Khas	Weekly	Gurudinomal Tahilsing Sadarangani Hindu, Age 31	600

Marathi

Pudhari	Baroda	Weekly	Vasudev Purshottam Sathe Hindu, Age 32	1,000

Urdu

Mufide Rozgar	Bombay	Weekly	Haji Mahomed Hussain Muhamedan, Age 43	600

Gujarati

Satsang	Surat	Weekly	Chunilal Bapuji Modi Hindu, Age 61	1,500

Hindi

Bharat	Bombay	Weekly	Gaurishankar Jugal Kishore Brahmin, Age 30	400
Hindi Jain	Bombay	Weekly	Kasturchand Jbavarchand Jain Hindu, Age 25	600

By 1921 circulation figures of Bengal newspaper reports had grown tremendously as the Indian population became more literate as the figures given below illustrate. It should also be noted that some papers were discontinued over the years and new papers were added.

English

Servant of India	Poona	Weekly	V S Shriniwas Shastn Hindu, Age 48	2,000

Anglo-Gujaratii

Gujarati	Bombay	Weekly	V S Shrinowas Shastn Hindu, Age 48	19,003

Gujarati

Navijan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	Mohandas Karamchand Ghandi Hindu, Age 53	23,000

Marathi

Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar Hindu, Age 41	7,000

The contents of the abstracts for each week are divided into the following sections:

Politics and the Public Administration
Legislation
Education
Railways
Municipalities
Native States
Intelligence extracted from the Press

The early reports such as those for 1901 and 1905 contain mostly detail concerning social and economic conditions and give only an intimation of the problems to come. Topics include:

- Agrarian problems and news from the Forestry Department
- Bombay Legislative Council
- Indian National Congress
- Famine and orphanages
- Indian budget
- Indian census
- Spirit of Independence in European countries
- News on colleges and schools and related conferences
- Extravagance of native chiefs
- Land Revenue Bill
- Lord Curzon speeches
- Visit of Lord Northcote to Kathiawar
- Dacoities in Dharwar
- Visit of Prince of Wales
- Protest meetings against Lord Curzon's Convocation Address
- Railway grievances
- Housing problems
- Proposed demolition of Hindu temples by the Bombay City Improvement Trust
- Oppression of Muhammedans by the Hindu authorities of Mundi
- Riots by mill-hands in Bombay
- Complaints about British rule in India, the possibility of India's political regeneration and "Swadeshi" meetings
- Hospitals
- Sind politics – usually a large section dealing with all kind of matters relating to the area

- Partition of Bengal

By 1910 the topics to be found in the papers start to reflect wider feelings of unrest and the growth of discontentment against British rule in India with articles on topics such as:

- How can India be regenerated?
- Warnings to white colonials to beware of the future
- Workings of the new Press Act of1914
- Training of Anglo-Indian officials
- Treatment of political prisoners
- Oppression in the state of Idar
- Hostile attitude of Parsi newspapers to Moslems
- Disturbances at sittings of the All India Moslem League

By 1921, with the influence of Gandhi and the introduction of the Rowlatt Act, the amount of space devoted to political agitation, nationalism, Home Rule and Gandhi had expanded enormously and large sections under Politics on Non-Cooperation, British Rule, the Governor, Indian Reforms and the Press Act were featured. Subjects included are:

- Appeal to the public to agitate for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act
- Comments on letters from Gandhi to the press regarding agitation
- Comments by Tilak on non-Brahmin representation on the council
- Calls for the Press Act to be repealed
- Bombay's government's attitude to non-cooperation and their warnings of revolution in India
- Extracts from Gandhi's letters on a wide range of topics including non-cooperation, civil disobedience, the Afghan war, the moderates
- Reports on interviews between the Viceroy and Gandhi

The following extracts provide an idea of the richness of the material:

The report for the week ending 20 April 1913 includes the following comments from the *Dnyan Prakash* concerning the formation of a United India League:

"At the last session of the Moslem League held at Lucknow the Honourable Mr Shafi made a suggestion for the formation of an United India League wherein all creeds and castes would join hands. Now that the Honourable gentleman has addressed a letter to the press urging the same idea, we should like to point out that there is no necessity for organising a new body, for we have already amongst us the India National Congress which has been carrying on its propaganda on strictly constitutional and unsectarian lines. The Muhammedans would do well to join it in the interests of all concerned…."

The same paper in the newspaper report ending 27 May 1916 comments on home rule agitation which had grown during the First World War:

"…. Because small demands of the Congress and of other institutions were systematically ignored, the Home Rule agitation has received such an impetus now. So long it was said that political agitation was carried on by a handful of educated men but those who read the proceedings of the Congress and of the Legislative Councils will see the wide public character of our movement. Merchants want Home Rule for commercial purposes. Other professionals want Home Rule as it would encourage their professions…. The demand for Home Rule is becoming universal in this manner in India and the present war has made it quite an insistent question…."

The report for the week ending 14 March 1920 includes the following from the *Gujarati* concerning amendments to the Press Act of 1914:

"Commenting upon the assurance given in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir William Vincent that the Press Act will be amended, the Gujarati remarks:The most objectionable portion of the Press Act is that section of it which enumerates the offences under the Act. As long as that section stands intact the Press will have to dance to the tune of the bureaucrats or the judges, in spite of any amendments that might be carried out as suggested by Sir Shivaswami Iyar…."

The report for the week ending 13 August 1921 includes the following from *Young India* giving Gandhi's views on the non-Cooperation movement and the use of violence:

"I have never believed and I do not now believe that the end justifies the means. On the contrary it is my firm conviction that there is an intimate connection between the end and the means so much so that you cannot achieve a good end by bad means…. I am fully aware that I am trying a most dangerous experiment – that of inducing thousands of Mussalmans and for that matter, Hindus too, to become and remain strictly non-violent…"

Liz Sargut
April 2008

TECHNICAL NOTE

Our microform publications are prepared and produced in accordance with recommended and established guide-lines for the production of microform of superior quality. These conform to the recommendations of the standard guides to good microforming and micropublishing practice.

Attention should be drawn to the nature of the material. As with all printed sources the inking is variable. Darker and lighter inks, or a dark ink and a light pencil note, can appear on the same page. There are instances when the paper has been badly stained, discoloured, or faded with exposure to light over a period of time. Some pages are torn, crumpled or cropped. Occasionally volumes have been tightly bound and material is slightly obscured in the inner margin. The curvature towards the spine of such volumes inevitably results in some distortion of the text. Sometimes the original paper is quite thin and this results in showthrough which can make the print difficult to read. Every effort has been made to minimise these difficulties and some openings are microfilmed more than once in an attempt to bring out all the features of the original. Nevertheless these original characteristics present difficulties of image and contrast which stringent tests and variations of density cannot entirely overcome.

The most responsible care has been exercised in the filming of this unique collection and every effort has been made to ensure that this microform publication meets the standards established by the Association for Information and Image Management (AIIM), the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) and prevailing European standards.

INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942 from the British Library, London

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

CONTENTS OF REELS

REEL 1

IOR/L/R/5/156	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1901

REEL 2

IOR/L/R/5/157	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1902

REEL 3

IOR/L/R/5/158	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1903

REEL 4

IOR/L/R/5/159	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1904

REEL 5

IOR/L/R/5/160	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1905

REEL 6

IOR/L/R/5/160	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1905

REEL 7

IOR/L/R/5/161	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1906

REEL 8

IOR/L/R/5/162	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1907

REEL 9		
IOR/L/R/5/163	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1908
REEL 10		
IOR/L/R/5/164	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1909
REEL 11		
IOR/L/R/5/165	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1910
REEL 12		
IOR/L/R/5/166	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1911
REEL 13		
IOR/L/R/5/167	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1912
REEL 14		
IOR/L/R/5/168	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1913
REEL 15		
IOR/L/R/5/169	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1914
REEL 16		
IOR/L/R/5/170	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1915
REEL 17		
IOR/L/R/5/171	Bombay Newspaper Reports	January 1916-June 1916
REEL 18		
IOR/L/R/5/172	Bombay Newspaper Reports	July 1916-December 1916
REEL 19		
IOR/L/R/5/173	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1917

REEL 20

IOR/L/R/5/174	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1918

REEL 21

IOR/L/R/5/175	Bombay Newspaper Reports	January 1919-June 1919

REEL 22

IOR/L/R/5/176	Bombay Newspaper Reports	July 1919-December 1919

REEL 23

IOR/L/R/5/177	Bombay Newspaper Reports	January 1920-June 1920

REEL 24

IOR/L/R/5/178	Bombay Newspaper Reports	July 1920-December 1920

REEL 25

IOR/L/R/5/179	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1921

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 6th January 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION —

British Rule :

Comments on Lord Sydenham's article entitled "The danger in India" in the *Nineteenth Century and After* . . . . 5—7

Comments on the New Year's Day message from the Governor-General of Australia to His Excellency the Viceroy 8

Exhortation to the Parsis to take a more active part in the political activities of the country 9

Reflections on Mr. Lionel Curtis' views about India . . . . 1—4

The Brahmins would dominate over the non-Brahmin Hindus as well as the other communities if self-government were granted . . 10

The Indian Industries Commission should carefully consider the question of manning Indian industries by indigenous labour . . 12

The non-Brahmin manifesto 11

Honours' List : The New Year's — . . . . 36—38

Imperial Legislative Council : Comments on the Government of India's decision in connection with the inquiry regarding the election of the Honourable Mr. Jinnah 40

Her Excellency Lady Willingdon : Appreciation of the honour of the Crown of India bestowed upon — 35

Indian National Congress :

Comments on the proceedings of the — . . . . 14—18

Comments on the ruling out of order by the Congress Subjects Committee of Mr. Tilak's resolution on the subject of political propaganda in England and India through the Congress . . 19

Reflections on the result of the conference between the representatives of the Congress and the Moslem League . . . . . 20 & 21

The presidential address at the recent session of the Congress . . 13

Moslem League :

Comments on Sir James Meston's speech at the — meeting . . 25

Speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India —. 24

The Honourable Mr. Jinnah's address as President of the All-India —. 22 & 23

Very few Muhammadans attended the recent session of the All-India —. 26

Portuguese India : Comments on the proposed grant of administrative and fiscal autonomy to — 39

Press Act : Comments on the forfeiture of the security deposited by the Jain Vijaya Printing Press of Surat 41

PARAGRAPH.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Sind: Complaint about the entire absence of Parsi holidays on the list of holidays to be observed in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of — during 1917 42
Viceroy: Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's replies to the addresses presented by the Central Muhammadan Association and the Bengal Moslem League at Calcutta 34
War:
  Comments on the Allies' reply to the German peace note . . . 33
  Complaint about neglect to utilise India's vast man-power in the — . 29
  India's representation on the Imperial — Conference . . . . . 27 & 28
  The Government of India should overhaul the various departments to see whether men of military age could not be released for service in the — 30
  The New Year and prospects of peace 31
  There would have been no harm if the proposal of Germany to discuss peace terms had been accepted by the Allies provisionally . . 32

EDUCATION—

Alleged waste in expenditure on — in India 45
Comments on the Government Resolution on the report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1915-16 . . . . . 43 & 44
Comments on the proceedings of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference 48
Suggestions for encouragement of — among the Mahrattas . . . 47
The duty of the British Government to make primary — universal in India 46

RAILWAYS—

Comments on the reduction in the number of trains on the various Railway lines in India 50
Criticism of the Railway policy of the Government of India 49

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay: Appeal to the — Food Prices Committee to take measures to keep down the abnormal rise in the prices of foodstuffs, etc. . . . 51

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(As it stood on the 1st January 1917.)

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay East Indian	Bombay	Weekly	N. F. D'Souza; East Indian; 40	400
2	Commerce & Co-operation.	Do.	Do.	Puthen Vithal Ramunni; Hindu (Manglorian); 33.	700
3	Indian Social Reformer	Do.	Do.	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A.; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin); 45.	525
4	Islámic Mail	Do.	Do.	Saiyid Mohomed Abdulla Khan and Saiyid Mohomed Ayub Khan; Muhammadan (Sunni); 32.	1,500
5	Mahrátta	Poona	Do.	Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 42.	700
6	Message	Bombay	Daily	M. Bhavanishankar Niyogi, M.A., LL.M.; Hindu; 30.	2,000
7	Phœnix	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	Jáffar Faldu; Muhammadan (Khoja); 63	425
8	Sind Advocate	Sukkur	Weekly	Pribhdas Kodanmal Gogia, Hindu; 40.	500
9	Sind Journal	Hyderabad	Do.	Karamchand Gurumukhsing Mirchandani; 38.	500
10	Sind Observer	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	Dinsha Nánábhái Patel; Pársi; 32	375
11	Young India	Bombay	Weekly	Pandharinath Kashinath Telang; Hindu (Goud Saraswat Bráhmin); 36.	2,000
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
12	A'ryă Prakásh	Baroda	Weekly	Motilál Tribhovandás; Hindu (Bania); 45	1,300
13	Gujaráti	Bombay	Do.	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái; Hindu (Bania); 33.	14,500
14	Gujarát Mitră	Surat	Do.	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala; Hindu (Deolad Bania); 40.	1,500
15	Gujaráti Punch	Ahmedabad	Do.	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh; Hindu (Mesri Bania); 40.	3,600
16	Hindi Punch	Bombay	Do.	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár; Pársi; 58	500
17	Hindusthân	Do.	Do.	Ratanlál Atmárám Sháh, Modh Bania; 36.	1,800
18	Hindusthán and Akhbár-e-Soudágar.	Do.	Daily	Ratanlal Atma Ram Shah; Modh Bania; 35.	1,000
19	Indian Loyalist	Wadhwán	Weekly	Ganeshji Jethábhái; Hindu (Khatri); 63	575
20	Jám-e-Jamshed	Bombay	Daily	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A., Pársi; 40.	6,350
21	Kaiser-i-Hind	Do.	Weekly	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin; Pársi; 35.	2,000
22	Káthiáwár Times	Rájkot	Bi-weekly	Trikamji Govindji Kotak; Hindu (Lohána); 36.	800
23	Khurshed Prakásh	Bombay	Weekly	Dinsha Pestonji Madan; Pársi; 29	800
24	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Do.	Daily	Mihirjibhai Palanji Madon; Pársi; 56	1,250
25	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	1,600
26	Pársi-Sansár	Karáchi	Do.	Rustomji Kharsedji Sidhwa; Pársi; 32	500
27	Praja Bandhu	Ahmedabad	Do.	Jagjivandas S. Trivedi; Hindu (Shrimáli Bráhman); 37.	2,700
28	Rást Goftár	Bombay	Do.	Pallonji Burjorji Desai; Pársi; 55	627
29	Sánj Vartamán	Do.	Daily	Rustamji N. Vátcha-Gándhi; Pársi; 50	7,500
30	Suryă Prakásh	Surat	Weekly	Nagindás Dáyábhái; Hindu (Nagar Bania) 70.	1,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
31	Chandrodaya	Dhárwár	Weekly	G. H. Honnapurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat); 46.	200
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARATHI.				
32	Kanara News	Kumta (Kanara) ...	Fortnightly ...	......	...
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
33	Dnyánodayá	Bombay	Weekly	Alden Hyde Clark ; Christain ; 37 ...	550
34	Dnyán Prakásh	Poona	Daily	Gopál Krishna Deodhar, M.A. Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 44.	1,500
35	Dnyán Prakásh	Do.	Weekly	Do. do. ...	3,000
36	Indu Prakásh	Bombay	Daily	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu ; (Marátha); 54.	2,500
37	Pragati and Jinvijay ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Anna Babaji Latthe ; Jain ; 30.	800
38	Shetkari	Ahmednagár ...	Weekly ...	Ganesh Krishnă Chitale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Brahman) ; 47.	200
39	Subodh Patrika	Bombay	Do.	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 40.	500
40	Sudhárak	Poona	Do.	Ramachandra Vishnu Phadtare ; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhman) ; 26.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
41	O Anglo-Lusitáno... ...	Bombay	Weekly	Dr. W. Pais, L. M. & S. ; Goanese ; 35 ...	1,000
	ANGLO-SINDI.				
42	Al-Haq	Sukkur	Weekly	Sheikh Abdul Majid Sheikh Adam ; Mahomedan ; 27.	900
43	Frontier Gazette	Jacobabad	Do.	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu Bhatia ; 35.	800
44	Lárkána Gazette	Lárkána (Sind)	Do.	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 27.	700
45	Sindhi	Sukkur (Sind)	Do.	Mulchand Bhágchand ; Hindu (Baláni); 38.	1,000
46	Sind Patrika	Lárkána (Sind)	Do.	Deosing Shámsing ; Hindu (Amil) ; 29 ...	500
47	Sind Upkárak	Shikárpur	Monthly	Bhai Mohandev Ghanshamdas ; Hindu (Bhátia); 54.	300
48	Sind Vasi	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Daily	Vasomal Kishanchand ; 36 ...	725
49	Sookhree	Karáchi (Sind) ...	Weekly	Jámatmal Lálchand ; Hindu (Chapráo) ; 44.	500
50	Trade Advertiser	Shikárpur (Sukkur).	Do.	Teokchand Verbamal ; Hindu (Goklani) ; 44.	800
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
51	O Goano	Bombay	Weekly	M. A. Fernandes ; Goanese ; 44	1,200
	GUJARA'TI.				
52	Akhbár-e-Islám	Bombay	Daily	Kási Ismáil Kási Muhammad ; (Parbundri Muhammadan) ; 47.	2,200
53	Baroda Vartamán ...	Baroda	Weekly	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel ; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár) ; 46.	1,700
54	Bombay Gujarátí ...	Bombay ...	Do.	Bhagvánlál Tribhuvan ; Hindu (Gujaráti Bráhman) ; 38.	1,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Gujará'ti—*concluded.*				
55	Bombay Samáchár	Bombay	Daily	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minocheher-Homji, B.A.; Pársi; 41.	4,525
56	Broach Mitră	Broach	Weekly	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri); 34.	550
57	Broach Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Jehángirji Ardeshir; Pársi; 37	500
58	Chitramaya Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Tuljáshankar Gawrishankar Yádnik; (Audich Sahasra Brahman); 35.	100
59	Deshi Mitră	Surat	Weekly	Maganlál Kikábhai; Jain (Visa Shrimáli); 40.	1,200
60	Hind Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Dáyábhái Kasandás; Hindu (Shrawak Bania); 50.	1,000
61	Hitechhu	Karáchi	Do.	Harilál Válji Thákur; Hindu (Audich Bráhman); 32.	100
62	Islámic News	Amreli (Baroda)	Do.	Abdulla Ismail; Muhammadan (Memon); 35.	700
63	Kaira Vartamán	Kaira	Do.	Somachand Panachand; Hindu (Jain Bania); 40.	500
64	Káthiáwár Samáchár	Ahmedabad	Do.	......	...
65	Loka Mitră	Bombay	Bi-weekly	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi; 40.	1,200
66	Navsári Patrika	Navsári	Weekly	Harivallabhdás Pránjivandás Párekh; Hindu (Bania); 42.	500
67	Praja Mitră	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	Jaffar Faddu; Muhammadan (Khoja); 63.	375
68	Praja Pokár	Surat	Weekly	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala; Dasalad Brahman; 40.	1,000
69	Samáchár	Karáchi	Fortnightly	Edulji K. Sidhwa; Pársi; 44	700
70	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Baroda	Weekly	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania); 38.	4,100
71	Surat Akhbár	Surat	Do.	Phirozsháh Edalji Patel; Pársi; (Zorostrian); 40.	600
72	Vivechak	Lachhras (Nándod, Rájpipla State).	Monthly	Chaganlal Naranbhai; Hindu (Bhavsar); 31.	500
	Hindi.				
73	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Rámchandră Vásudeo Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30.	1,250
74	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Bombay	Weekly	Pandit Chandulál Mehta; Hindu (Sáraswat Bráhman); 47.	10,000
75	Shri Venkateshwar	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	1,400
	Kanarese.				
76	Karnátak Vaibhav	Bijápur	Weekly	G. R. Mannur; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 49.	500
77	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayă.	Dhárwár	Do.	Krishnáji Hanumant Mudvedekar; Hindu (Vaishnav Bráhman); 43.	1,500
78	Lokă Bandhu	Do.	Do.	Gururáo Rághavendră Mamdápur; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhman); 48.	300
79	Raj Hansa	Do.	Daily	M. N. Tembe; (Karháda Bráhman); 39	600
80	Raj Hansa	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	650
81	Rasik Ranjini	Gadag (Dhárwár)	Do.	Gaurishankar Rámprasád; Hindu (Kanoja Bráhman); 53.	70

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Maráthi.				
82	[illegible]	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Shakar Hari Joshi; Hindu (Deshasta Bráhman); 28.	200
83	[illegible]	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi; Hindu (Bania); 39.	500
84	Belgaum Samáchár	Belgaum ...	Do ...	Hari Bhikáji Sámant; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 54.	230
85	Bhárat Mátá ...	Islámpur (Sátára)...	Fortnightly	Vishnu Sitárám Athale; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 0.	450
86	Chandrodaya ...	Chiplun (Ratnágiri).	Weekly ...	Sadáshiv Vishnu Phadke; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 49.	200
87	Chikitsak	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	Abáji Rámchandrá Sávant; Hindu (Marátha); 53.	540
88	Chitramayá Jagat	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Rámchandrá Vásudev Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30.	1,250
89	Din Mitrá	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Weekly ...	Mukund Ganpat Pátil Hindu (Máli); 29 .	900
90	Dnyán Ságar ...	Kolhápur ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Vithal Mantri; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 51.	600
91	Jagadádarsh ...	Ahmednagar	Do. ...	Káshináth Bahirav Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 65.	283
92	Jagad Vritt ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Shamrao Balkrishna Kirtikar; (Pathare Prabhu); 41.	12,000
93	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Govind Náráyan Kákade; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 59.	450
94	Karmanuk... ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Hari Náráyan Apte; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 48.	3,400
95	Kesari	Do. ...	Do. ...	Narsinh Chintáman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 43.	20,000
96	Khándesh Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do. ...	Yádav Bálkrishná Bahálkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 50.	500
97	Modá Vritt ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Laxman Lele; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 37.	50
98	Mumukshu ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Lakshman Rámchandrá Pángárkar, B.A.; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 43.	1,700
99	Násik Vritt ...	Násik ...	Do. ...	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 35.	250
100	Pancham George Vijay ...	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	Balvant Ramchandra Sohoni; Hindu (Gaud Saraswat Brahman); 32.	1,000
101	Prabodh Chandrika ...	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do. ...	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 53.	200
102	Prakásh	Sátára ...	Do ...	Rámchandrá Ganesh Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 40.	300
103	Sandesh	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Achyuit Balwant Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin).	4,000
104	Satyá Shodhak ...	Ratnágiri ...	Weekly ...	Krishnáji Hari Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 31.	1,200
105	Shri Sayáji Vijayá ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande; Hindu (Marátha); 54.	5,500
106	Sholápur Samáchár ..	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Vithal Narsáppa Jakhal; Hindu (Telgu Mali); 35.	400

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—concluded.				
107	Shri Sháhu	Sátára	Weekly	Váman Hari Dhavle; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) 35.	300
108	Shubh Suchak	Do.	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Chitale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 37.	800
109	Sumant	Karád (Sátára)	Do.	Pándurang Balvant Kolhápure; Hindu (Sáraswat Bráhman); 45.	40
110	Vichári	Kárwár (Kánara)	Tri-monthly	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 41.	450
111	Vijayee Mahrátta	Kolhápur	Fortnightly	Bhujang Tukárám Gáikwád; Hindu (Marátha); 32.	
112	Vinod	Belgaum	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Kulkarni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 27.	200
113	Vrittasár	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Purushottam Ganesh Vaidyă; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 25.	100
114	Vyápári	Poona	Do.	Nána Dádáji Gund; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 60.	500
115	Wárkari	Pandharpur (Sholápur).	Do.	Vithal Keshav Limaye; Hindu (Chitpávan Brahman); 44.	300
	SINDI.				
116	A'ftáb-i-Sind	Sukkur (Sind)	Weekly	Sháms-ud-din *walad* Muhammad; Muhammadan (Abro); 49.	500
117	Khairkháh-i-Sind	Lárkhána (Sind)	Do.	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 43.	250
118	Musáfir	Hyderabad (Sind)	Do.	Abdul Wabab Khan; Pathan	900
119	Prabhát	Do.	Tri-weekly	Gopaldás Lekhráj Thadani; Hindu (Amil); 28.	550
120	Sind Sudhár	Karáchi (Sind)	Do.	Khánchand Rahumal; Hindu (Amil); 49	800
	URDU.				
121	Islámic Mail	Bombay	Weekly	Saiyad Muhammad Abdulla Khán and Saiyid Mahomed Ayub Khan; Muhammadan (Sunni); 32.	1,500
122	Mufid-e-Rozgár	......	Do.	Hazi Munshi Mahamad Husein, Muhammadan; 45.	1,200
123	Muslim Herald	Bombay	Do.	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni); 36.	400
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
124	Jain	Bhawnagar	Weekly	Devchand Damji; Hindu (Bania); 30	1,800
125	Jain Mitră	Bombay	Do.	Bábu Sital Prasád; Jain; 46	1,200

No.	[illegible]	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	English, Portuguese and Concanim.				
136	A Lua	Bombay	Weekly	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 35 .	1,200

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—ă.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

E. The Nos. 2, 40, 69, 86, 109, 111, 115, have temporarily ceased.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Reflections on Mr. Lionel Curtis' views about India.

Young India (11), 3rd Jan.

1. "Mr. Lionel Curtis has begun work. The 'Problems of the Commonwealth' published—to use the Curtis phraseology—'over his name' had made educated India wonder whether Mr. Curtis was only another stormy petrel; but there is some hope at least in Mr. Curtis' protestations, if not in the motives which seem to underlie all his work. Mr. Curtis is wroth that a letter of his, marked 'private' mind you, has been intercepted. We condole with him in his misfortune, but now that he has given us a true copy of the letter from Government House, Lucknow, what else can we do, but look carefully into the scheme propounded by this Sir Knight of the Round Table? But the covering letter to the Press contains one admirable sentiment from Mr. Curtis, which ought not to escape attention. 'The possibility', says Mr. Curtis, 'that self-Government was not an institution appropriate only to European communities did not occupy my thoughts.' Ah! we live and learn; and Mr. Curtis may have learnt much, possibly after being present at Mr. Jinnah's presidential address. However, people, who even in letters marked 'private' can talk about British administration in India and British administration in Bechuanaland in the same breath are curiosities not to be neglected. We shall return to Mr. Curtis and his work in India on another occasion."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 7th Jan.

*2. "Nobody who reads his letter will doubt for a moment that Mr. Curtis' friends in this country did him a valuable service in advising him to come to India and study her conditions on the spot. His ignorance of India, and that of his collaborators, can be only described as colossal. They have published two volumes bearing on the reconstruction of the British Empire in evident ignorance of the fact that the conditions of India and Central Africa are not identical. This is the most important discovery which Mr. Curtis has made so far and he presses it on his colleagues with almost pathetic vehemence. He begs his colleagues to stay their hand or, at any rate, if they decide to lump India and Central Africa together and treat them on the same footing, to do so 'facing the fact that we cannot effect the changes advocated in the volumes already published without provoking in India an agitation, which, as I judge, might lead to bloodshed'. We hope Mr. Curtis will not mind our saying that both he and his critics in this country have attached a ridiculously disproportionate importance to his letter. Nobody in India would have cared what Mr. Curtis wrote if he had not introduced the names of some high officials—he is himself evidently aware of it—and we are bound to say that, in our opinion, Mr. Curtis was not making a legitimate use in his private correspondence of the names of the officials who extended to him their hospitality in this country. To plead that his letter was marked 'private' is no justification whatever for dragging into a political controversy the names of men whose position imposed on them the duty of conveying their views to the Secretary of State through constitutional channels. Neither the Viceroy nor the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces is entitled or is likely to involve himself in an agitation which may chance ultimately to be in conflict with the policy of His Majesty's Government. We cannot believe that any of the high officials named by Mr. Curtis took any more interest in his studies than they would in those of any other publicist who was equally ignorant and equally anxious to learn what Indian conditions are......... The feeling of most people who read this letter will be, we think, one of surprise that an Englishman of education should not hesitate to avow such complete ignorance of Indian conditions as Mr. Curtis does, even to make the part played by his friends appear in the most favourable light possible. Sir James Meston and the other officials, if they really wanted to carry on unofficially a political propaganda in England, as some critics of this letter seem to suggest,

[illegible]	[illegible]	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	[illegible]				
[illegible]	[illegible]	Bombay	Weekly	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 35 .	1,200

Note.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Aruṇodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—ă,

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

E. The Nos. 2, 40, 69, 86, 109, 111, 115, have temporarily ceased.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Reflections on Mr. Lionel Curtis' views about India.

Young India (11), 3rd Jan.

1. "Mr. Lionel Curtis has begun work. The 'Problems of the Commonwealth' published—to use the Curtis phraseology—'over his name' had made educated India wonder whether Mr. Curtis was only another stormy petrel; but there is some hope at least in Mr. Curtis' protestations, if not in the motives which seem to underlie all his work. Mr. Curtis is wroth that a letter of his, marked 'private' mind you, has been intercepted. We condole with him in his misfortune, but now that he has given us a true copy of the letter from Government House, Lucknow, what else can we do, but look carefully into the scheme propounded by this Sir Knight of the Round Table? But the covering letter to the Press contains one admirable sentiment from Mr. Curtis, which ought not to escape attention. 'The possibility', says Mr. Curtis, 'that self-Government was not an institution appropriate only to European communities did not occupy my thoughts.' Ah! we live and learn; and Mr. Curtis may have learnt much, possibly after being present at Mr. Jinnah's presidential address. However, people, who even in letters marked 'private' can talk about British administration in India and British administration in Bechuanaland in the same breath are curiosities not to be neglected. We shall return to Mr. Curtis and his work in India on another occasion."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 7th Jan.

*2. "Nobody who reads his letter will doubt for a moment that Mr. Curtis' friends in this country did him a valuable service in advising him to come to India and study her conditions on the spot. His ignorance of India, and that of his collaborators, can be only described as colossal. They have published two volumes bearing on the reconstruction of the British Empire in evident ignorance of the fact that the conditions of India and Central Africa are not identical. This is the most important discovery which Mr. Curtis has made so far and he presses it on his colleagues with almost pathetic vehemence. He begs his colleagues to stay their hand or, at any rate, if they decide to lump India and Central Africa together and treat them on the same footing, to do so 'facing the fact that we cannot effect the changes advocated in the volumes already published without provoking in India an agitation, which, as I judge, might lead to bloodshed'. We hope Mr. Curtis will not mind our saying that both he and his critics in this country have attached a ridiculously disproportionate importance to his letter. Nobody in India would have cared what Mr. Curtis wrote if he had not introduced the names of some high officials—he is himself evidently aware of it—and we are bound to say that, in our opinion, Mr. Curtis was not making a legitimate use in his private correspondence of the names of the officials who extended to him their hospitality in this country. To plead that his letter was marked 'private' is no justification whatever for dragging into a political controversy the names of men whose position imposed on them the duty of conveying their views to the Secretary of State through constitutional channels. Neither the Viceroy nor the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces is entitled or is likely to involve himself in an agitation which may chance ultimately to be in conflict with the policy of His Majesty's Government. We cannot believe that any of the high officials named by Mr. Curtis took any more interest in his studies than they would in those of any other publicist who was equally ignorant and equally anxious to learn what Indian conditions are......... The feeling of most people who read this letter will be, we think, one of surprise that an Englishman of education should not hesitate to avow such complete ignorance of Indian conditions as Mr. Curtis does, even to make the part played by his friends appear in the most favourable light possible. Sir James Meston and the other officials, if they really wanted to carry on unofficially a political propaganda in England, as some critics of this letter seem to suggest, would easily have found some one with more pretensions to Indian experience. May we suggest to His Honour that he will do well to follow the example of Lord Willingdon and Lord Pentland whose names are conspicuous by their absence in the list of Mr. Curtis' official conductors in India?"

Kesari (95), 2nd Jan.; **Mahrátta* (5), 7th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 6th Jan.

3. We do not think that Mr. Curtis will change his views as a result of his tour in India and we are afraid that he will leave the country with distorted information because he is touring with Sir Valentine Chirol. Even a child can tell what information Sir Valentine will give to him about India. And the worst of it is that Mr. Curtis, like Sir Valentine Chirol, is enjoying the hospitality of Governors and Lieut.-Governors and carrying on secret conferences with them and strengthening his case by the use of their names. The letter of Mr. Curtis was out at Lucknow on the day the question of *Swarájya* was taken up and it added fuel to the fire. Mr. Curtis' explanation which he has sent to the press is not very satisfactory and it would be good if he were to exercise some restraint in writing about India after the revelation of his doctrines. [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"Mr. Curtis does not profess to have studied India and yet he has made the assertion that India does not contain a sufficient electorate qualified to recognise and place in office Indians who are qualified to make and administer laws. We hope that Mr. Curtis' short stay in India has enabled him to see that there is here a sufficiency of men able to assume control of Indian affairs and that there is as sufficient an electorate here as there was in England some time before the Compulsory Education Act came into operation. Mr. Curtis credits his friends with having persuaded him to study India and to think of self-government in India as a possibility—if a remote one. We may admit this in entirety. It does not, however, help us to revise our belief that the friends are one with Mr. Curtis in the views regarding the future of India advocated in the 'private letter'. For what meaning, except the plain one, can we attach to the words: 'This letter, which has been revised in detail by them, may be taken as representing our joint view'?" The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—Mr. Curtis himself fears that the changes advocated by him, if carried out, might lead to bloodshed. We trust that British statesmen will try their utmost to prevent such a catastrophe. India is not against giving the Colonies a share in the management of Imperial affairs. It only wants itself to be treated on a footing of equality with the Colonies, and there is no valid reason why the Colonies should oppose this claim. We earnestly hope that Mr. Curtis' arguments will not have an adverse effect, with regard to India, on British public opinion. We also must take proper steps in the matter and the Government of India too must help us in carrying on a vigorous agitation in England.]

Rást Goftár (28), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

*4. "That the author of the communication wants to be fair to the country in his collection of the materials on which he is about to enlarge and which he proposes to use as basis for his inferences is made clear from the letter that has incidentally found its way to the press, but it shows that he has allowed himself to be quite completely in the official sway, with the likelihood that impressions and opinions formed under such influence would affect his own judgment unless he supplements his inquiry very freely from private and non-official sources. Now that his mission is known, we with the rest of the public trust that Mr. Curtis would convince himself that there are two opinions in India vastly divergent—one of Anglo-Indians and the official bureaucracy, the other of educated Indians and non-official workers for the national cause. Since it seems he has learned enough from the first, we trust he will be at pains to learn from the other their own views of things and to verify his information from one or the other source before he allows himself to form his impressions or deduce his inferences...... ... And this he can achieve only by consulting and conferring as widely as he can Indian educated opinion, and by keeping an eye that is alert to find not only the dark but the bright spots in the life and affairs of the people."

Comments on Lord Sydenham's article entitled "The danger in India" in the *Nineteenth Century and after*.

Sánj Vartamán (29), 4th Jan.

5. Commenting upon the article contributed by Lord Sydenham to the *Nineteenth Century and after*, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Does Lord Sydenham mean to render any service to the Empire by his article entitled "The Danger in India"? We record our emphatic protest against the article and declare that there is no likelihood of any danger arising in India. Such danger exists only in the brains of men like Lord Sydenham and Chirol. Lord Sydenham seems to have been alarmed by the memorial sent by the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Secretary of State. The fear entertained by the *ex*-Governor of Bombay is imaginary and the sad picture he has painted would tend to mislead public opinion in England. The article is full of exaggerations and erroneous statements and the only way to counteract its influence would be to send a deputation to England to prove the hollowness of the allegations made by Lord Sydenham and others like him and to enlighten public opinion in England. It is the first and most sacred duty of statesman like Lord Sydenham to remove the misunderstandings due to ignorance existing between the people of India and England. Instead of doing so His Lordship has assumed a path that will add to the misunderstandings and widen the gulf. People like him are guilty of the greatest disservice that can be done to the Empire.

Indu Prakásh (36), 5th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Sandesh* (103), 5th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 5th Jan.

6. Commenting on Lord Sydenham's article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* in which after condemning Indian University education as "shallow," he characterises the reform suggestions of the 19 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council as "iconoclastic" and suggests that they should be "promptly and finally rejected if serious trouble is to be averted", the *Indu Prakásh* writes:—"We are more sorry for England than even for India for the iconoclastic comment passed by Lord Sydenham on English education and the legitimate and lawful aspirations which that education, coupled with natural evolution, has awakened. So what forms the best compliment to British rule is turned by Lord Sydenham's logic into its condemnation. Lord Sydenham's extraordinry contribution curiously proves the truth of the remarks of the President of the Congress that some of the present-day bureaucrats had found a 'chapter of mistakes' committed by their predecessors but that unfortunately it was not now possible to go back on what had been already accomplished.......... Any attempt to pervert the facts of the situation is as much an insult to England as to India. We only hope and pray that the English people will not allow their minds to be swayed by prejudiced reactionary epistles penned in leisure hours by some of the narrow-visioned retired satraps for whom we feel more sorrow than anger. Not to have known a country in spite of a number of years of residence in an official capacity is a mental deficiency which certainly deserves our sympathy." [The *Sandesh* says:—Have the countless millions of illiterate Indians given an authority to Lord Sydenham to represent their views? His Lordship says that the Indian Home Rulers are not leaders of the Indian public. Will he please tell us why they are so much honoured wherever they go? Whatever Lord Sydenham might say, Messrs. Tilak, Jinnah, Surendranath Bannerjee and Mrs. Besant know the hearts of Indians better than Mr. Curtis and Sir V. Chirol. We want Home Rule for both England's and India's benefit, and therefore, it is treason to oppose the movement. We would therefore, request persons like Lord Sydenham not to misrepresent matters. The *Dnyán Prakásh* also writes in condemnation of Lord Sydenham's article and declares that he has deliberately closed his eyes to the advance made by Indian aspirations in consequence of the encouraging utterances of men like Lord Hardinge and Mr. Asquith.]

Mahratta (5), 7th Jan.

*7. "The article is a very long and verbose production, and it carries poison in almost every line. Poor British readers who have to, or choose to, learn about India and things Indian from tutors of the Sydenham type cannot help being inoculated with feelings and sentiments which—if left to work their way through the [illegible]—official and unofficial—are sure to spell ruin to the Empire. Any rough handling and coercion of the natural leaders of the Indian 'millions' will serve day by day to throw increased numbers from amongst the millions into the camp of the discontented until a last a dismal catastrophe ensues—a result which cannot fail 'to crown' persistent adherence to Sydenhamite policy......... To given an idea of the angry Lord's poisonous writing we shall simply note down his important suggestions to the responsible authorities. 'Let it be announced by the Government in firm language which cannot be mistaken that *the constitution of the Legislative Councils will remain unchanged.*' 'If this course is taken,' continues the Lord, 'it will have a reassuring effect upon all the supporters of our rule.' We challenge Government to take this course upon the assurance of 'Sydenham of Combe'. India is rapidly ceasing to be a land of 'dumb-driven cattle'—the responsible authorities cannot afford to neglect this glaring, though it may be an inconvenient, fact."

Comments on the New Year's Day message from the Governor-General of Australia to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Message (6), 6th Jan.

8. "The message to His Excellency the Viceroy from the Governor-General of Australia will be read with much interest. The reciprocation of cordial greetings on the New Year's Day is a good sign of the change that is visible in the feelings between the Dominions and India. As His Excellency the Viceroy has stated in his message, we fully appreciate the warm tribute from Australia. But that appreciation on our side would be greater and more enthusiastic if the Dominions translate into action their high and noble sentiments. Without it, the greetings, however cordial, would merely be a matter of form......... When the war comes to an end the whole question of the position of the Indians in the Empire will have of necessity to come under review. It will be one of the first and foremost questions that will have to be solved in the internal problems of the Empire, calling for great sagacity, patience and statesmanship on the part of the Colonies as well as of India. We take it, therefore, that the message from the Governor-General of Australia is a fresh proof of Australia's sincere desire to help in the solution of that great and urgent problem, and, in that sense and so far, we heartily welcome the hand of friendship which has been extended across the seas."

Exhortation to the Parsis to take a more active part in the political activities of the country.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 4th Jan., Eng. cols.

9. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* deplores "the very meagre and feeble part played by the Parsis in the national movements which are moulding the political future of India", and continues :—"Great credit is due to the Honourable Sir Dinshaw Petit for being present at the Congress, and speaking with fearless directness on the sitution which we are deploring. Sir Dinshaw had, of course, no formal mandate to speak on behalf of the Parsi community; but in speaking as he did we have no doubt all those who have the true interests of the community at heart will agree, that he rendered a great service to us. [Here the paper refers to Sir D. M. Petit's remarks that to his mind the interests of the Parsis would not suffer when self-Government came and that Home Rule would enhance the permanency of British rule, and then continues :—] These are notable words and they are eminently sensible. It would be mean to keep aloof from a great patriotic movement, because we are comfortable as we are......... As a community we are not only a minority, but a hopeless minority. It would be preposterous to suggest that either the Government or the nation should or would show the slightest regard for the opinions or interests of a few thousand Parsis, if they conflict with those of the millions of other Indians. But are our interests really in conflict with those of India as a whole? Would it be wise, even if it were possible, to go counter to the movement which is hurrying all India in one destined direction? So far as the movement itself is concerned, it is absolutely immaterial whether the Parsis as a community support it or denounce it......... If they stand aloof to-day, when the longed-for day comes—and it is bound to come sooner or later, looking to the reality and vitality of India's political consciousness to

day, and the imperishable traditions of British statesmanship—when the day comes, the Parsis will find themselves undone. Fortunately, the work of the great Parsis (Sir P. M. Mehta, Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji and Mr. Wacha), whom we have named before, in the national cause, has already placed the Parsis in a line with the other great communities of India.......... We cannot live for all time on the credit of the past. It is mournful and humiliating that at the present stirring moment, when India is passing through a crisis, an educated, enterprising, and enlightened community should be content to be represented on the Congress platform, by two scions of a wealthy family, whose forte has been commerce and charity rather than politics. We are beholden to Sir Dinshaw Petit and Mr. Jehangir Petit for their public spirit." [The paper winds up with a exhortation to the educated young men of the community to rouse themselves and take more interest in the country's progress.]

The Brahmins would dominate over the non-Brahmin Hindus as well as the other communities if self-government were granted.

Islámic Mail (4), 31st Dec. 1916, Eng. Edition, and (121), 1st Jan., Urdu Edition.

10. "The Home Rule movement is well known to be initiated by the Brahmins for the benefit of the Brahmins in order to give the Brahmins the power which they wielded in ancient times. The easy way in which the Brahmins have so far succeeded in gaining their objects whether against the *bideshi* Mussalmans or against the bureacuracy has elated them to lofty flights of imagination and *swaráj* is taken to be within the easy reach of them. They know the non-Brahmins to be too backward in education to claim or secure any share in self-government.......... They rightly conclude that Home Rule, if secured, would vest into the hands of the Brahmins all authority and power and leave the educationally backward communities to toil and labour for their benefit. They think the Muhammadans to be the only stumbling block and expect an easy and complete victory by winning over the Muhammadans.......... There can be no gainsaying the fact that beyond the pale of the educated people the masses do not know much of the Western ideals of administration and unlike the lawyers, are too busy with their own avocations of life to think or work for the new political ideals. They have enjoyed the benefits of British administration since the date of their birth and are happy and contented with it. They have very few grievances beyond the hardships of trade and land taxation and little concern with the great political movements. They have perfect confidence in the justice, fair play, kindness and generosity of their rulers and dread restoration to the old conditions. British rule in their eyes is the panacea for all evils and they have very little faith in the *hukoomat* of their own countrymen.......... The Muhammadan youths will find it worse for them than for the low class Hindus because they are worse than the untouchables—they are regarded as *malichs* and *bideshis*—and cannot expect any mercy from them. They have been decoyed by two reasons: By the belief that they would fare better under Hindu patronage than under the patronage of Government which, they think, has deserted them, and by a feeling of desperation created by the treatment they received at the hands of Lord Hardinge and by the indifference shown to their religious feelings during the Balkan conflagration. But when they come to think of the whole situation in a cool and judicious manner they will come to the inevitable conclusion that they are sacrificing the real interests of the Muhammadans to a political chimera and would be obliged to take some such action as has just been taken by the non-Brahmins of Madras. [The paper here refers to the South Indian Association and quoting at great length from the Non-Brahmin manifesto issued by it, remarks that it voices the feelings of the bulk of the Indians, Muhammadans as well as Hindus, when it says that "not satisfied with the possession of the key to the present political position, the radical politicians who are apparently never so happy as when they ask for fresh political concessions, irrespective of their suitability to existing conditions, now ask for Home Rule, and from previous experience we fear that if a discordant note is not sounded at the proper time it will, of course, be made out that all India is keen about Home Rule". The paper then concludes :—] Will the Muhammadans have the courage to hoist their flag likewise and say fearlessly what they feel on the subject of the *swarájya*?" [The *Islámic Mail* (Urdu edition) writes about the *rapprochement* between the Congress and the League in the same strain, and it bases

its opposition to the agreement on three grounds, namely, that a few Muhammadans who have taken part in it cannot voice the feelings of the entire Muhammadan community, that these few men themselves are not valued highly by the Hindus as evidenced by the latter's lack of enthusiasm when they appeared on the Congress platform, and that the Congress which is the stronghold of the Brahmins aims at domination over all castes and creeds as of old.]

The non-Brahmin manifesto.

Message (6), 6th Jan.

11. "The whole thing has been engineered, we have reasons to believe, by certain opponents of Indian aspirations, who playing upon the self-interest or credulity of some disappointed people have set them up to it, and, further, it appears that the movement may have behind it some Anglo-Indian bureaucrats. Who these officials are we cannot guess. It is regrettable that there should be people still who cannot see the real trend of things and who must needs play into the hands of the enemies of Indian aspirations. We have always had great regard for Mr. Thegaraya Chetty as a man of sound common sense and a stalwart Indian. We regret that he should have committed this error of judgment in lending his name to the movement."

The Indian Industries Commission should carefully consider the question of manning Indian industries by indigenous labour.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

*12. One of the most important questions which should be pressed on the attention of the Royal Industrial Commission which is holding its sittings at present is the training of Indian labour to a high pitch of efficiency. There should be a very thorough investigation into the possibility of starting new industries in this country without having to depend upon so-called foreign experts, and the ways and methods adopted for obtaining trained men in our own country. It has been demonstrated time and again that an Indian industry worked by Indians cannot long depend upon foreign workmen; the hope that these foreigners would teach Indian workmen who would replace the former in a few years' time has proved to be illusory; and it has also been shown that foreign workmen have no interest in making an Indian enterprise a success, and have no interest beyond filling their own pockets to the detriment of the business. If we want to start new industries in India we must sooner or later obtain trained workmen in India itself.......... It is conceded on all hands even by American and other foreign labourers who have been imported at great expense into this country that Indian labour is highly efficient and in no whit inferior to European labour. It is to be hoped that one of the results of the Industrial Commission's work will be the re-affirmation of the tribute which has been paid to Indian labour by some of the witnesses. We trust that the view which has been so long held, by Indian employers of labour especially, that Indian workmen are not so good as foreign workmen will be dissipated, and a more reasonable attitude will be adopted in this matter. There is no reason why Indians should not manage and work new industries in this country; many of them have gone to England and other countries of the west for scientific and technical training and obtained the highest qualifications. Such men ought not only to be employed but also encouraged by Indian employers. We sincerely trust that this question of the very great advantages of employing Indian labour, which has been only partially brought to the notice of the Industries Commission, will be thoroughly investigated, and public opinion will be roused to agitate for the recognition of Indian talent in Indian concerns."

The presidential address at the recent session of the Congress.

Gujarâti (13), 31st Dec. 1916; *Baroda Vartamân* (53), 1st Jan.; *Pârsi Sansâr* (26), 30th Dec. 1916; *Hitechhu* (61), 31st Dec. 1916.

13. Referring to presidential address at the recent session of the Indian National Congress, the *Gujarâti* remarks that ten years ago this body begged for chaff and husks from its platform but to-day things are different and what was valued then is now regarded as trash and only one cry is heard, *viz.*, India is fit for *swarâjya* and so it should be given to her. It points out that this aspiration for *swarâjya* is the net outcome of the British administration, that Lord Macaulay's anticipations have been fulfilled to-day and that it is an occasion for which England should be proud. It main-

tains that the day on which India will be placed on the level of the self-governing Colonies will be a day unique in the annals not only of India or the British Empire but of the whole world. Endorsing the remarks made by the President with regard to the working of the bureaucracy in India, the paper dwells on the alleged conflict between the desires of the officials and the public. According to it, the people ask if peace and "efficiency" cannot be maintained in the country by carrying on its administration in consonance with the will of the public, and it winds up its remarks in this connection by stating that ultimately the public voice is sure to prevail. The paper then goes on :—For the present situation the officials have nothing else to thank but their own greed in keeping all authority in their own hands. The least criticism makes them nervous and they run for help to the Press, the Seditious Meetings and the Defence of India Acts and try to check the public awakening. Government having once accepted the policy that education should be spread, the attempts that are now being made by them to arrest its progress, to make it more expensive and to impart it only through the medium of the English language can prove to be of no avail. Lord Curzon got the University Act passed, but it has only resulted in fanning public agitation. [The paper then proceeds to express agreement with Mr. Muzumdar's remarks to the effect that what the people want now is not a few more Indian bureaucrats but more of power and authority to be vested in their own hands and dwells on the supreme necessity of issuing a Royal Proclamation announcing that the grant of *swardjya* to India is the aim of British policy, that a scheme will be framed after the end of the war for taking preliminary steps in that direction and that the scheme will be put into execution within a particular period. Elsewhere the paper expresses its great joy at the *rapprochement* brought about between the Hindus and Muhammadans and remarks that both these Communities have now realised that in the present times religion has nothing to do with politics. Praying that their differences on the score of religion may cease for ever, it asks if there still remains in India any person with soul so dead, who does not daily say, "Lo! This is my mother"! [The *Baroda Vartamán* remarks that in his address the President has given a crushing rejoinder to those who, in season and out of season, base their argument against the grant of *swardjya* to India on the ground of the ignorance and superstition of the people. It observes that if, in view of the unflinching loyalty displayed by India during the present war, Government were only to declare now that India would some day be granted *swardjya*, such a declaration would be permanently recorded in letters of gold in the history of the British Empire. The *Pársi Sansár* congratulates Mr. Tilak on having forgotten the past and on taking part in the present Congress session. It lends its entire support to the President's address. The *Hitechhu* observes that Mr. Muzumdar's address has made it abundantly clear that the whole of India has made self-government its goal. The paper highly commends the speech and remarks that it is a very able and practical exposition of the whole question of *swardjya*.]

Comments on the proceedings of the Indian National Congress.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 1st and 3rd Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 1st and 3rd Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 4th Dec. 1916; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 31st Dec. 1916.

14. Dwelling upon the proceedings of the recent session of the Indian National Congress the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the great enthusiasm which prevailed among those present in the pavillion as a result of Sir James Meston's presence and his declaration that he sympathised with the Congress movement was only natural. It points out that His Honour's presence at the Congress session showed that the United Provinces Government were not at all inclined to create difficulties in the way of that body as the letter of warning addressed by the Commissioner of Lucknow Division was interpreted to mean in some quarters. The paper sets a high value on the sympathy of officials in the work of the promotion of public interests and observes that the fact that the various speakers spoke in a spirited manner, though with moderation, on the subject of the repeal of the Arms Act even in the presence of Sir James Meston shows that popular leaders can make demands for the just rights of the people

[illegible] The paper is in favour of conducting the [illegible] examination only in India if it be not feasible to hold simultaneous examinations in India and England. It also dwells on the desirability of repealing the Press Act at least after the close of the war and wishes that Lord Chelmsford would follow the sympathetic policy adopted by Lord Hardinge with regard to the question of the condition of Indians in British Colonies. [Referring, in its subsequent issue, to the resolution passed at the Congress urging His Majesty to issue a Royal Proclamation for the grant of self-government to India and remarking that the demands therein made for increasing the powers of the Government of India in the matter of nomination to the Executive and Legislative Councils only echo the desires of the people, the paper expresses its joy at the failure of Mrs. Annie Besant in the attempts she made in the Subjects Committee to get another clause added to the abovesaid resolution demanding that complete control should be given to India over her domestic affairs. It disparages the activities of those who are in hot haste to obtain "Home Rule" as calculated to retard the political regeneration of India and wishes that such people would be kind enough to carry on their work apart from the Congress. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* refers to the heated discussion that took place in the Subjects Committee over the above resolution and attributes the fact of the Extremists ultimately yielding, to the chastening influence of the letter of warning issued by the United Provinces Government. It regrets, as being somewhat wide, the use of the word "demand," in the second clause of the resolution wherein it is asked that a definite step be taken towards self-Government by granting the reforms proposed in the scheme jointly prepared by the Congress and Moslem League Committees. In the subsequent issue the paper characterises the proposal brought forward by the extremists before the Subjects Committee, which was ultimately set aside, for holding the Civil Service examination only in India, as a visionary and thoughtless demand. It remarks that when opponents of India like Lord Sydenham have come forward to poison the ears of the British public at the present juncture when the British Government have become prepared to advance the political and economic progress of India it is but meet that the chairman of the Subjects Committee should rule out of order the proposal urging the recognition of a scheme for carrying on political agitation in England and India through the agency of the Home Rule League and its branches. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* gives preference to the original resolution asking for the grant of self-government to India within the course of a generation to the resolution actually passed by the Congress for conferring it "at an early date," as the latter phrase indicates a somewhat vague period of time. It remarks that much yet remains to be done by the Indians to effectively impress upon Government and the minds of the British public their fitness to enjoy *swarájya*. It points out that the Congress should exhort people not to neglect their civic duties in the matter of opening schools for imparting free primary education, providing sanitary abodes for the poor, starting free dispensaries, etc., and adds that instead of merely demanding that Government should annually open a particular number of new schools, those sincere-hearted persons who are burning with love for their country should also show something to their own credit. The paper then dwells on the desirability of starting a national fund but doubts if many of the the so-called patriots would contribute their share in a liberal spirit. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* congratulates Sir James Meston on his farsightedness in retrieving the mistake he had committed in sending the letter of warning to the Congress authorities by his subsequent presence at the Congress sessions. It welcomes the various resolutions passed in the Congress and remarks that now that the President has asked for the grant of *swarájya* within one generation there will remain no excuse for characterising the demand of the Congress as hasty.]

Mahratta (5), 7th Jan.; *Gujaráti* (13), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

***15.** "We have no doubt that our readers—who have been accustomed to think of the Indian Home Rule demand as a demand for the grant of certain rights to India *within a definite time*—have perused the actual Self-government Resolution with a beating heart— and have been thrown into sadness at finding no *time-limit* in it. The Congress asks for a Royal Proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of the British policy to grant self-government to India at an early date. Now a Royal Proclamation is a great thing. We have had such great things before and we have no objection to have one now. But frankly 'an early date' is nothing very definite. And 'self-government' is not such a hobgoblin as 'Independence' is. If the Jones Bill promising independence to the Philippines within four years did not pass the Legislature in America, the Philippines could not complain very reasonably and probably they did not complain very much. 'Independence' is a rather big thing to give. But self-government under the suzerainty of Britain—and that a very real suzerainty secured by special safe-guards—need not have been considered by our National Assembly as a boon too great to ask and to give. What prevented them from defining the 'early date' seems to us to be the lingering notion that the thing they demanded was *rather* too big to give. [Here the paper quotes approvingly from the Honourable Sir D. M. Petit's speech and goes on:—] Another Parsee gentleman, Mr. Jehangir Petit, was, in his enthusiasm, remarkably emphatic: 'If the Indian Nation is determined to have what is embodied in this resolution the only way to get it is to show to Government and the powers that the population of this great country is determined at all costs to have what is embodied in this resolution. What is it that secured for the Colonies their independence and self-government? By making the administration impossible they obtained self-government.' It must be admitted that the thing we are asking for, though not a heavy gift for paternal love to make, is certainly so for those in whom such love is naturally absent. And when there is a question of getting rights from rulers who are of a different nationality, a tough struggle must be expected. Especially when even the Colonies—the children of the mother country—had 'to make the administration impossible' to get a hearing, we may as well be prepared to bear disappointment if our half-hearted methods do not tell." [The *Gujaráti* observes:—"Whatever the fate of the scheme of reforms, it has assumed a definite shape and is now before the Indian and British public. That it will be ridiculed and subjected to adverse and even bitter criticism we have no doubt. For that Congressmen are quite prepared. But the enthusiasm that the subject of self-government evoked during the last session of the Congress was genuine and unbounded, and showed the spirit and temper of the Congressmen who had assembled at Lucknow. Self-government in a definite and concrete shape has now become part and parcel of the Congress programme and whatever the attitude of the present Viceroy or the Home Government or the Anglo-Indian Bureaucrats towards it, the Congress has, after mature deliberation, taken a step which cannot now be retraced. The advance must be along the lines chalked out by the Congress and the whole country is committed to the scheme jointly formulated and adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League. It is in this sense that the Lucknow session has attained to an historic significance of its own and all those who worked for achieving that end—Congressmen and members of the Moslem League—are entitled to the gratitude of the country and deserve the highest praise. We do not say that jarring notes will not still be heard. But the Congress and the Moslem League have effectually weakened their strength."]

Kesari (95), 2nd Jan.; *Sandesh* (103), 4th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 2nd Jan.

16. After describing the National Congress session at Lucknow as a "vast national gathering" to be "fitly compared" to "the encampment of an army bound for a national campaign", the *Kesari* writes:—In view of our present disarmed and pitiable condition, one may be disposed to smile at our calling the Congress gathering a military camp, but we may point out that the delegates who had assembled at Lucknow, though unarmed today, were the descendants of those who only a few generations ago had led campaigns, and fought battles and conquered and administered kingdoms, and that many of their kith and kin were today fighting on behalf of the British Empire and earning encomiums at the hands of British Generals. If the evil dream of an evil-eyed and insolent white colonial turns out true and there is an occasion for real war no one need have any doubt that hundreds and thousands of these men will be found prepared for war. The 29th of December 1916 will be reckoned as a red-letter day in the annals of the history of India, for on that day the flag of *Swarájya* was planted at Lucknow! Last Friday the whole nation gave expression with one voice to its hearty desire in such a loud tone as was heard throughout the world. Government pitied so long the Home Rulers on account of the internal splits among them. Now we shall have to pity Government itself for its helpless position. From the birth of the Congress the Hindu-Muhammadan split was brought into being and during the last decade a successful attempt was made to rally the moderates. Now all differences have disappeared and an immediate demand of *swarájya* was made by Hindus and Muhammadans at Lucknow and we give a plain warning to the bureaucracy that its days are numbered. The Anglo-Indian schemers who want to create a split in the nation have no other recourse but to resort to the uneducated and depressed classes, and even this refuge will not be of any avail to them for long. We do not say that the bureaucracy is an imposter; it is but doing its duty. So far as the rights of *swarajya* were concerned, it pitted one party against the other and thus kept both out of power. But when both the parties met together, the truth naturally came out. The Hindus and Muhammadans now seem prepared to tell the bureaucracy openly not to keep all power in its hands but to give it either to Muhammadans or Hindus. [Elsewhere the paper expresses its dissatisfaction that the Congress did not take up any executive function and appoint a committee to carry on the work of agitating for *swarájya*, but it is glad that it invited all the Associations including the Home Rule Leagues to carry on the agitation though some were against the invitation being extended to bodies not recognised by the Congress. [The *Sandesh* writes:—It is a remarkable fact that both the presidents of the Congress and the Moslem League and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee have studiously refrained from using the expression "Home Rule" in their speeches at Lucknow, and have all along used the word self-government. Though there is nothing in a name, the above fact shows that the conventionist Congressmen still continue to regard with some suspicion the Home Rulers. The Home Rulers, however, with a view to avoid a split, have accepted the term self-government and tried to put life into it by co-operation with the conventionists. Though the Congress has refused to recognise the Home Rule League as its own, the League will not fail to prosecute the work which it has taken upon itself to perform and the country will not thus suffer at all from the attitude taken up by some of the old Congress leaders who are hard to please. We hope that the All-India Congress Committee will now leave aside its narrow-mindedness and take a more rational view of matters. The *Dnyán Prakásh*, while declaring that the 29th of December should be considered a day fit to be inscribed in letters of gold in the history of Indian self-government inasmuch as its foundation stone was firmly laid in the Congress on that day, remarks:—Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Tilak in the course of their speeches expressed their joy that the Congress was going to pass a resolution for that kind of *Swarájya* which they had been advocating for the last decade. The falsity of this statement was patent to those who knew what took place at Surat at the time of the split. We have shown it several times that the extremists then wanted unqualified *Swarájya*. The straightforward course would have been to acknowledge frankly the mistake they committed in the past or to keep quiet and not to allude to past events at all. It is very reprehensible that people were allowed to mislead the public from the Congress platform. Protests should have been raised then and there. As we have to work unitedly for the nation we desire that our differences should be buried and that the past should not be raked up.]

Young India (11), 3rd Jan.

17. *Young India* quotes from the speech of Sir D. M. Petit at the recent Congress session the passage in which he sketches the future position of the Parsi community when India gets self-government and remarks:—"Indians will welcome with unaffected delight these sentiments expressed by one of the most distinguished Parsis of the day, when on rising to speak on the resolution on self-government he made the position of the Parsi community clear on this—the most vital of India's political issues. It could not have been otherwise. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the great Parsi community which has taken such a large part in the development of industrial India will look with suspicion on a movement which will grant to every Indian citizen, to the domiciled European, to the Parsi, as well as the Hindu and the Muhammadan, the full enjoyment of his right as a self-respecting citizen of the British Empire. Where Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Pherozesha Mehta led it should not be difficult even for the most commercially minded Parsi, with his profession of political apathy, to follow. This then is the dawn of hope—that after years of misunderstandings educated India has learnt to bear and to forbear and to achieve political unanimity as vital problems on the principle of give and take.......... But we are told, all this outcry for Home Rule is 'absurd'. 'I should be dishonest' said His Excellency Lord Chelmsford when he was performing in Calcutta the feat of replying to eleven addresses in one day, 'if I held out any hope, that progress will be rapid. Neither the British Consitution nor the British temperament is fond of catastrophic changes.' Well, let us first point out, that if the Indian people have any particular failing, it is their admiration for political *honesty*. They could show their admiration when a 'superior person' who had been to Korea, declared in a Viceregal address, that the East had no conception of truth. The Indian people admired the effrontery of the remark, and they can assure their Viceroys that they will never expect them to hold out 'dishonest' hopes. The 'catastrophic change' however will no longer be considered catastrophic when it comes. It is inherent in every condition of change that while a certain set of people stigmatise it as violent there are others who do not perceive it as a change at all. We can easily illustrate this by the mere mention of an oft-quoted saying, that the Briton never knows when he is beaten. That is how the Indian understands the British temperament, and his hope lies in the fact that a United India will achieve without catastrophic change what Britain had to achieve after a Revolution."

Message (6), 1st Jan.

18. In the course of its comments on the Arms Act resolution passed by the Indian National Congress, the *Message* remarks:—"How has the manhood of Indians disappeared? Hardly a hundred years have elapsed since the Mahratta battles were fought. The battles in the Punjáb are even of a later date. The war cry of *Har Har Mahadeo* was resounding in the ears of our grandfathers and invigorating them to heroic actions! The memory is still fresh, but its vibrations have become feeble, though not entirely absent. Where then and why has all this chivalry gone? The peaceful life of the last century has dealt a deathblow to the national heroism. The Arms Act has done it. As Mr. Lahiri so rightly observed in the Congress in the presence of Sir James Meston, it is the birthright of every man to possess arms for self-defence and self-protection. No citizen can rightly be called a free citizen unless he has this right. Queen Victoria very graciously proclaimed that Indians should be free citizens of India. Our present sovereign has also given special proof of his keen affection for this country in the memorable Guildhall speech which ought to be enshrined in the hearts of every Indian. But how far is the pledge kept? Every time the Arms Act reminds us that we are not free citizens......... And our manhood is not yet dead in spite of the bitter trials of the past hundred years. It still exists though in a potential form, and where the opportunity presents itself as in the case of the Sikhs, Gurkhas, and Mahrathas, it assumes the best form and again shines with its old lustre, be it in France or Mesopotamia. And not only the historically famous warrior races but even the Ganawalas can show their manhood on the battlefield amidst the roaring of guns though unaccustomed to it provided only an oppotunity be given to them. Why then not restore us our manhood? It can be very easily done. Repeal the Arms act and our children would soon grow accustomed to the historical traditions of their forefathers."

Comments of the ruling out of order by the Congress Subjects Committee of Mr. Tilak's resolution on the subject of political propaganda in England and India through the Congress.

Young India (11), 3rd Jan.

[illegible] a keen sense of disappointment at the rejection of Mr. Tilak's proposal in the Congress Subjects Committee at Lucknow, regarding a scheme for political propaganda. Did Mr. Tilak ask the impossible? Not at all. He asked that the Congress should do officially, what, as a matter of fact, the late Mr. Gokhale was doing in England, whenever he had the opportunity to do so. Mr. Tilak put forward a scheme 'for carrying on political propaganda in England and in India through the Congress.' It suggested the raising of a fund and the appointment of small committees in various parts of India to make appeal to the public. The resolution which Mr. Tilak proposed was ruled out of order. This only shows that the 'Old Guard' in Indian politics have lost neither their numerical influence nor their capacity for blinking at facts. The idea that the Congress is essentially a Christmas activity, when the courts being closed the lawyers can be leagued together and asked to orate, has not yet lost its charm. The late Mr. Gokhale saw at once the fatuity of the whole business, and single-handed set to work. The Old Guard applauded the work but retained the machine of management in their hands. And it lies still in their hands. It is time now to bring our Samarths and our Setalvads to book and ask them what they propose to do during the 360 days of 1917."

Reflections on the result of the Conference between the representatives of the Congress and the Moslem League.

Gujarāti (13), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

***20.** "The close *rapprochement* of the leaders of the two communities and of the Congress and the Moslem League at Lucknow is an event of the greatest historic importance. It was an arduous attempt full of manifold difficulties, the more so in the United Provinces. The patience, good sense, toleration, foresight and the spirit of conciliation shown on both sides was highly commendable, not that there were no dark clouds on the horizon. Not that the deepest anxiety was not felt on certain occasions in the course of the discussions that took place at the joint meetings of Congressmen and the members of the Reform Committee appointed by the Moslem League. Not that the naughty 'younger brother' did not not seek to take advantage of the desire of the 'elder brother' to show a united front at this supreme juncture in the best interests of the country as a whole. But the outstanding fact remains that the most knotty and delicate questions were solved with success in a statesmanlike and patriotic spirit.......... It is a great triumph of which the whole country may well be proud. Their united demand cannot safely be treated with contempt in this country or in England, and it would be a thousand pities if it were received with scant courtesy. We trust such a fatal blunder will not be repeated either in India or England. The spirit and temper of the country has undergone a tremendous change and nothing would be more inexcusable than if the future administrative arrangements and Imperial readjustments were not made in conformity with the pressing exigencies of the new situation."

Young India (11), 3rd Jan.

21. Under the heading "Congress Jottings" "A Delegate" writes in *Young India*:—"The Indian National Congress which met last week at Lucknow was in every sense *the* National Congress which it has always claimed to be. For the first time after thirty years, Hindus and Muhammadans found themselves united in common bonds of friendship and the *esprit de corps* which prevailed among them both was such as to evoke the admiration—may I say surprise—of a world which had been sedulously led to believe that India was a vast continent torn into pieces by differences of caste, colour and creed and ready to lose all cohesion the moment British overlordship was withdrawn from the land. It was indeed a sight for the gods to see, as Mr. Mazumdar remarked in some other connection, the very people, who were hitherto represented as being ready to fly at each other's throat at the slightest opportunity sitting on a common platform, hand in hand in a perfect spirit of camraderie. Moslem youths, young men coming from respectable families vied with each other and with their Hindu fellow volunteers in doing duty at the Congress Pandal during all its sittings with great heartiness and alacrity. Oh, what a change! Who would have dreamed in 1899 that such a beneficient transformation would have become possible?......... India is said to be a strange land and perhaps, the happy result which has been wrought on the banks of the Gomti will come to certain class of people, who had sedulously fomented bad understanding between Hindus and Muhammadans all these years as a shocking disappointment. Hindu-Moslem unity has become so not only in name, but in reality as well."

The Honourable Mr. Jinnah's address as president of the All-India Moslem League.

Young India (11), 3rd Jan.

22. "Young India ought to be proud of the fact, that in the Honourable Mr. Jinnah it has found a leader, who labours under no illusions as to what United India ought to have. .... His presidential address does not give room for any equivocal comment. In his annual stock-taking he took occasion to define the 'fundamental object' for which the Moslem League meets annually, and went on to tackle the 'Indian problem' with a precision which we would have gladly welcomed in other presidential addresses......... We earnestly hope Hindu India will take to heart the wise words in which Mr. Jinnah couched his remarks on Hindu-Muhammadan relations. 'I have been a staunch Congressman,' he declared, 'throughout my public life and have been no lover of sectarian cries, but it appears to me that the reproach of "separation" sometimes levelled at Muhammadans is singularly inept and wide of the mark.'......... He referred to the unanimity of decision achieved by the Joint Conference in November last of the Congress and the League Committees in the matter of a scheme of reforms, and had a few words to say regarding the unfortunate controversy in the United Provinces over the passing of the Municipal Act. The decision of the thirty per cent. arrived at during last week will, we hope, make for a better understanding between the two great communities in the United Provinces. Mr. Jinnah voiced the Indian demand most clearly as regards the position of India in the Empire and with respect to allowing India her place in the Imperial partnership."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 3rd and 4th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 3rd Jan.; *Hindusthán* (17), 3rd Jan.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (75), 4th Jan.; **Mahrátta* (5), 7th Jan.; **Gujaráti* (13), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

23. The *Bombay Samáchár* while endorsing the appeal made by the Honourable Mr. Jinnah as the President of the Moslem League for unity between Hindus and Muhammadans asks the Muhammadans to bear in mind the speech made by Sir Dinshaw Petit at the last session of the Congress to be prepared to make some sacrifices and suffer disadvantages for the welfare of the country and for advancing its interests. [The *Sánj Vartamán* takes note of the evolution of the League and the various questions referred to by Mr. Jinnah and congratulates the Congress and the League on the *rapprochement* that has been effected between them. In its English columns the paper writes:—"The address is notable for the dignity and the elegance of its style and for the force and spirit with which he has urged the claims of India to Home Rule within a specified period." The *Hindusthán* writes:—Mr. Jinnah has done a great service to India by asking Government to make a definite pronouncement with regard to the grant of *swarájya* to India within a definite period of time. *Shri Venkateshwar* is delighted at the clear pronouncement made by Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rasul that India is fit for *swarajya*. The *Bombay Samáchár* in its issue of the 4th January takes note of the various resolutions passed at the League. It gives prominence to the resolution about self-government moved by Mr. Rasul in the presence of His Honour Sir James Meston and expresses hope that the resolutions which are jointly agreed to by the League and the Congress will receive the attention of Government. The *Mahrátta* says:—"The presidential address is worthy of the place the

Honourable Mr. Jinnah holds in the advanced circle of Indian politicians and also worthy of the great community to which he has the honour to belong." The *Gujarâti* calls Mr. Jinnah's speech "a thoughtful and courageous pronouncement."]

Speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Moslem League.
Bombay Samâchâr (55), 1st Jan.

24. The *Bombay Samâchâr* while taking an appreciative note of the speech made by Mr. Nabiullah, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Moslem League at Lucknow, remarks that the speech is an index to the awakening of the new spirit among the Muhammadans. It lays special stress on the appeal made by Mr. Nabiullah for the sinking of petty differences of race and creed and for concerted action by the Hindus and Muhammadans. While expressing its gratification at the gradual approximation of the ideal of the League to that of the Congress it asks the Moslems to completely identify themselves with the Congress by joining it at an early date while continuing to keep the Moslem League as a separate and independent body.

Comments on Sir James Meston's speech at the Moslem League meeting.
Mahrâtta (5), 7th Jan.

*25. Commenting on the speech made by Sir James Meston on the occasion of his visit to the Moslem League meeting at Lucknow, the *Mahrâtta* remarks:—"To advise, howsoever indirectly, the leaders of any community in India to place communal interests above the national is equivalent to attempting a division in the National camp. The Muslim leaders will of course take the official advice for what it is worth and will continue to make the Nation's advancement their *primary duty*. They cannot be fooled. The League cannot go back upon the lessons it has learned since its inception and the progress in political education which it has made during its ten years' career. Not even the 'fervent' advice of 'rulers' can persuade the self-conscious League and its self-confident leaders to turn their back upon Light and make a retrograde move......... It will do Sir James Meston great good to read Mr. Jinnah's disillusioning speech. The Muslim League has, under the guidance of its wise leaders, learnt to look upon the advancement of National interests as an aim *not meaner* but higher than the advancement of communal interests. And to expect the leaders—and the League under their care—to unlearn their wisdom only recently gathered is to expect the impossible. 'An old friend' of the Muhammadans ought to have rejoiced to see their advance in political insight. A benign ruler really interested in the progress of the large community under his rule ought to have felt happy to see that community climbing up the ladder of wisdom. Sir James, however, instead of showing any signs of satisfaction at the progress made by the Muhammadans, exhibited feelings which surely are not commendable in a ruler who only recently protested against the popular view that 'divide and rule' is the policy not unoften followed in responsible quarters. Sir James Meston seems to have plans of his own in connection with the readjustment of India's relations to Britain and appears to consider the present Home Rule agitation as a mischievous thing from the standpoint of his plans. Our readers have been told a little about the letter of Mr. Curtis of the *Round Table*." [Here the paper quotes the first paragraph of Mr. Curtis' circular letter and remarks:—] "That Sir James Meston should be a party to such an affair as has been brought to light by the publication of the private letter of Mr. Curtis is, to say the least, very impolitic. All the same, the letter is very useful to us as it gives an idea of the plans afoot and the support they are receiving and are likely to receive in high official quarters. Mr. H. L. S. Polak, a Colonial himself, characterised these plans as a deep-laid conspiracy to bring India under the domination of the Colonials. Sir James Meston is at full liberty to sympathise with his Colonial kinsmen and to work for their aggrandisement, but he must, then, be prepared to see himself roughly handled in the popular press, which will not fail to infer a connection of cause and effect between the plans revealed in Mr. Curtis' letter and the advice so fervently tendered by the United Provinces ruler to Muslim leaders on the occasion of his visit to the League on the 31st instant."

Very few Muhammadans attended the recent session of the All-India Moslem League.

Islámic Mail (4), 31st Dec. 1916, Eng. edition.

26. "Bulletin No. 2 of the Secretary, Moslem League, which was published in our columns last week contains a remarkable admission. It says:—'The session of the League this year bids fair to be of great importance and one remarkable feature of this year's session is that many Hindu volunteers have applied for the volunteership of the Moslem League.'.. ..... We doubt, however, if the fact of many Hindu gentlemen volunteering their services for the League will tend to add to the honour and reputation of the institution. It rather tends to show the complete aloofness of the Muhammadans from it......... A wire just received from our special correspondent in Lucknow says that very few Muhammadans of other Provinces attended the session and but for the Hindu attendance the League session this year would have been a fiasco. Mr. Wazir Hasan may glory in the cheap notoriety that he has secured, but if he is a true Muhammadan he would feel small pleasure at the split he has caused in the community."

India's representation on the Imperial War Conference.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 31st Dec. 1916; *Bombay Samáchár* (55), 30th Dec. 1916; *Gujaráti* (13), 31st Dec. 1916.

27. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks that India would have no cause to complain if she had been represented in the Imperial War Conference by Lord Hardinge instead of by Mr. Chamberlain who, it writes, is a newly-appointed official without any experience of India and who, as a Conservative, holds narrow views in some respects. It also wishes that, instead of having two persons from India to advise the Secretary of State, Lord Hardinge had been appointed as the other Indian representative in the Conference. The paper observes that the object of this appointment will not be accomplished if mere ornamental figure-heads, drawn from among the Indian Princes or from the so-called great men who have rendered some services to Government, will be appointed to advise the Secretary. It then proceeds thus:—The time has now come for Lord Chelmsford to prove his mettle by adopting an independent attitude as Lord Hardinge had done with regard to the South African problem. His Excellency should, in the interests of India, exercise complete independence in the matter of the appointment of the two representatives above referred to, and, after consultation with the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, his choice should fall on such persons as are enjoying the confidence of the public. Further, the position of these two persons should be defined beforehand and it should be so arranged that they may have the liberty of freely arguing with the other members of the War Cabinet. [The *Bombay Samáchár* considers the proposed representation of India at the forthcoming Imperial War Conference to be a happy augury for the future. It remarks that such honourable recognition of India at the hands of His Majesty's Government will not fail to strengthen her ties with the Empire and it will also tend to increase the prestige of Indians in the eyes of the people of those parts of the Empire where at present hesitation is being shown to recognise them as British citizens. It, however, remarks that to restrict the choice of the two advisers to be sent from India merely to the official class would be putting a very narrow interpretation upon the term "Indian representatives". It observes that persons drawn from the official class cannot see eye to eye with the people and even if they did they would have to act in conformity with the opinion of the Indian Government. It therefore, expresses the wish that Government may be kind enough to allow the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council to nominate an Indian who can independently voice the public feeling. The *Gujaráti* remarks that after all Lord Hardinge's assurance about India's representation in the Imperial Conference has come true. It refers to the points raised in some quarters to the effect that the forthcoming is a special War Conference and therefore the fact that India has been invited to take part in this special Conference is no guarantee that she should be allowed representation in the ordinary Imperial Conference for which the previous consent of the Colonies will be necessary, and tries to meet these two points by inquiring whether India would be

[illegible] ordinary Imperial Conference when she has been thought [illegible] representation at a special Conference, and whether the Colonies would withhold their consent if His Majesty's Government were once to propose such a course. The paper, at the same time, expresses its surprise at India obtaining a place in the Conference even before obtaining self-government and, remarking that while the Colonial ministers are responsible for their actions to their people, the Secretary of State for India is not responsible to the Indian people and echoes the prevailing opinion in Britain, inquires if it is not expedient to remedy this anomalous condition.]

Gujaráti Punch (15), 31st Dec. 1916, Eng. cols.

28. "Every true son of this land will be gratified to find the status of India being raised to the level of the self-governing dominions in the British Empire. But we are afraid very few in this country will accept the theory that the present Secretary of State for India will be able to safeguard the real interests of the people of India in regard to the Imperial after-war settlement which must follow the close of the war.......... All the three points that are to engage the attention of the members of the Imperial Conference affect in one way or other the vital interests of Indian people and on their right solution will mostly depend the future progress of India as an integral part of the British Empire. We therefore heartily wish that the two gentlemen who are to be selected to assist the Secretary of State at the Imperial Conference may be chosen from among Indians of standing and reputation so that they may rightly advise the Secretary of State on questions which agitate the Indian mind to-day and voice popular Indian opinion as distinguished from the official before the highest council of the Empire."

Complaint about neglect to utilise India's vast man-power in the war.

Islámic Mail (4), 31st Dec. 1916, Eng. edition.

29. "No one in India could have read Mr. Lloyd George's message to the Princes and people of this country without a feeling of loyal enthusiasm to help the noble cause for which the Empire is fighting. Lord Chelmsford only voiced the feeling of the people in saying that India is ready to bear any sacrifice for her sovereign. She has so far done all that she could to mitigate the burdens of the British people. The people and Princes have both contributed very lavishly to the war funds and although no direct contribution has been given from the Indians, yet the indirect pecuniary assistance that has been given cannot compare unfavourably with what the Dominions and the colonies have paid. Her chief resource is, however, the supply of man-power which is of supreme importance just at present. But while tremendous efforts are made at Home to employ the man-power of Britain nothing is done to utilise the vast resources of India in this matter. France is utilising all its resources and if Germany had any colony left in her possession she would have certainly employed the Africans to assist in the campaign. But for reasons best known to the Cabinet Ministers themselves the vast treasures of Indian man-power are left untouched. A Bengali double company or a troop of Anglo-Indians does not by any means exhaust the resources of this great Empire. We can conveniently send as many troops as the Central Powers can put, and it is only a matter of painful surprise to us that with all declarations of confidence in our loyalty and admiration for our splendid devotion we are not yet given the opportunity of proving that India is the brightest jewel in the British Empire more transcendent in its shining lustre than even the colonies. We can send 50 million soldiers to fight the battles of the Empire. Who can do that?"

The Government of India should overhaul the various departments to see whether men of military age could not be released for service in the war.

Sind Observer (10), 20th Dec. 1916.

30. Under the heading "More men wanted for the war", the *Sind Observer* refers to the criticism in the English papers of the action of Government in exempting a large number of their servants of military age from service in the army at a time when there was a cry for more men on all fronts and continues:—"We think that in India there are some departments which could be greatly reduced and men of military age permitted to join the army instead of continuing to draw pay from the civil department at a time of financial stringency. The Engineering Department is one which the Government should not delay in examining for eligible men. Owing to the war public works have been cut down everywhere. Very little money is being spent, at least so we understand is the policy of Government, but we have not heard that any steps have been taken towards reducing the number of men employed by the Public Works Department. A few have been allowed to place themselves at the disposal of the military department, but a good number yet remain, and we notice that the system of employing temporary engineers has been reverted to. We should like to know what new works under construction or in contemplation justify this expenditure. It was decided after the outbreak of war that temporary engineers of the Public Works Department should be given their *conge*, so little was the need for their services, and the progress of the war should, we opine, have made evident the necessity for retrenchment."

The New Year and prospects of peace

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 1st Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 1st Jan.

31. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* makes the following observations on the New Year day:—The peace note sent to the Allies by America and other neutral nations is actuated by self-interest and reminds us of the interference of the Great European Powers after the victory of Russia over Turkey in the year 1876-77 and that of all the great European Powers except England after the war between China and Japan. We will anxiously await the fate of the demand of America and other neutral nations that peace should be made. But for the present we would only remark that whatever the terms on which peace is made it would be futile to expect permanent immunity from war through it. Only a nation that is always prepared for war and can depend on its own people for its defence can be assured of peace. We hope, therefore, that the experience derived from the war will lead our Government to give us military training so that the Empire may be fully prepared for the combination of any number of nations against it and that there may be no repetition of the sad waste of men and money we are now witnessing. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks:—Let us hope for peace, but it should be a peace that will put an end to the militarism of Germany. It is the earnest wish of every Indian that the new year may bring success to our rulers and the Allies. We hope the new year may be fraught with success and prosperity to our country.]

There would have been no harm if the proposal of Germany to discuss peace terms had been accepted by the Allies provisionally.

Sind Advocate (8), 21st Dec. 1916.

32. In the course of its comments on the offer of peace made by Germany, the *Sind Advocate* writes:—"But we wonder why the offer, with whatever motive made, should not now be accepted by the Allies, tentatively subject to modifications including an indemnity by Germany and a *complete status quo*, especially when the German Chancellor has stated in the Reichstag that the terms will be such as to secure a lasting peace as the civilised world too desires. We do not know if the German offer is sincere, but if it is not, all the more desirable is it for the Allies to entertain it provisionally and then set about discussing it, and if Germany rejects reasonable conditions the world will condemn her. If, on the other hand, the Allies apparently refuse to entertain the offer on any account, which could not be their intention, then Germany will continue to blame England forgetting of course her own initial crime of invading France suddenly and through neutral Belgium, and invading Russia similarly without warning. Let us hope the counsels of His Holiness the Pope and of Mr. Wilson of America will succeed in bringing about a satisfactory solution of the difficulties."

Comments on the Allies' reply to the German peace note.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 6th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 2nd Jan.

33. The *Bombay Samáchár* approves of the clear terms in which the Allies have repudiated the overtures of peace made by the enemy through President Wilson. The paper is of opinion that Germany is feeling the strain of exhaustion caused by costly victories and that it is, therefore, desirous of concluding peace with a view to avoiding a disgraceful defeat. [The *Sánj Vartamán* also approves of the reply and while dilating upon the perfidious nature of the Germans believes that the Allies will no more be deceived by the enemy and that they will not listen to any peace proposals unless they receive reliable guarantee of good faith and full reparation. It opines that as such guarantees will not be forthcoming, the peace movement will come to nothing and war will continue.]

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's replies to the addresses presented by the Central Muhammadan Association and the Bengal Moslem League at Calcutta.

Islámic Mail (4), 31st Dec. 1916, Eng. edition.

34. "We do not know what ground is there for the disappointment which appears to have been created among our co-religionists by the words of the Viceroy's reply to the Central Muhammadan Association of Calcutta. It is not of course quite so hopeful as we expected it to be....... . Taking all things into consideration the Viceroy's reply as a whole is far from discouraging and acknowledges in plain terms the unique services rendered by the Mussalmans to the British cause. He also acknowledged that the Indian army depends for a large proportion of its recruits upon the Mussalman population of this country and in the almost world-wide conflict that still rages they have fought most gallantly and many of them have, alas, sealed their allegiance and their loyalty with their life's blood. Replying to the Bengal Moslem League he remarked: 'Let me assure you that your interests will not be forgotten and that through allegiance to British Crown you will secure your hopes of advancement'. This is all that we want. We have given up everything before our duty to our sovereign and we hope, when time comes to reward the services rendered by the different parts of the Empire, our humble yet supremely loyal services would not be forgotten. The Mussalmans in Bengal did well not to formulate any demands just at present. But our needs are too well-known to need any particular mention."

Appreciation of the honour of the Crown of India bestowed upon Her Excellency Lady Willingdon.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár* (28), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

*35. "The Honours List this year contains one name which is so endeared to the people of this Presidency that it attracts the first notice. The decoration of the Imperial Crown of India which has been so fittingly bestowed on Her Excellency is no doubt well deserved, and we most humbly beg to congratulate her on this recognition of her great services to the people of this Presidency. Lady Willingdon has won the hearts of all with whom she has come into contact by her genuine interest in the welfare of the people and her great refinement and cordiality. She has done very useful work during the war, and her interests in charities and charitable work of all kinds has been most unflagging and unremitting. The great War Sale and Fete in Bombay which proved such a huge success was a testimony to her great ability and indefatigable work. We are sure that Lady Willingdon's decoration with the C. I. is certainly the most noticeable item in the Honours List, and Bombay is proud of having such a distinguished lady as the wife of the Head of the administration." [The *Rást Goftár* also congratulates Her Excellency on the honour bestowed upon her and remarks:—"Her Excellency has been ever ready to identify herself with charitable movements which need the support of her name and position, and we are not wide of the mark when we say that the consorts of few Governors had been so popular as Lady Willingdon is in the Bombay Presidency."]

The New Year's Honours List.

**Gujaráti* (13), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Message* (6), 2nd Jan.

36. "The New Year's Honours list is not a long one nor is it particularly noteworthy. In these days of demand for self-government for India, the list is open to the criticism that exclusive of the titles conferred upon chiefs and princes, the higher services have, as usual, monopolised the principal distinctions and honours. The preparation of the Honours list is virtually a family arrangement so far as the higher titles are concerned.......... As we have already remarked, some of the recipients of honours and distinctions are really deserving of them and the present list contains some worthy names. The Honourable C. H. A. Hill earned a high reputation in Bombay. It remains to be seen how far he will be able to maintain it unimpaired or add to it

by his statesmanlike appreciation of the problems of New India. He stands first on the list and is made a K. C. S. I.......... Colonel Hojel, I.M.S., whose name was well known in Bombay as a skilful physician before he retired from India, has received the C. I. E. for his valuable services in the hospital for Indian troops. But Dr. Bhajekar, Honorary Medical officer, Lady Hardinge War Hospital, must rest content with becoming a Rao Saheb only.......... Dr. Harold Mann has received the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal. As a devoted scientific agriculturist and educationist and as a zealous advocate of temperance he is well known in this presidency, but the distinction conferred upon him is a poor recognition of his merits and services. This instance shows how other than administrative services are not sufficiently appreciated and rewarded. There is one name in the list that will attract special attention and that is Her Excellency Lady Willingdon's. She has been appointed a Lady of the Order of the Crown of India and the honour is well bestowed. Since her arrival in Bombay she made her influence felt in a variety of directions even before the outbreak of the war. The scheme for the better training of Indian midwives was inaugurated by her. The Women's Branch of the Bombay Presidency War and Relief Fund owes its signal success to Her Excellency and has helped in relieving the soldiers' sufferings and hardships. .... Lady Willingdon has thrown herself ino the movement with such zeal and energy that its great success has evoked expressions of wonder and gratitude in all parts of the presidency. She has proved a source of inspiration to all who have co-operated with her or under her guidance and the graceful recognition she has received at His Majesty's hands will gladden the hearts of all. Indian ladies who have come in contact with her have admired her simplicity, the cordiality of her manner and the open-mindedness and sympathy she has uniformly exhibited in her relatios with them......... We offer our hearty congratulations to Lady Willingdon on her new decoration and also to the other ladies who have received recognition for their splendid war work." [The *Message* also offers its sincere congratulations to Her Excellency Lady Willingdon for winning such a well merited and distinguished honour.]

Rást Goftár (28), 7th Jan., Eng. cols. ; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

*37. "The Honours List published last week is a tame and insipid document. It shows that the pains devoted in the selection of names is directed to finding out men from the nooks and corners of public life rather than from its broad and open highways. Officials whose merits are known only within the four walls of their office rooms muster strong on the list whereas non-official workers for the public cause are relegated to the very background. The more distinguished among them are conspicuous by their absence save for stray exceptions here and there." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—" The knighthood of the Star of India bestowed on Sir Claude Hill, who was formerly a member of the Executive Council in Bombay is a reward for hard work in this Presidency and as a member of the Imperial Council. The Hononrable Mr. Hill was a very well-known figure in Bombay and there was much regret when his translation to Delhi was announced."]

Bombay Samáchár (55), 4th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 3rd Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 3rd Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 3rd Jan.

38. A large majority of the honours falls to the lot of officials and those who have rendered services in connection with the war. No honour worthy of note has been conferred upon any member of the general public. However, the people of Bombay would rejoice at the honour done to Lady Willingdon. Her Excellency fully deserves the " Crown of India " bestowed upon her. [The paper then proceeds to dwell upon the services rendered by Lady Willingdon in connection with maternity hospitals and war hospitals and takes appreciative note of the honours bestowed upon the Maharajas of Navánagar and Bhávnagar and several recipients of minor honours. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* and the *Jám-e-Jamshed* congratulate Lady Willingdon and others on the honours conferred upon them. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes :—The Honours List is disappointing as usual and the

higher honours fall to the share of Europeans. We are sorry to see that not a single Muhammadan lady has been deemed worthy of the *Kaiser-i-Hind* medal.]

Comments on the proposed grant of administrative and fiscal autonomy to Portuguse India.
Message (6), 5th Jan.

39. "Reports received in Goa from Lisbon state that a decree will be shortly promulgated, conceding adminstrative and fiscal autonomy to Portuguese India. Further it is stated that the present Governor-General for Portuguese India will be granted a further term of office in view of the above circumstances. The Phillippines got Home Rule; Goa is promised it! Why should India lag behind? Are Indians behind the Phillippinos or their Goa neighbours in point of civilisation or fitness for self-government?"

Comments on the Government of India's decision in connection with the inquiry regarding the election of the Honourable Mr. Jinnah.
Message (6), 5th Jan.

40. "It is announced by the Government of India that the report of the officer appointed to enquire into Mr. Jinnah's election to the Imperial Council fully exonerates him from the charges brought against him and that there was no ground for any imputation with regard to the propriety of his conduct. So far so good. But who was responsible for making unfounded charges against Mr. Jinnah, thus putting both Government and Mr. Jinnah to unnecessary trouble and expense? What steps do Government intend to take to bring to book those responsible for the charges? We think the public is entitled to know this and trust Government will condescend to vouchsafe the information."

Comments on the forfeiture of the security deposited by the Jain Vijaya Printing Press of Surat.
Rást Goftár (28), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

***41.** "For the Press Act to be inoperative for a long time would be almost tantamount to administrative stagnation as matters stand at present. As the proof of the pudding is in the eating so the proof of the Press Act is in its working. The latest instance is that of the Jain Vijaya Printing Press, Surat. A security of Rs. 500 was taken from it. This has been now forfeited and the keeper of the press has been ordered to deposit a fresh security of Rs. 1,500. He petitioned the Bombay Government that the forfeiture of the first security might be treated as a warning and fresh security dispensed with. The petition has been rejected. If the press has now to close down, it will mean Rs. 500 to the good so far as the Bombay Government is concerned and another press less. The fewer the printing presses the better for the peace of the country."

Complaint about the entire absence of Parsi holidays on the list of holidays to be observed in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Sind during 1917.
Pársi Sansár (26), 23rd Dec. 1916.

42. *Pársi Sansár* regrets that there should not be a single Parsi holiday on the list of holidays to be observed in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Sind during the current year, although there are five such holidays on the list of Bank holidays sanctioned by Government. It points out that as the result of past agitation on the subject, the Judicial Commissioner was considering the advisability of cutting down some of the other unnecessary holidays and including the Parsi holidays in the list of holidays for his Court, but that he was deterred from doing so by a representation on the subject from the Sind Muhammadan Association. It often happens, the paper continues, that Parsi jurors are asked to attend on Parsi holidays, and it is for their convenience and for that of the Parsi members of the Court establishment, if not for that of the few Parsi lawyers practising in the Judicial Commissioner's Court, that the Parsi holidays should be recognised as Court holidays. The paper hopes that the matter will again receive the attention of the Judicial Commissioner. The paper does not wish that the holidays of other communities should be cancelled for the benefit of the Parsis. It only means that some arrangements should be made to give the Parsis their holidays.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Government Resolution on the report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1915-16.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 1st Jan., Eng. cols.

43. "The Government Resolution on the report of the Director of Public Instruction on the progress of education in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1915-16 is a somewhat melancholy document. Instead of marking the progress made, and inspiring hope of further progress to be made, the report mournfully speaks of arrested progress in all the branches of public instruction. Arrested progress due to the financial situation is the prevailing note of the Resolution; and as that situation is not likely to be relieved while the war lasts, and for some time after, we are afraid the Director of Public Instruction will have to continue to sing in this melancholy tune for some years to come. It is most unfortunate that the hands of Government should be tied by want of funds, at a time when there is a greater awakening of the people all over the country in the matter of education. All the Indian communities are being roused to the necessity and benefits of education, as is eloquently testified to by the number of educational conferences which are meeting everywhere several times in the year. While we admit the undoubted stringency of the financial situation, we are not by any means sure that it is insurmountable. In any event we do not think that this policy of starving education, and postponing needed reforms, can be long pursued without producing very undesirable effects. To what extent educational progress in the Presidency has been checked by lack of funds will appear from several passages occurring in the Resolution.......... It is generally recognized, and the Resolution itself notes it, that one of the most pressing educational needs of the Presidency is the provision of a large number of trained teachers for schools of all grades. But nothing could be done to supply this want. As a result, the development of the schools continues to be retarded by the lack of trained masters, and constant changes in the staff.......... Financial stringency is a very real and very unfortunate fact; but the public welfare demands that education should be the last department of public administration to suffer from it.......... With regard to Muhammadan education, the conclusion arrived at by Government on the question of adopting Urdu Standards, based as it is upon actual experience of two years, appears to us to be quite sound. It is more than doubtful whether, except in those districts where Urdu is the mother tongue of the people, the vernacular of the district is not a more suitable medium for instruction than Urdu; and many enlightened leaders of the community hold the same opinion. [The paper then refers to the complaint in the Resolution that many of those attending the College of Commerce have no real intention of following a business career and remarks:—] We agree that it is not desirable that the only institution for commercial training in the presidency should be overcrowded by people who have no intention of following the commercial career. But before we blame young men in this country for not having clear intentions with regard to their future careers, is it not necessary to see that there is real scope and opportunity for all careers that may be desirable? We should like to know if Government, or the various commerce associations in our city, have taken any steps to ensure a reasonable commercial career to the students who pass out of the College of Commerce. In the absence of scope for all, it is no use blaming young men for not exactly knowing their minds, or wavering in their decisions with regard to their future careers."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 30th Dec. 1916.

44. Commenting upon the Report on Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the year 1915-16, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the Resolution the local Government has published on the said report affords melancholy reading. It is of opinion that the fact that educational progress has come almost to a standstill in all its different branches as a result of the present financial stringency will cause anxiety in a country like India, where the great mass of the people is ignorant. It

maintains that the fact that Local Boards, Municipalities, etc., incurred increased expenditure on education in the Presidency during the year under report points to the growing enthusiasm of the people in the matter of education, adding, at the same time, that such enthusiasm cannot endure long without help from Government. The paper observes that even when questions affecting the stability of the Empire absorb all attention, the Educational is the last department that can bear any retrenchment of expenditure without much harm resulting. It, accordingly, expresses the hope that, while framing their next budget, Government will be kind enough to make liberal provision in the matter of education.

Alleged waste in expenditure on education in India.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 31st Dec. 1916.

45. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* disapproves of the policy adopted by the Educational Departments in India of spending a large portion of the sums allotted to them on indirect objects, such as direction and inspection, to the neglect of directly educational purposes. It points out that while in England the expenditure incurred on the payment of Directors, Inspectors, etc., comes to 1·2 or 1·3 per cent. of the total expenditure on education, here in India the amount spent on such indirect educational purposes forms one-third of such total expenditure. It maintains that what the public really wants is not necessarily that the expenditure on education should continuously increase but that the money available should be spent in the best interests of education. The paper suggests that figures should be given to show whether the number of schools and pupils have increased in proportion to the additional grants made towards education. As a notorious instance of waste of money devoted to educational purposes it quotes the case of the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore which, it declares, has with its huge expenditure on buildings and in payment of the staff proved a colossal failure. In view of the great necessity for research and scientific development created by the war, the paper suggests that the authorities, instead of allowing such a great institution to remain in a decadent condition, should appoint a public commission with a view to bringing about an improvement in it.

The duty of the British Government to make primary education universal in India.

Sind Advocate (8), 21st Dec. 1916.

46. "May the day be hastened by God, when primary education will be universal in India, for the weal of the *masses* intimately depends upon education. The evils they suffer are very very largely due to ignorance. By the bye Mr. Patel showed by figures that the condition as regards literate population of the Bombay Presidency today is exactly the *same* as was that of England at the time of introduction in the latter country of compulsory *universal* education. And yet we do not want universal education at once but only a serious beginning of it. Will Government refuse it? Can any Government claiming to be *ma-bap* of the ryot as does the British Government in India give us a refusal? Will the great and enlightened nation which rules our destinies, the nation which originally instilled and inspired in us the ambition for universal primary education—an ambition which the most advanced Native States have actually put into practice—fall behind its pupils?"

Suggestions for encouragement of education among the Mahrattas.

Message (6), 2nd Jan.

47. A correspondent writes to the *Message*:—"India is an agricultural country whose prosperity depends on the scientific development of agriculture. With a view to this Government have opened an Agriculture College and an Agricultural School. The advantages to be derived from them cannot, however, be availed of by the agricultural population mainly composed of Mahrattas on account of their illiteracy, and backwardness precludes them from taking advantage of the 15 per cent. free studentships sanctioned by Government. It is, therefore, necessary to make special arrangements for their education by making a special allowance to the Patils of villages for the number of students canvassed by them......... The poverty of the Mahrattas is well-known and with the increased rate of school fees the Mahratta students are at a loss to find the means for higher education. Moreover, admissions in many English schools are limited. Under these circumstances it would be a great privilege if Government reserved at least 20 per cent. of the admissions for Mahratta students and also increased the percentage of free studentships. Another important concession would be to appoint teachers from those agricultural classes to which the students generally belong. This would be impossible in the case of Mahrattas inasmuch as entrance into the training college for men requires the candidate who has passed the vernacular final to pass an entrance examination, which he finds a difficult barrier to cross on account of his inability to go through the ordeal. If Government in order to secure a good percentage of teachers dispenses with this test the community will feel greatly obliged for the concession."

Comments on the proceedings of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference.

Akhbar-e-Islám (52), 4th and 5th Jan.

48. Referring to the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference that recently met at Aligarh, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses its belief that the change brought about in the opinion of the President, the Honourable Mr. Shafi, in favour of free and compulsory primary education must have spread great satisfaction among the Muhammadans. It is of opinion that, instead of merely depending upon Government, Muhammadan leaders and Educational Conferences should make joint endeavours to frame a scheme for the introduction of this kind of education among Moslem children in particular municipal districts of the Presidency. The paper suggests the appointment of a mixed Committee of officials and non-officials for the purpose. It also observes that it would be folly to suppose that the Moslems residing in British India would be opposed to free and compulsory primary education when such education has been welcomed by their co-religionists residing in the Baroda State. It concludes with remarking that it will not be surprised if, after the war, the Imperial Government change their present views with regard to this sort of education, provided the Moslems continue to take unflagging interest in this connection. [In its subsequent issue the paper observes that remarks made by the Honourable Mr. Shafi in the course of his presidential address on the subject of Moslem education were specially important from this point of view that the other Indian communities hold the belief that the political progress of India is retarded on account of the backwardness of the Moslems in the matter of education. Sharing this belief it exhorts the Muhammadan leaders to lose no time in taking up the question of education among their community. The paper then proceeds:—There cannot be a single Muhammadan who is not in favour of demanding political rights by means of constitutional agitation. The Muhammadans have more faith in the natural course of things than any other community, and it is for this reason that they are quite opposed to demanding political rights in hot haste or by stirring up excitement or producing disaffection after the manner of the extremist politicians. This attitude of the Muhammadans is misconstrued by other communities who believe that the Muhammadans carry on agitation for obtaining political rights for themselves. There is no doubt that this belief has been based upon wrong grounds.]

RAILWAYS.

Criticism of the Railway policy of the Government of India.

Young India (11), 3rd Jan.

49. In the course of the sixth instalment of an article on "Indian Railway policy" contributed anonymously to *Young India*, the writer observes:—"We have already seen the disastrous financial consequences of the guarantee-system in the building of Indian Railways. It is now universally admitted that no more wasteful or unmoral method of attracting foreign capital for a system of railways for such a poor country as India is could well have been conceived. Not only has there been enormous waste in the actual expenditure, but there has been an accumulation of public indebtedness of the most unconscionable character. The damning fact that emerges from the most superficial study of Indian railway finance is that in the budget of 1916-17, whereas the capital outlay on all State lines is £366,857,27,000, the net working profit after meeting interest charges works out to the magnificent figure of ·68 per cent.......... A later evil apparition is to be seen in what is known as the Indian Railway programme which has persisted from the days of Lord Elgin down to our own. No matter what the financial position of India may have been in any year or in any series of years, provision must be made for this railway programme both by borrowing in London and by diverting whatever surplus revenue might be available. More wagons, more new construction, more equipment of old lines, this has been the ever-growing cry from interested British capitalists and industrial servants? It was a yearly scramble for funds in which the most vital interests of Indian progress were sacrificed to the insatiable demands of foreign exporter or importer.......... Naturally, in the effort to find money for these delectable purposes the needs of domestic reform, the improvement of education and sanitation, and even urgent administrative reforms were deliberately put on consign. It seems vastly pitiful to contrast the elaborate ingenuity which the Indian Finance Department expended in showing how the extension of elementary education on a free or compulsory basis was an impracticable financial proposition, with the unscrupulous daring which they showed in devising ways and means for provisioning the Railway Board. The largest amount that could possibly be raised by way of loan in the London market (about 9 million sterling a year) was definitely earmarked for railway expenditure. Furthermore, by sequestrating 1 crore of the annual surplus funds and over 3 crores of the annual Indian Rupee loan and by raiding the Indian Savings Bank deposits to the tune of 1 crore and laying violent hands on the annual profits from coinage and performing similar feats of brigandage, the Government of India was committed to an annual programme of expenditure of close upon 12 millions.......... It is not necessary to dwell upon the unmorality of utilising the profits on coinage for purposes other than those for which those profits were intended to be utilised, and that is the building up of the Indian gold reserve. Now, it would strike the most superficial student that this Railway programme was a thing of mere shreds and patches. There was nothing secure about it. The London money market might fail at any time to respond to the seductions of the Indian Railway programme makers. There may be no revenue surplus available either and the profits on coinage may either entirely fail or be utterly negligible. We suppose that in the event of any of these untoward things happening, the Indian Finance member will have pressure brought to bear upon him to starve Indian progress along the whole line.......... This brief inquiry in the financial aspect of Indian railway policy that we have interpellated here brings out in strong relief the essential rottenness of the basic principles on which Indian railway system has been built—without regard to the real needs of this poor country, and second, without regard to the eternal verities of sound economics.......... The broad conclusion to which one is forced is that alike in the inception as in the development of Indian railway administration, the true and permanent interests of the Indian population have not always been kept in view."

Comments on the reduction in the number of trains on the various railway lines in India.

Gujaráti Punch (15), 31st Dec. 1916; *Deshi Mitra* (59), 4th Jan.

50. The *Gujaráti Punch* expresses fear that the proposed reduction in railway traffic would lead to a rise in the prices of foodstuffs and increase the discomforts and hardships to which the third class passengers are subjected. It, therefore, suggests that no reduction be made in the number of trains running on the railway lines. It is of opinion that a great deal of economy would be effected if no first and second class carriages are attached to passenger trains and only third class trains are run. [The *Deshi Mitra* expresses fear that the stopping of the goods traffic on the metre guage railways would inflict hardships upon the public by raising prices. It, therefore, suggests that goods traffic should be allowed on metre guage railways at least for a few days in the month.]

MUNICIPALITIES.

Appeal to the Bombay Food Prices Committee to take measures to keep down the abnomal rise in the prices of food-stuffs, etc.

Sánj Vartamán (29), 5th Jan.

51. The *Sánj Vartamán* deplores the steady rise in the prices of commodities such as charcoal, onions, potatoes, ghee, etc., and writes :—The prices are rising by leaps and bounds and it is surprising that the Food Prices Committee is sitting with folded hands. At the outset of the war the Committee rendered some service to the public by fixing prices, but of late the public knows nothing of its activities beyond the regular publication in the *Government Gazette* of the notification about food prices. The rise in the prices of foodstuffs and other articles of everyday use weighs very heavily on the poorer classes. We would, therefore, request the Food Prices Committee to enquire into the inordinate rise in the prices and to see whether any steps can be immediately taken to bring them to a lower level.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 12th January 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY : PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 3 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 20th January 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Appeal to the moderate leaders of the Muhammadan community not to view with indifference the ebullitions of the youthful members of the community . . . 11
Comments on Mr. Curtis' *Round Table* circular letter . . . 8
Comments on the decision of Government to discontinue the *Blue Book Quarterly* . . . 12 & 13
Extract from a private letter on the question as to how far the English in India can trust the Indians . . . 7
Home Rule, however defective, is better than the most perfect form of foreign rule . . . 3
How far is India fit for *swardjya* ? . . . 4
Lord Sydenham's article on 'Danger in India' . . . 9
Mr. Tilak's lectures at Ahmednagar and Belgaum published as a Home Rule handbook . . . 5
The Arms Act should be repealed . . . 6
The Central Division Court of Wards' decision to hand over the Tai Maharaja estates to Jagannath . . . 10
The object of the Home Rule propaganda is to put an end to the political, physical and economic emasculation of the people . . . 2
The white man's claim to racial superiority over other races will induce Asia and Africa to throw off European domination . . . 1
Collector's Durbars: Comments on a recent Collector's Durbar held at Alibág . . . 35

Excise:

Alleged universal corruption in the Bombay Excise Department and how to put an end to it . . . 36
Liquor shops in the town of Sátára should be removed outside . . . 37
His Excellency the Governor of Bombay: Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech on the occasion of the establishment of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India . . . 23—25
Honours' List: Comments on the reported refusal of public honours by some Indians . . . 40
Indian Students in England: Comments on Mr. Mallet's report on the working of the Indian Students' Department in England . . . 30

Indians in the Colonies:

Indians from Portuguese India are treated better than Indians from British India in South Africa . . . 29
The reported intention of Government to continue the indentured labour system for some years more . . . 26—28

B 480—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Judicial matters: Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the appeal in connection with the action taken by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, with regard to accommodation for C. I. D. reporters in the Provincial Conference pendal . . . . 31 & 32
Medical matters: Comments on the objection taken by the Bombay Medical Council to the use of laudatory epithets in acknowledgments of contributions to Dr. Masina's Hospital Fund 42

Moslem League:

Comments on the disaffiliation of the Punjáb — by the All-India — . 39
Comments on the strictures passed on Bombay Muhammadan leaders at the recent session of the Moslem League 38
Plague: Measures necessary to put a stop to the increase of — in Dhulia (West Khándesh) 41
Police: Complaint against the nuisance caused by the increase of motor waggons and other vehicular traffic in certain parts of Bombay . . 43
Public Works Department: The Bombay — Inquiry Committee . . 33 & 34
Sind: Muhammadans and separate representation on Municipalities in — . 44
Viceroy: Comments on the Viceroy's convocation address at the Calcutta University . . . . 21 & 22

War:

Comments on the Allies' reply to President Wilson's Peace Note . 17
Comments on the failure to raise the Brahmin Company . . . 16
Comments on the proposal to raise a double company of educated Punjabis 15
Is Germany really in the hard straits it is believed to be? . . . 20
Reflections on the probable violation by Germany of Swiss neutrality . 18
The Greek menace should be resolutely dealt with by the Allies . . 19
The new British and Indian — Loans 14

EDUCATION—

Complaint about the permission given to Messrs. Macmillan and Company to raise the price of Sindhi school text-books 47
Need of scholarship funds and boarding schools for Muhammadans in the Bombay Presidency and Sind 46
Question of Anglo-Indian and "Eurasian" education in India . . . 45

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay:

Comments on the discussion in the — Municipal Corporation over the subject of free primary education 48
Comments on the proposal to erect a camp for the housing of immigrant beggars in — 49
The Improvement Trust's duty of improving sanitary areas in — . 50

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The white man's claim to racial superiority over other races will induce Asia and Africa to throw off European domination.

Message (6), 13th Jan.

1. "It was the *Spectator* that told us frankly some time back that 'the Whites claim—and have for a century exacted—the position of an aristocracy among races of other colours. The white man, in an Asiatic State, never accepts any other position than that of first, and that by right, not of his creed, not even of his knowledge, but of some inherent and—as it were—divinely granted superiority. He never consents to any lower position, and is in fact unable even to think of himself in any other.' And this is exactly the theme of the *Round Table* Gospel as has been revealed to us by the 'private' letter of Mr. Curtis, which has produced a sensation in this land. In the memorable words of Mr. Mohamed Ali of the Punjáb, 'it is just this preconceived notion of the everlasting difference between East and West that is responsible for three-fourths of the discontent not only in India, but also in Egypt and China: and, if ever the Yellow Peril or the Black Peril becomes a reality, in the sense of a combined effort in Asia and Africa to throw back the tide of European aggression, Europe would have none to thank but the narrowness of its own pseudo-scientific dogmas, just as France had to thank Napoleon as the maker of modern Germany, and the ultimate cause of the catastrophe of Sedan'."

The object of the Home Rule propaganda is to put an end to the political, physical and economic emasculation of the people.

Young India (11), 17th Jan.

2. *Young India* quotes from the *New Statesman* an appreciation of Lala Lajpat Rai's book entitled *Young India*, which ends in the following sentence:—"But put it at its very best, paternal government can only result in what the veteran Dadabhai Naoroji has called 'moral poverty.'" The paper then continues:—"It is against the perpetuation of this 'moral poverty' that we are fighting and have to keep on fighting. The escape from this 'moral poverty,' is the ultimate justification of Home Rule. The sole object is to put an end to the political, physicial and economic emasculation of the people which has been the result of British rule in this country. As the *Nation* says, 'the moral poverty of subject races governed from above cannot be avoided' and therefore the only way out for India is the attainment of Home Rule. Detestation of all change is the invariable mark of officialdom, particularly of bureaucratic officialdom in this country. Add to this the fact which Professor Pratt notes in his introduction to the book, that most of the Englishmen whom he met in India were singularly lacking in curiosity about Indian thought, religion, tradition and ways of viewing things. Here we have the explanation of the attitude of the Anglo-Indian, official and non-official, towards Indian aspirations. But when once a people have attained to self-consciousness, it is impossible to prevent them from aspiring after change and obtaining it......... Lala Lajpat Rai's life has been dedicated to the task of the rapid though peaceful ushering in of such a change in India, and he represents a mighty national movement. His new book is but one of the expressions of this movement.........May we point out to the Indian bureaucracy that their careful exclusion of well-informed publications like 'Young India,' from India will not at all help to arrest the progress of thought or check the love of political freedom which are the unmistakable signs of awakened national life."

Home Rule, however defective, is better than the most perfect form of foreign rule.

Young India (11), 17th Jan.

3. Under the heading "Madras notes" an anonymous correspondent of *Young India* observes:—"The most absorbing subject of the hour here, as it is elsewhere, is political. The whole country is Home Rule struck. Of course, this is as it should be. 'A healthy nation,' says a living writer, remarkable for his insight and courage, 'is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones. But if you break a nation's nationality it will think of nothing else but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until the demand of the Nationalists is granted. It will attend to no bussines, however vital, except the business of unification and liberation.' Everything

else is brushed aside: it is in this sense a 'curse'. But what else can a conquered nation do? The foreign Government may be the best of all Governments in the best of all possible words; it may be clearly demonstrated by sober reasoning to be so. But it is useless: 'national government is for the *satisfaction* of the people. One Antonine emperor, one St. Louis, one Richelieu, may be worth ten democracies in point of what is called good government; but there is no satisfaction for the people in them.' It is like 'depriving a dyspeptic of his dinner and handing it over to a man who can digest it better' it is 'a highly logical proceeding,' but 'not a sensible one.' The above remarks have been made in regard to Ireland by Mr. Bernard Shaw, and they apply with equal force to our country. The bureaucracy may be efficient; English officials as a class may have the interest of our country at heart; but these things can never 'satisfy' the awakened people. We must have our own rule."

How far is India fit for *swarájya*?
Rást Goftár (28), 14th Jan.

4. Disapproving the demand made at the last session of the Indian National Congress to the effect that India should be granted self-government at an early date, the *Rást Goftár* observes that what India wants is autonomy in her local administration and not full *swarájya* accompanied with an exercise of Imperial powers. It maintains that the country neither deserves *swarájya* of the latter type nor is it likely that it would be granted to her in the near future. It supports the resolution of the Congress as originally drafted, asking Government to confer self-government upon India within a generation, and jeers at the demand of the impatient extremists for the grant of *swarájya* at an early date. The paper proceeds thus:—We are very proud that the military prowess displayed by the two or three lakhs of Indian soldiers fighting in France and Egypt has been praised but the mistake should not be committed of making that important event serve as a basis for the demand above referred to. The Indian soldiers were employed in the military service of Government and it is for that reason that they have fought and are fighting for Government. The bravery they have displayed reflects credit upon them, but the few impatient persons from among us who see visions of *swarájya* can lay no claim to the self-sacrifice and bravery shown by these soldiers. The paper then goes on to welcome the grant of self-government to India but it wishes that it should not come within such a short time as the more impatient among the congressmen would want it to come. It remarks that the Government of India by the Indians is not like the juggler's mango tree which grows up before the very sight of the spectators. The paper believes that the people will get everything and Government will give it willingly, but adds that the people will first have to become perfectly fit for it.

Mr. Tilak's lectures at Ahmednagar and Belgaum published as a Home Rule hand-book.
Kesari (95), 16th Jan.

5. With a view to provide the public with a suitable and concise hand-book on the subject of *swarájya* for their daily use and study, the Home Rule League of Poona has published, in pocket size pamphlet form, the three speeches of Mr. Tilak delivered at Ahmednagar and Belgaum. The speeches are reproduced just as they were reported by the Government reporters, the sentences considered objectionable by the High Court being deleted. It bears on its cover Mr. Tilak's portrait and is provided with a blank form inside to be filled by persons desirous of joining the Home Rule League. The price of the hand-book is half an anna.

The Arms Act should be repealed.
Hindusthán (17), 16th Jan.

6. The Arms Act was passed with a view to preserving peace in the country. But every one knows that this object has not been gained. Dacoits are rampant in certain parts of the country and robbers and free-booters who possess arms annoy peaceful citizens with impunity. The Act, moreover, reminds us that we are not free inasmuch as we cannot bear arms without a license, while Europeans, Eurasians and Christian Negroes can freely possess arms. Is this not an insult to Indians? The Act is responsible for reducing Indians to a helpless and pitiable state. If Indians had been allowed to bear arms, a vast army would have been raised from amongst them and the war would not have been prolonged so far. The Arms Act has degraded us in our own sight and in the sight of other nations. We fully endorse all that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said in the Congress while supporting the resolution for the abolition of the Arms Act. We know that more men from the Native States have gone to the front than from British territory and the reason is that the Native States allow their subjects to bear arms freely. The Arms Act has defeated its own ends and it should no longer be allowed to be on the Statute Book.

Extract from a private letter on the question as to how far the English in India can trust the Indians.

Rast Goftar (28), 21st Jan., Eng. cols.

***7.** "We quote the following extract from a private letter we received from a well-known and distinguished English lady at present engaged, like many of her eminent sisters, in charitable work 'somewhere in France':—'By the way have you ever heard of a barrister from the Central Provinces called . . . . I have never met any one so anti-Indian. He has not a good word to say for any native—in fact he had the cheek to tell me that my Hindu friend himself would cut my throat any day and that my Parsi friends would stand and watch the operation with much satisfaction. I think the man must be mad. He seems to think that everybody in India is simply waiting his chance to murder us all. I tried to argue with him; but it was not a bit of good. He said "you are like the foolish people who believed in the native before the mutiny." He seemed quite to have forgotten the thousands who remained loyal and the many who gave their lives to save whitefolk. People like that do endless mischief in India; and I told him so.'"

Comments on Mr. Curtis' *Round Table* circular letter.

Kesari (95), 16th Jan.

8. Referring to Mr. Curtis' circular letter, the *Kesari*, after stigmatising Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris as 'abettors' in the 'plot' being hatched by the Colonies 'to rob Indians of their freedom', goes on to remark:—These officers have been guilty of ingratitude to the Indian people, inasmuch as they have been trying to serve the interests of the Colonials while eating the salt of Indians. They have been conspiring against their own masters, the people of India, and their sin is more heinous than that of the adulterous married woman. Had any native officer similarly gone wrong, he would have been immediately dismissed. Government are very particular in preventing native officers from participating in public movements, and yet it has allowed the above officers to co-operate with a foreign political agitator against the interests of India. Is this just? If Government honestly think that the *Round Table* agitation will do good to India, let them say so openly. In short, we demand a public explanation from Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris of their conduct in this matter or Government themselves should come forward with their own defence. The *Times of India* is indeed not enamoured of the suggestion to allow the Colonies a hand in Indian affairs, but it insists that Mr. Curtis' scheme has not the official backing of the Colonial Governments and so it may be disregarded. We, however, think differently and regard Mr. Curtis as the visible emblem of the desires of the Colonies. What has once happened may happen again. Has not the British Government reaped the full benefit of the adventurous spirit, the daring and the intrigues of the East India Company? European nations can as easily transform an irresponsible movement into a responsible one as they can annex lands discovered by private travellers. Let us wait for a while, and then the Colonies will be seen in their true colours at the forthcoming Imperial War Conference and the real import of the *Round Table* movement will be unmasked.

Lord Sydenham's article on 'The danger in India'.

Chandrodaya (31), 15th Jan.

9. The *Chandrodaya* declares that Lord Sydenham has as it were rained fire on India's political aspirations by his article. It points out that as nations, like men, live upon the fulfilment of their hopes and aspirations, to impede India's political progress by denying her a substantial share in the administration of the country is most ungenerous, and that it is writings and utterances of statesmen like Lord Sydenham and Mr. Curtis that spell danger to India.

The Central Division Court of Ward's decision to hand over the Tai Maharaja estates to Jagannath.

*Mahrdtta (5), 21st Jan; *Message* (6), 20th Jan; *Sandesh* (103), 20th Jan.

10. Referring to the orders passed by the Court of Wards, Central Division, to hand over Shri Jagannath Maharaja's estates to him, the *Mahrdtta* writes:—"The Court of Wards ought to have handed over the estate to the lawful heir soon after the celebrated judgment of the Privy Council was given. The unnecessary delay caused further litigation, and the suit for the execution of the decree is still pending in the District Court of Poona. The Court of Wards had no lawful excuse to postpone this execution of the decree of the highest tribunal and a delay of nearly two years on their part to do the needful is certainly inexplicable. However, they have come to their senses now, and we are glad that the matter is set at rest by their readiness to hand over the estate to the heir, as they have come to know that they can not retain it any longer without a continuous violation of the judgment of the Lordships of the Privy Council." [The *Message* remarks:—"The decision, if true, shows that better and wiser counsels have prevailed with Government. By its decision not to contest the suit, it is only showing good sense and we venture to offer it our hearty congratulations in advance. We trust the same good sense will prevail with the Kolhápur Durbar also and that it will hand over to Mr. Jagannath Pandit, who is now beyond dispute the legal heir and successor of the late Baba Maharaja, the estate which is situate in its territories but which we believe is guaranteed by the British Government. All's well that ends well." The *Sándesh* says that the people of the Maháráshtra will be glad to hear the news that Government have at last decided to hand over Tai Maharaja's property to Jagannath and it cogratulates the latter on the final result of the long-drawn-out dispute.]

Appeal to the moderate leaders of the Muhammadan community not to view with indifference the ebullitions of the youthful members of the community.

Islámic Mail (4), 14th Jan. Eng. edition.

11. The *Islámic Mail* draws a contrast between the sober and unruffled attitude adopted by the Musalmans in the face of a great deal of provocation from the Hindus when the agitation against Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal was at its height, and the unruly and bellicose spirit displayed by those Musalmans who attended the Lucknow session of the Moslem League. It is concerned to note that all moderate leaders of the Muhammadan community such as Nawab Mushtaq Husain, *ex*-Justices Karamat Husain and Hasan Imam, Nawab Ishaq Khan, Justice Abdur Rahim, etc., were absent. It declares that those present were chiefly young men, lawyers, school-masters and students as well as a large number of officials who were "seemingly amused at the puerile pranks" played. It propounds the question if the elders of the community are justified in keeping themselves aloof, and leaving the youthful feelings to run riot. It also asks if Government are well advised in treating this manifestation of a new spirit as unworthy of serious consideration. It deduces a lesson from the history of political agitation in Bengal where constitutional methods quickly degenerated into a revolutionary propaganda, so much so that the very originators of the agitation, like Arabindo Ghose and B. C. Pal, quailed before the campaign of terrorism, a campaign which is still going on. It ascribes the change in the attitude of the Musalmans to the teachings of such men as Mr. Gandhi and Mr. B. C. Pal who maintain that Government are apt to temporise with those who stand up for their rights. The paper concludes the article with the following appeal:—"We earnestly appeal to Government who have taken such a keen and generous interest in the progress of the Musalmans and also to the elders of the community to give this matter their serious thought.......... What we say is that they should not be allowed to fall a prey to those wirepullers who have been the cause of the ruin of the Hindu youths. If our own leaders will get disgusted with their pranks and leave them to themselves they would be beguiled by those who are and have been stalking their prey. The most dangerous thing is that even students have been beguiled into political agitation so that the course of education on which depends the life and death of the community is being retarded. The Moslem University reposes in the

limbo of oblivion and all the educational questions have been pushed behind the political arena. If this state of things is allowed to go on there is serious danger of a retrograde movement taking place of the progress which we and the Government so anxiously desire."

Comments on the decision of Government to discontinue the *Blue Book Quarterly*.
Message (6), 13th Jan.

12. **"The decision of the Local Government to discontinue the publication of the *Blue Book Quarterly* does not certainly reflect much credit on the ability or capacity of those who were entrusted with the task. Member after member of that *Corps d'elite*, the Indian Civil Service, was tried in the post of editor and found wanting.** The publication, however well conceived, failed to appeal to the mass of the average readers for the simple reason that its contents savoured too much of the larger official publications, being often mere unintelligible, undigested cuttings from them.......... Owing to its unreadable character, the average educated class of people would not subscribe to it in any appreciable number. After two years and a half of experience, instead of deciding to discontinue publication, we think it would have been far better if Government had decided to effect a change in the editorial arrangement and enturst it to a board of competent city journalists."

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 21st Jan., Eng. cols.

***13.** "During the two years and a half of its life the *Quarterly* supplied a badly felt want to all taking an interest in administrative problems. It used to supply in a succinct form information regarding the working of the different administrative departments...... ... We cannot but regret this decision of Government. It is a pity indeed that there should not have been an adequate number of subscribers. But Government publications should not be run on business lines, but only with the one consideration of public advantage. It is possible that in these times of hightened paper cost the expenditure has been very heavy. We sincerely trust, however, that when normal times return again, the Bombay Government will be pleased to publish afresh that useful publication."

The new British and Indian War Loans.
Sánj Vartamán (29), 18th and 19th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 20th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 18th Jan.

14. Writing about the British War Loan and the appeal made by the *Times of India* to Indians generally to subscribe to it, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that it has nothing but praise to bestow on the laudable efforts of its contemporary in this matter; and while it appeals to Rajas, Maharajas, the wealthy and the big merchants of all communities to subscribe to the loan to the best of their ability, it thinks it would be a grave mistake to expect that the Indians generally will help the loan, for the bulk of the people are so poor that they cannot afford to purchase even a single note worth £95. The paper then dwells on the great help Indians have given, in spite of their poverty, by contributing to the war funds and in other ways, and concludes as follows:—It is easy to say that Indians should contribute to the British War Loan, but India being a poor country on the whole, none except a few rich men and the Ruling Chiefs can render any help in the matter. However, India has rendered substantial help to Government during this war out of all proportions to her abilities, and accepting the advice of the Secretary of State, she has also refrained from borrowing in the London market. We have no doubt that the rich and well-to-do will readily subscribe to the war loan but it must be admitted that a large majority of the population is so poor to think of doing anything in the matter. [In the subsequent issue the paper welcomes the new war loan proposed to be issued by the Government of India and exhorts the rich and well-to-do to show their loyalty to the country and the Empire by freely subscribing to it. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, while welcoming the new Indian War Loan, expresses fear that the high rate of interest offered for it will adversely affect the other Government loans already in the market. The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes: From the commercial point of view, the British War Loan will prove one of the best investments for Indians. It is true that India stands badly in need of capital for herself at present, but at the same time, it being our bounden duty to help England to the utmost of our power to carry on the war, we hope our millionaires will come forward to take up the Loan.]

Comments on the proposal to raise a double company of educated Punjabis.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 15th Jan.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (75), 14th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 15th Jan.

15. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its appreciation of the step taken by the Punjab Government to invite educated Punjabis to form a double company. It expresses hope that the absence of special facilities will not deter the educated youth of Punjáb from coming forward to prove their loyalty to their King-Emperor on the field of battle. It believes the experiment, if it proves a success, will induce Government to admit educated Indians to the army and to throw open the commissioned ranks to them. It asks the Governments of other provinces to follow the example of the Punjáb Government. [The *Shri Venkateshwar* writes in a somewhat similar strain. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* dwells upon the advisability of raising a regiment from the able bodied and stalwart Muhammadans who are acting as parasites upon society and asks the educated Muhammadans to impress upon their backward brethren the duty they owe to the King and the Empire and to induce them to join the ranks with a view to bringing the Germans to their knees.]

Comments on the failure to raise the Brahmin Company.

Din Mitra (89), 10th Jan.

16. Referring to the regret expressed by the *Kesari* at the total failure to raise the company of Deccani and Konkani Brahmins sanctioned by Government, the *Din Mitra* says that it is glad to find the pretensions to military spirit put forth by the Brahmins so thoroughly exposed. It remarks that so long as Brahmins were debarred from joining the army, they had ground to raise loud complaints against Government for the injustice of the prohibition, and it furnished a fine opportunity for them to abuse the authorities. But now they can no longer do so. It rejects the claims of the Brahmins to the possession of military spirit and declares that they never had it before as a community nor do they possess it now. It goes on:—If the *Kesari* is really sorry at the failure to form the Brahmin Company why have not its conductors delivered even a single speech to urge the Brahmins to join it, while lectures after lectures are being delivered in favour of Home Rule? The fact is that the Brahmins, barring a few exceptions, have never exhibited the courage to meet the enemy's bullets but have only come forward to claim, by thousands, the dainties of the table.

Comments on the Allies' reply to President Wilson's Peace Note.

Sánj Vartamán (29), 13th Jan.

17. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its appreciation of the reply of the Allies to President Wilson's Peace Note and writes:—The Allies have made their intentions very clear in this historic document. A careful perusal of it will show us that the bigger nations have not asked for any new acquisitions of territory for themselves nor have they expressed any desire of crushing the Germans and their trade. Their demands chiefly consist in the making of full reparation to the smaller States and their protection for all time. The Allies ask for an arrangement by which the larger and smaller States will maintain amicable relations with each other. We do not think that Germany will be prepared to accept the terms proposed by the Allies. The Allies in spite of the present circumstances being unfavourable to themselves have resolved upon carrying the war to a successful issue and they have therefore issued the new war loan as a rejoinder to the peace proposals of Germany. It is now a question of life and death to the Allies and if they agree to make peace German militarism will terriorise over them and they will not be allowed to rest in peace. It would, therefore, be suicidal on the part of the Allies to make peace at the present juncture when Germany has not been crushed, nay, rather when it is in a position to terrorise over other nations more freely than at the outbreak of the war. As said by Mr. Lloyd George the path of success is full of difficulties but the Allies are not going to sheath their swords till victory is gained. The civilization of the world and the freedom of nations depend upon the ultimate success of the Allies.

Reflections on the probable violation by Germany of Swiss neutrality.
Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 19th Jan.

18. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* extols the bravery of the Swiss people, including their women and, conjecturing from recent telegrams that Germany might, in the near future, attack France through Switzerland, speculates on the possibility of the latter country sharing the fate of Belgium. It, at the same time, remarks that in the event of Germany thus violating the neutrality of Switzerland, Swiss blood will rise to boiling point and the daggers of the brave Swiss women will pierce the hearts of the Germans through and through. The paper then goes on :—But will the Germans really have the effrontery to carry such a serious attack into an atmosphere so innocent? Will the Swiss mountains, whose natural beauties have been so highly praised by tourists, reverberate with the sounds of cannon? Will the shells of German cannon burst in this manner here, there and everywhere? The German has lifted up his head against the whole world! If we are to have faith in the justice of God we will pray that it may soon be vindicated. May the enemy be soon overwhelmed with defeat! The whole world has now, as it were, become terror-stricken!

The Greek menace should be resolutely dealt with by the Allies.
Dnyán Prakásh (34), 13th Jan.

19. Commenting on the position in Macedonia, the *Dnyán Prakásh* declares that the Allies should no longer delay the final and resolute disposal of Greek menace. It points out that had Germany been in the same position in which the Allies find themselves to-day, the Greek Government would have been nowhere by this time, and remarks that it would be a grave blunder on the part of the Allies to show any more forbearance for King Constantine whose actions have clearly proved that he is only waiting for an opportunity to bring them into trouble.

Is Germany really in the hard straits it is believed to be?
Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 17th Jan., Eng. cols.

20. "It would be almost fatuously silly to suppose that the enemy is unaware of the Allies' intentions and is not quite prepared to meet them to the best of his ability. The past two years and a half have amply demonstrated to the world that the German military machine was and yet is a formidable weapon, and withal very ably weilded by the men to whose care it is consigned. So long as it retains the confidence and support of the German nation—and the nation's confidence in its prowess is still unbounded—no sudden breakdown is to be expected. Even before the German occupation of Roumania, 'the granary of Europe,' the prospects of starving the Hun into surrender were meagre indeed—now for all practical purposes they may be said to be non-existent. The enemy's methods of raising the money required to carry on the war have been—viewed from the strictly moral standpoint of the Allies—of doubtful propriety: yet they have served his turn and the Allies cannot afford to place any reliance on the oft-repeated rumours of a serious falling off in the regular supply, however obtained. The weakest link in his elaborate chain of defences is evidently his rapidly dwindling man-power. Even at a very conservative estimate his losses in men total up to a million and half per year. The number of fresh recruits—mere raw youths of 17 and 18—that he can call to colours every year is approximately 600,000. The German Imperial General Staff are therefore faced with the grave problem of making good this huge annual deficit of close upon a million and, be it remembered, the worst is still to come with the opening of the spring campaign of 1917.......... This—and nothing else—appears to be at the bottom of the frantic but abortive attempts lately made by the Central Powers to foist upon the Allies some sort of an inconclusive peace—a peace that would give the sorely tried Hun some breathing time to replenish his ranks and at the same time leave the door open for him for further acts of aggression at a more opportune moment. This, again, is the distant prospect that has hitherto heartened up the Allied General Staff and has led the British Premier to declare that 'victory may be difficult, but defeat is impossible.'"

Comments on the Viceroy's convocation address at the Calcutta University.

Gujaráti (13), 14th Jan.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 14th Jan.

21. Commenting upon the recent convocation address delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, the *Gujaráti* remarks that the utterance is one resounding with life-giving hopes. Referring to the Viceroy's observation to the effect that the want of sympathy with the human element is the chief factor in difficulties confronting the working of the Universities, the paper declares that not only the Indian Universities but the whole administration of the country is entirely unleavened by the public spirit. It then alludes to the Viceroy's remark that he is in "sympathy with those who are stirred by the causes which catch the imagination and rouse enthusiasms" and avers that the imagination and the enthusiasm of the official classes work quite the wrong way in India. It adds that there is no imagination or enthusiasm for Indians in the hearts of these officers but suspicion and distrust for them prevail everywhere. The paper opines that the Indian Universities cannot very well be termed "young" now and remarks that His Excellency would do well to have an independent inquiry made as to why the Indian Universities have failed to produce the results achieved by the Universities in England. It then proceeds thus:—Public aspirations are not allowed to find their reflex in Indian university life but, on the contrary, whenever lofty desires seem to influence the working of the Universities in this country those desires are stifled. In English Universities students can make a close and enthusiastic study of the lives and writings of Burke, Cromwell, Washington and Mazzini, of the history of the American struggle for independence and of the biographies of their own great men; but if an Indian were to make a close and penetrating study of the lives of Pratap, Akbar, Shivaji, Ranjitsinh, Hyder and others, he would be viewed with an eye of suspicion. If the Viceroy wishes to nurture the Indian universities in a really exalted atmosphere such arrangements should be made as would enable them to manage their affairs on independent lines. [The paper then goes on to refer to the Viceroy's remarks about the sacred character of the calling of a teacher and, dwelling upon the great importance attached to that avocation in Hindu religious scriptures and upon the system in vogue in the past in India, for the maintenance by the laity of teachers and professors, inquires what teacher's name has figured in the list of Government honours to to show that his work was appreciated. It further inquires in what shape the worth of learned Indians like Professor Gajjar and Messrs. Roy, Jagdish Chandra Bose and Jadunath Sircar has received recognition from Government. The paper winds up with suggesting the introduction of a policy of encouraging competent Indians by conferring high posts upon them instead of requisitioning the services of English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish and Colonial professors and Inspectors of Schools of inferior abilities. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes in terms of high appreciation about Lord Chelmsford's address and wishes that Lord Curzon, who converted Indian Universities into so many Government departments, had been present among the audience. It remarks that the entire student world will be thankful to His Excellency for holding up before it lofty ideals about the formation of character and the duties of citizenship. The paper then dwells, in a tone of dissatisfaction, on the absence of opportunities for the Indian students to fulfil their high aspirations and, contrasting their condition with that of their English brethren who have careers open to them in the Navy, Army, Parliament and various other channels of public activity, wishes that while introducing the post-war reforms, provision might be made for furnishing Indian students with suitable opportunities for realising the high ideals held up to them by the Viceroy in his address.]

Gujaráti (13), 14th Jan.

22. The history of University Commissions in India is sad reading and the people of India naturally look with apprehension on the Commision that is to be appointed for the Calcutta University. The Universities of Bombay and Madras are not quite differently circumstanced from the Calcutta University and as the findings of this Commission are likely to affect other Universities besides the one for which it is to be appointed, great care will have to be taken in appointing the members of the proposed Commission. The persons appointed on the Com-

mission should be conversant with Indian conditions; otherwise they will suggest something new and fantastical. We would suggest that half the number of members on the Commission should be Indians so that Western methods might be suitably adapted to meet our requirements. We do not think that the Calcutta University ever asked for a Commission. Why then is the Commission appointed? Is the Government of India dissatisfied with the University? His Excellency emphatically declares that questions connected with education should be considered from the view-point of education only. What then is the meaning of his pronouncement to the effect that University life is connected with the social, political and economic aspects of the country? We can hope for no good results from the Commission if it consists of those who have had a hand in drafting the Patna University Bill.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech on the occasion of the establishment of the Society for the Protection of Children in Western India.

Gujaráti (13), 21st Jan., Eng. cols.

***23.** In the course of its comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the meeting held for the purpose of establishing a society for the protection of children in Western India the *Gujaráti* remarks:—"His Excellency's remarks on the necessity and importance of uplifting and ameliorating the social condition of the masses were as sympathetic as they were sound. But the little political sermon that finds a place in Lord Willingdon's speech was perhaps a little out of place. His Excellency seems to imagine that Indian politicians are not sensible of the supreme importance of bettering the lot of the poor and the fallen and distressed. Let us, however, note one or two facts nearer home and ask what they mean. The numerous and indignant complaints that have been made against the way the affairs of the Improvement Trust have been carried to the neglect of the primary purpose of improving the disgraceful slums in Bombay for which the Trust was avowedly founded, show that the blame does not lie with the people alone. The problem of social improvement has important ecomomic, hygienic and educational aspects. The Indian politicians have over and over again made very reasonable and earnest proposals for the extension of primary education. If they have not been listened to and India lags behind all countries in the world under civilised rule in the matter of education, they are not to blame and do not need be told that they should ask for reasonable political changes, when they want to be placed in a situation in which they can effectively help themselves. The incident related by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar is an illuminating and most suggestive commentary upon the little political homily read by His Excellency to the Indian political reformers, of course with the best of intentions and motives. His Excellency, like most of his specially well-circumstanced and self-admiring countrymen in India, can never fully realise where the shoe pinches. But there lies the whole rub. We will, however, let His Excellency's well-meaning political sermon alone in presence of the beneficent movement of which His Excellency and Lady Willingdon have become generous patrons."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 19th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 17th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 18th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 20th Jan.

24. Referring to the proceedings of the public meeting of Bombay citizens held on the 16th instant for the purpose of establishing a Society for the Protection of Children in Western India, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the sympathy expressed by His Excellency Lord Willingdon for the working classes shows the depth of the affection and regard he cherishes for them. It hopes that the advice given by His Excellency to the employers of labour to pay more satisfactory wages to their workmen, to provide their children with adequate educational facilities and to provide sanitary dwellings for them will receive their careful attention. It maintains that these employers of labour and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and similar other societies should come forward to help this new Society for the Protection of Children pecuniarily and in other ways. The paper believes that the Society has started under happy auspices and hopes that since it has received the approval of Their Excellencies, Lord and Lady

Willingdon, it will not fail to secure Government support in due proportions. [The *Sánj Vartamán* fully endorses the view expressed by Lord Willingdon to the effect that the working classes in Bombay live in conditions of great squalor and wretchedness and are nearly always in debt and consequently inquires, whether, under these circumstances, there was greater necessity for improving these people's abodes or for widening the Parel Road at an expense of eighty lakhs of rupees. The paper is also doubtful whether the suggestions made by the Governor to the millowners to bring about an improvement in the condition of their employés will produce the desired effect upon them. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the love His Excellency has for children and the experience he has gained of the conditions in which the children of the working classes are brought up guarantee the success of the Society that has been newly brought into being. While supporting the measures the Governor has suggested for the amelioration of the condition of the labouring classes, *viz.*, improvement in their educational facilities and in the sanitary conditions of their dwellings, the paper suggests that Government should co-operate with the public in bringing about the desired results. According to it the people sincerely wish that Government may, by means of legislation, help them in securing for the general public free and compulsory primary education and good and healthy abodes for the working people. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* is surprised that several of the public leaders in India have not spared for the improvement of the social condition of the people, even a very small fraction of the solicitude they have evinced for the political progress of this country. It remarks that there is a greater necessity for improving the condition of the poor and protecting their children from evil influences than for clamouring for Home Rule. They are the true patriots, it adds, who realise this necessity.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 21st Jan., Eng. cols.

*25. "It is gratifying to find the culture and enlightenment of this great city waking up in the cause of its children. .... We confess we are at a loss to understand why work of this kind should be left to private enterprise and charitable donors. It is, we are of opinion, the primary concern of the State to protect its children......... It is the duty of Government not only to pass remedial measures but to initiate, organise and carry through practical remedies. Speaking as His Excellency did before a gathering of leading ladies and gentlemen, Lord Willingdon may well have spared himself the trouble of uttering such platitudes as that political progress is of no pratical value unless accompanied by 'a determined effort to improve the social condition of our people'. The bettering of the social condition of our workers is certainly a part of the hopes and aspirations of Indians. We would appeal to the Executive Committee to press for all necessary legislation during the *régimé* of Lord Willingdon and thus afford His Excellency an opportunity of fulfilling his promise that Government 'will do all that it is able by passing remedial measures.'"

The reported intention of Government to continue the indentured labour system for some years more.

Message (6), 18th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásk* (34), 18th Jan.

26. "We wish Mr. C. F. Andrew's letter to the Press, calling attention to the news that the indentured system is to be continued for at least five years more in the Fiji Islands, could prove an eye-opener to those who fondly believed that the despatch of the Government of India dated the 15th October 1915 on the subject of indentured labour in the Colonies sounded the death-knell of the indentured system. That despatch is satisfactory so far as it goes, but unless Indians make it clear to the authorities that they are not going to tolerate the hateful system much longer, the system would continue for an indefinite period. The despatches of the Government of India and even Resolutions passed by the House of Commons have often come to be practically ignored, if the ignoring is felt to be convenient...... ... Those people, then, who want to see reforms introduced should take a lesson from such facts and instead of unduly relying on despatches expressing pious whises, strive to make the withholding of the proposed reforms more in-

expedient than the granting of them. The scandals connected with indentured labour in Fiji and other Colonies are too well-known by this time to need recital. The system cannot be mended; it has to be ended once and for all." [The *Dnyan Prakash* says:—If the Secretary of State has himself given such a pledge to the Fiji Government, it amounts to a serious insult to the people of India and to the Indian Government and shows the recklessness and partiality on the part of the authorities in England. On the other hand, if the decision has been arrived at with the consent of the Government of India, it must be said that in according their consent that Government have acted in utter disregard of the interests of Indians and that in keeping the matter confidential their conduct has been unpardonable. A serious injustice has apparently been done to India and our people must protest, with all the strength they possess, against this policy. India is in no way bound to supply coolies to the colonies and it would be utterly improper on the part of our Government to keep Indians under slavery simply to avoid inconvenience to the Colonials. It is but natural that Indians should feel deeply insulted at the way in which the Imperial authorities have acted in this matter.]

* *Mahrátta* (5), 21st Jan.; *Sandesh* (103), 20th Jan.

27. "Do the interests of the Colonies weigh more with our British authorities than the interests and honour of the Indian men and women? Has England become blind to all sense of honour and respect for womanhood? Can she not protect the chastity of Indian women which under indenture, is, in some cases, openly and admittedly violated? The calamitous consequences that arise from this are as much degrading to the honour of England as that of India. The world will know that for the sake of a few colonists England deliberately and knowingly connives at the violation of women—a fact for which this very England has unsheathed her sword. The womanhood of the Allied countries is partly protected by the swords of Indian heroes and India feels proud for it. Would then England tolerate the fact that the sisters of the same Indian heroes should be 'allowed by pecuniary temptations and *official* pressure to be at the free disposition of their fellow recruits and even of the subordinate managing staff' in her own colonies? If the order has been issued, as is reported from Fiji, the sooner it is revoked the better, and we hope that England will stand by us in this urgent demand, no matter what pecuniary losses accrue to the colonists. India will never allow the chastity of her women to be scandalously bartered away or openly violated." [The *Sandesh* remarks:—Indians may be united in their condemnation of the indentured coolie system, but why should Mr. Chamberlain care for their united opinion? A point for particular notice in this matter is that the Fiji Islands are not like Canada or South Africa whose displeasure the British Government should have to take into serious account. But why should Mr. Bonar Law, the Colonial Secretary, be afraid of India? Even the experience of the war does not seem to have brought about any change in the innate sentiments of these two Conservative leaders.]

Hindusthán (17), 18th Jan.

28. We are sorry to see that the expectations we were led to form by the despatch of Lord Hardinge in the matter of indentured labour have not been realised. We can no longer bear to see the oppression perpetrated on the Indian indentured labourers. We are therefore surprised that Government have not taken any steps in the direction of abolishing indentured labour for the Colonies. We are deeply indebted to Lord Hardinge for his exertions in this matter, but it is a matter for no small regret that the Government in England has given no support to the measures advocated by him. The Government of India could of their own accord have set aside the legislation permitting indentured labour without caring for the opinion of the Colonies. But we are now informed that the Secretary of State has given an assurance to the planters in Fiji that no steps for the abolition of indentured labour would be taken for five years more. We are at a loss to understand the motive that prompted this step. It would be no exaggeration to say that in giving the assurance the Secretary of State has failed in his duty towards India. We hope the mistake will soon be rectified and that indentured labour to the Colonies will be prohibited at an early date

Indians from Portuguese India are treated better than Indians from British India in South Africa.

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 18th Jan.

29. Mr. Polak states that Mombasa and Zanzibar are differentiating between Indians coming from British India and those coming from Portuguese India, and are according better treatment to the latter. What does this mean? Indians, will, of course, draw their own conclusions. It is often asserted that the war has caused a development of brotherly feeling between the inhabitants of the different parts of the Empire and that a radical change has taken place in the Colonial sentiment with regard to Indians. But as a matter of fact the Colonial Governments do not appear to have changed much their angle of vision. The conviction is gaining ground among Indians that all the talk about unification of the British Empire is utterly meaningless and that it would be vain to look for any amelioration in the condition of Indians in the Colonies even after the war.

Comments on Mr. Mallet's report on the working of the Indian Students' Department in England.

Hindusthán (17), 13th Jan.; *Praja Bandhu* (27), 14th Jan.

30. Commenting upon Mr. Mallet's report on the working of the Indian Students' Department in England, the *Hindusthán* writes:—The report makes no reference to the allegations brought against the Indian Students' Department in the Press and elsewhere and it may, therefore, be presumed that they are true and well founded. On careful investigation it will be found that the Department, instead of helping Indian students, throws obstacles in their way. A perusal of the report will convince any one that it gives no information whatever about the working of the Department. Instead of discussing the defects and the means of removing them Mr. Mallet inflicts upon us a lecture fit for an audience of school-children. India has to spend six thousand pounds every year for maintaining this Department which tends to do a lot of harm to Indian students. We would, therefore, suggest that the Department should be abolished and the money utilised for educational purposes. [The *Praja Bandhu* cannot believe that the causes assigned by Mr. Mallet for the unpopularity of the Indian students in England, *viz.*, the failure on the part of some of them to pay back loans and the thoughtless marriages they contract and the immoral lives they lead fully account for their hardships. Such causes might influence a certain section of the English people, but could have no weight with the heads of great educational institutions, who pass regulations prohibiting the entry of Indian students. The fact that, in spite of earnest endeavours, the Department has not been able to effect an appreciable improvement in the lot of the Indian students proves that the main cause at work must be aversion felt by the English people for Indian students.]

Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the appeal in connection with the action taken by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, with regard to accommodation for C. I. D. reporters in the Provincial Conference pendal.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 21st Jan., Eng. cols.

*31. "The force of one more concrete instance of the danger that lies in investing executive officers with judicial powers had been added to the legitimate demand for the separation of the Executive from the Judiciary by the indiscreet and insulting attitude adopted towards the Provincial Conference at Ahmedabad. Now the High Court has declared its helplessness to interfere with the order of the Magistrate, which, in the words of Sir Stanley Batchelor, is 'in no sense an order made by an inferior Court.' We feel sure that if the learned Judges had examined the order on its merits, they could not have hesitated to set it aside, flagrantly unjust as it was. It happens even under British rule, with all its rich traditions of justice and fairness, that the whim of one man has the force of Imperial edicts against which there can be no appeal. This is a state of affairs not creditable to the British name and no time should be lost in removing the existing defects in the law which render the High Courts helpless in such cases. The system of administration and the constitution of the services surely need overhauling. The Congress has been consistently clamouring for the separation since its inception. Why should the bureaucracy fight shy of a bold solution in the matter?"

32. "In English constitutional history we read that the King can do no wrong. The executive officers in India, too, seem to be considered in some quarters as incapable of doing any wrong. The Press Act empowers them to take certain steps which cannot be questioned in any court of law. Their authority in that respect is above the law. The orders which the Collector gives under section 37 clause (*m*) of the Bombay District Police Act IV of 1890 seems also to be above law, for Justice Batchelor yesterday decided that the action of the District Magistrate of Ahmedabad in forcing the Reception Committee of the 16th Bombay Provincial Conference to admit officers of the C. I. D. and give them the suitable places they desired, was an 'executive order' and as such he had nothing to do with it. Justice Batchelor might be right in thinking that the order in question was made by the District Magistrate as Head of the Police and *not* in his judicial capacity. We understand the distinction, but what we do not understand is a state of affairs in which executive orders seem to be above the law. Supposing a District Magistrate acts illegally as the Head of the Police, is he to be considered like the King whom he in theory represents in his executive capacity as 'doing no wrong.' In this age, we live and learn indeed." [The paper again remarks in a subsequent issue :—" In view of the growing present-day tendency of the executive to interfere too much with the liberties of the people, a discussion of the principal point raised in the application, namely, the right of the executive to interfere with the right of public meetings, would have been highly welcome. Because of a trifling technicality, the High Court declines to interfere and the parties affected go the way they came, none the better or the wiser. It would indeed be preposterous to think that the law ever contemplated that the parties who were aggrieved by executive action should go without relief.......... If every order which emanates from the executive is thus to be placed beyond the reach of even the High Court, under a legal fiction, it would simply mean the end of the people's liberties. This is a matter which should engage the serious notice of our Legislative Councils and if the law is so defective as not to afford sufficient protection to the public, it should forthwith be mended or ended. The possession of arbitrary powers may be good in certain circumstances; but flagrant abuse of it, whether it be the result of ignorance or over-zeal, is intolerable in any state which pretends in any degree to be civilised." The *Mahrátta* remarks :—" The question was not discussed on its merits and therefore the applicants have no other remedy except asking a question in the Legislative Council which, we hope, they will do through some member of that body. The section empowers the Magistrate to make arrangements for an orderly and decent conduct of the proceedings of a public meeting, but heaven only knows how making accommodation for the C. I. D. reporters on the seats nearest to the dais comes into that clause.......... The High Court's ruling clearly evades the main issue, but it must be settled one way or the other."]

Message (6), 19th and 20th Jan.; **Mahrátta* (5), 21st Jan.

33. The evidence recorded so far before the Public Works Department Reorganisation Committee does not go to prove that any good will result from entrusting the work now done by the Department to private agency. If the work is given on contract there is a great possibility of European firms being benefited thereby and there will be no scope for Indians to rise to high posts, which are open to them now in the Public Works Department as Government will fill up the high posts necessary in connection with the preparation of plans and estimates, etc., by direct recruitment from England. It is rumoured that the increasing number of Indians in the higher branch of the Public Works Department has excited envy in certain quarters and has given rise to this Committee. The men educated in the Engineering Colleges in this country are found to be sadly deficient in practical knowledge and Government would do well to make some arrangement by which the railways and the Public Works Department would be able to give the

The Bombay Public Works Department Inquiry Committee.

Gujaráti (13), 14th Jan.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 14th Jan.

necessary training to young inexperienced Indian engineers. Certificates should be granted to such men and they should be allowed to undertake work on behalf of local bodies. Some arrangement should also be made for the instruction and training of *maistris* and overseers so that they may be able to do their work efficiently. The distinction between the Provincial and Imperial branches in the Public Works Department should be done away with and every encouragement should be given to engineers trained in India. All efforts should be made to make the training given in Indian Engineering Colleges as efficient as possible by removing all defects in it. We do not think it necessary that high-salaried Europeans should be brought over to this country as Engineers, for it has been found that many of the residential buildings constructed in Bombay on the plans made by European engineers are quite unsuited for the requirements of Indian people. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* asks Government to see that the class of petty contractors, with all their technical skill, is not killed out through the system of giving out petty contracts being abolished and the system of giving out contracts degenerating into a means for patronising the firms of "white-skinned" engineers.]

Message (6), 17th Jan.

34. "The best way of promoting decentralisation of authority in matters of public works is to give the local bodies freer and fuller powers and release them from unnecessary and harassing restrictions. Some kind of control may be retained for the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner over these local bodies; but the imposition of an intermediary between them and the local bodies is thoroughly intolerable. Then, again, experience has shown that a whole division is too large a charge for a single man, however strong and capable he may be, and an arrangement of the kind cannot be continued without perpetuating, perhaps in a more augmented form, some of the worst evils the Public Works Department system gives rise to. If the resources of local bodies do not permit the employment of a competent Engineer by each, some such arrangement can be devised under which it should be possible to give for each district a qualified Engineer, for whose appointment and dismissal the local bodies concerned will be responsible in the first instance. In these and other directions if the scheme is re-formed and worked into practice, it should go far to relieve the Public Works Department of much of its miscellaneous work and leave it free to devote sufficient attention to the provincial works."

Comments on a recent Collector's Durbar at Alibág.

Kesari (95), 16th Jan.

35. A gentleman who attended the Collector's Durbar recently held at Alibág writes as follows to the *Kesari*:—Out of 125 gentlemen invited about 60 were present. It is to be noted that the honour of invitation is reserved only for persons who are connected with the municipalities or the Local Boards and who play second fiddle to officers in movements such as that of the War Relief Fund. Really speaking public leaders like the Presidents and Secretaries of the District Congress Committee and the Kolába Zilla Sabha should have been invited to the Durbar, but the Collector does not seem to have realised the importance of doing so. The replies given to Durbaris were of the stereotyped character and were all read out within four or five minutes. The Collector then made a speech which was a mixture of English and Marathi. He observed that people being ignorant of the object of these Durbars asked all sorts of irrelevent questions and added that they were not to discuss political questions, but only to facilitate mutual intercourse between the officials and the people. The Durbar, he said, would only take up for discussion such subjects as concerned the district as a whole and not those that concerned a particular village or a taluka. The members present were surprised to hear such an exposition of the object of the Durbar. The President of the Panvel Municipality who wanted to say something about the Collector's explanation was stopped by the Collector. I think that if the future Durbars are to be like the one described above, it would not be worth while to be present at them at the sacrifice of our valuable time and money.

Alleged universal corruption in the Bombay Excise Department and how to put an end to it.

Rást Goftár (28), 21st Jan., Eng. cols.

***36.** In the course of a lengthy article, the *Rást Goftár* dwells on the universal corruption prevailing in the Bombay Excise Department and remarks:—"Small wonder it is that as far back as 1899, one of the ablest of Collectors remarked to his Chief to the effect that almost every Inspector was found to be in the pay of the shop-keeper and hand in glove with the smuggler, whilst both opposed the people. Such being the record of the past, what shall we say about the irregularities of the present? The question naturally occurs—How is it that no steps were taken in the past to cope with the growing evil? And the explanation is that the greater portion of the personnel of the last few years ago lacked the necessary aptitude for such work; the requisite qualification being a combination of the strength and sternness of the judicial officer on the one hand, and the detecting genius of an officer of the C. I. D. on the other. It must be remembered that the centralisation of all powers—disciplinary and otherwise—in the Commissioner of Excise debarred the Collectors of Districts from taking a deep and real interest in all matters appertaining to their charge.......... A hundred reasons of justice and polity clamour for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry with the Commissioner of Excise at its head and two members of the I. C. S. to assist him. Such a Commission is, in truth, a matter of imperative necessity. And failing that, the next best alternative would be the securing of a masterful, tried, and trustworthy Special Officer whose will and energy may as with a wand sweep clean every source and channel of abuse. The protecting hand of such an official would save the shop-keeper himself who came forward to aid the Government's cause from an otherwise inevitable persecution; and would enable others among the more or less intimidated to follow in his wake.......... For some time to come, it would seem absolutely necessary that there should be, in the interests of the public, a Personal Assistant to the Commissioner drawn from the ranks of the I. C. S. That service has a reputation for integrity so wide-spread and long-established that the mere name of such an official would suffice to allay public fears and remove all discontent. Again, the powers of District Collectors should be enlarged in matters of excise.......... As regards Assistant Collectors, it is highly desirable that they should not be drawn save in exceptional cases from the ranks of the Inspectorial staff.......... And with respect to the lower branches of the Department, three improvements may be rightly effected. First, the post of Sub-Inspector should be abolished for good. The reasons are obvious; for narrowness in the living wage spells a thriving on corruption and immorality. And the infection spreads. It follows as a sequence, in the second place, that no Excise appointment should fall under Rs. 100 per mensem. Thirdly, all Inspectors who are known to be dishonest should—their long service notwithstanding—be compelled to retire on pensions fixable by the Commissioner.......... A Training School, where young men of means and social standing could be chosen and disciplined for Excise work, is a necessity of the times. Again, all those irksome rules and regulations that at present obtain tend by their multiplicity to bewilder and annoy the shop-keeper folk. Small wonder it is that evasion becomes a habit; and corruption an irresistible craving of the soul!......... Remove the petty bewilderments; define, inculcate and enforce the clean and simple law; and you will as in a trice remove the sore burthens on the rustic mind, enlarge its freedom and its perspective of honour and responsibility."

Liquor shops in the town of Sátára should be removed outside.

Prakásh (102), 17th Jan.

37. The *Prakásh* expresses satisfaction at the sympathy shown by the Collector of Sátára for the temperance movement and hopes that some practical steps will be taken by him during the next official year against the spread of drink in the district. It then goes on:—We would like to see the liquor shops in the town of Sátára shifted out of it. The shop near the mutton market at least should be removed outside the town, if it cannot be closed altogether. The suggestions we have made during the last year for the removal of this shop have apparently fallen on deaf ears. The keeper of the shop may have spent a good deal of money in constructing the building for the shop, but that is no argument for continuing it there. We understand that the residents of the locality have also protested against the continuance of the shop. We have made the above suggestion now as the time for disposing of the licenses for country liquor shops is fast approaching, and hope that the Collector would take it into consideration.

Comments on the strictures passed on Bombay Muhammadan leaders at the recent session of the Moslem League.

Islámic Mail (121), Urdu Edition, 15th Jan., and (4) Eng. Edition, 14th Jan.

38. The *Islámic Mail* refers to the strictures passed by Mr. Nabiullah and others at the recent session of the Moslem League on the conduct of those Muhammadans who were instrumental in making the Bombay session of 1915 abortive. It expresses its surprise at the ease and thoroughness with which concessions were wrung out of the Hindus' grasp, and it ascribes the phenomenon to the very opposition offered by the Musalmans of Bombay last year which let the Hindus clearly understand that the pro-Congress Muhammadans could not carry the day till the general body of the Muhammadans were satisfied. It declares that the criticism passed on the dress of some anglicised persons was fruitful in inducing them to put on Turkish caps which they had not done before in their lives. It then speculates as to what course of action the moderates among the Musalmans should adopt. It holds that the moderates have withdrawn themselves from all political activities on one side, while Government is watching the developments of the young politicians' propaganda as a disinterested spectator on the other; and it fears lest the association of some Muhammadan young men with those who sowed the seed of anarchism in past years might induce them to commit some act which might disgrace the whole community. [The paper in its English edition takes exception to the vituperative epithets, such as Hooligans, *Budmashes*, etc., showered by Messrs. Nabiullah and Jinnah on the Bombay Muhammadans who opposed the holding of the session of the League in 1915. It further observes that every one was amused to see Messrs. Jinnah, Sherif Devji and Mazharul Haque wearing Fezes. Besides inducing the Hindus (with the exception of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hindu Sabha, who, the paper declares, are still opposed to the concessions made to the Muhammadans) to agree to terms which they considered preposterous 'the hooligans of Bombay', maintains the paper, converted the abovenamed persons into Mahammadans.]

Comments on the disaffiliation of the Punjab Moslem League by the All-India Moslem League.

Muslim Herald (123), 19th Jan.

39. *Apropos* of the disaffiliation of the old Punjab Branch of the Moslem League, the *Muslim Herald* is surprised to observe that the parent association did not act in harmony with all its affiliated branches. It doubts if the Moslem League can now claim to represent the Musalmans of all parts of India, and it is afraid lest the measure referred to should endanger its very existence. It considers it unnecessary to dilate on the harm which might accrue to the community by a tussle between the two Leagues, for the disaffiliated body, so notes the paper, is determined to carry on its mission on an independent basis.

Comments on the reported refusal of public honours by some Indians.

Mahrátta (5), 21st Jan.

***40.** "There was a time when glittering titles were assiduously sought after and some gentlemen ignominously licked the dust of the feet of the authorities for them. That time has gone and we now see men doing their work in the country's cause faithfully, loyally and so disinterestedly that when titles shower upon them unsought they decline them coolly and remain content with the pious conviction of having done their duty to their heart's content. The late Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Malabari were men of this type and their example has been followed by the Honourable Pandit Jagat Narayan who declined a Raibahadurship, by Shet Narottam Morarji, who last year declined a Knighthood, and by the celebrated Indian surgeon of Bombay, Dr. Bhajekar, F.R.C.S.,

who refused a Rao Bahadurship this year. His name was already gazetted in the list and he certainly deserved it. He is loyally doing yeoman's service in one of the War Hospitals in Bombay and an offer of a Rao Bahadurship shows simply the poverty of the minds of the authorities. This apart, Dr. Bhajekar has chosen to remain without it and has shown that his mind is not so poor as that of some title-hunters who work for Government not because they are more loyal, but because they want a reward for the show of their loyalty."

Measures necessary to check the increase of plague in Dhulia (West Khándesh).

Khándesh Vaibhav (96), 15th Jan.

41. The number of plague deaths in Dhulia is fast increasing day by day owing to neglect in the adoption of prompt and drastic measures at the proper time. No steps having been taken for the immediate evacuation of the plague affected areas of the town, infection has spread to the health camps outside and it is quite essential that the Plague Committee should immediately take steps to pull down not only every affected hut but those on each side of it, to stop further mischief. We would also suggest that the water-supply of the town should be cut off to compel the people still remaining to evacuate it as a large number of rats are still dying in the town. We make these suggestions as there is danger of plague still further increasing in the town. [Elsewhere the paper writes :—The majority of the plague deaths in Dhulia takes place among Muhammadans, who bury their dead in their cemetery just by the side of the Malegaon Road quite close to the town. This practice of burying plague infected corpses by the side of a public road, is very harmful to the health of the town. We would suggest that the Municipality should take immediate steps to close the burial ground and to assign some other plot to the community for the burial of its dead. It is hoped that the Collector also will pay attention to this matter.]

Comments on the objection taken by the Bombay Medical Council to the use of laudatory epithets in acknowledgments of contributions to Dr. Masina's Hospital Fund.

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 17th Jan.

42. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* makes adverse comments upon the attitude of the Bombay Medical Council in the matter of the laudatory epithets employed in acknowledgments, appearing in that paper, of the sums of money contributed by the public from time to time towards the fund maintained for the upkeep of the hospital of which Dr. H. M. Masina is the managing trustee. It entirely disagrees with the view expressed by the the Council that the publishing of such acknowledgments gives undue advertisement to Dr. Masina and thereby constitutes a breach of professional etiquette. The paper remarks that if the Bombay Medical Council, which poses as the guardian of the purity of the profession, believes that Dr. Masina, who is the first Indian to hold the diploma of F. R. C. S. (England), and is a celebrated and an established practitioner of 30 years' standing, seeks to obtain cheap notoriety by means of such acknowledgments, it must have a very low idea about the morality of the whole body of medical practitioners. It observes that if grateful patients prefix the epithets "good," "capable," "sympathetic," "celebrated," etc., to the name of Dr. Masina while making contributions to the abovementioned fund the latter cannot help it, and, remarking that India is not Europe, believes that if the Bombay Medical Council were to insist upon the observance of such strict rules of professional etiquette in the matter of the management of charitable medical institutions like Dr. Masina's hospital, which is maintained at a great personal sacrifice, such interference would operate as a great obstacle in the way of the work of relieving the physical sufferings of the poor in this country. The paper inquires if the Bombay Medical Council will go the length of removing the name of Dr. Masina from the medical register or asking him to close his hospital in case the public persist in making its contributions in the manner objected to. The paper points out that the practice of using such laudatory epithets has been in vogue for the last 14 years and inquires why the Medical Council have waken up all of a sudden now to find fault with it.

Complaint against the nuisance caused by the increase of motor waggon and other vehicular traffic in certain parts of Bombay.

Gujarati (13), 21st Jan., Eng. cols.

43. Referring to the heavy increase in the motor waggon and other vehicular traffic in certain streets of Bombay, the *Gujarati* writes:—"The situation is becoming grave already with the addition of motor waggons and lorries to the vehicular traffic. We earnestly invite the attention of the municipal and police authorities to the enormity of the evils that already exist and of those which are imminent. It is not merely the personal comfort of the people that is at stake, but even their personal safety and health and that of their women and children. It is a crying shame that in a progressive city like Bombay no adequate measures are taken with promptitude to check the growth of these nuisances and remedy a state of things which is a grave menace to the personal security and health of its inhabitants. The fashionable and the more influential classes at once rush into the *Times of India*, as soon as the roads used by them are a little out of repair, or some innocent people are found to amuse themselves with a little devotional but discordant music. Their complaints are attended to at once. Even hawkers are prevented from plying their trade in certain places, but the noisiest of trades are allowed in others without check or restraint of any kind.......... Both the municipal and police authorities seem to be powerless to take effective measures for the prevention of the ever-increasing noises and nuisances in the native city. May we invite the attention of some of the energetic Corporators and members of the local Legislative Council to the matter and ask them to take up this question and see that the present disgraceful state of things in Bombay is remedied as early as possible and that the taxpayers' and ratepayers' money is applied and distributed in a spirit of impartiality and not diverted unduly for securing the comfort, safety and health of the more influential classes? We also earnestly invite the attention of the Police Commissioner and the Bombay Government to what has grown into an intolerable nuisance and scandal in Bombay."

Muhammadans and separate representation on Municipalities in Sind.

Sind Journal (9), 11th Jan.

44. Commenting upon the movement in Sind to secure separate representation for Muhammadans on Municipalities, the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"The transfer of a few more elective seats to Muhammadans in the Karachi Municipality or for the matter of that in other Municipalities would not create any hostility on the part of Hindus, provided that Muhammadans are not shown any undue favour. We would very much prefer to have elected Muhammadan members in our Municipalities instead of nominated ones who have to depend on official good-will for their continuance in the same office. The era of co-operation between the two great communities of India has dawned and the reasonable aspirations of Muhammadans cannot but be respected by Hindus. But no step should be taken which would effect a 'permanent cleavage' between the two communities.......... The idea of communal representation in Municipalities has never been countenanced by those who have the good of the country at heart. To put it in the words of Mr. Gokhale, there is nothing in the nature of local self-government which implies any conflict between the interests of one section and another. But the demand of Muhmamadan gentlemen for adequate representation on Municipal Boards can be easily satisfied without resorting to the dubious method of separate electorates. The one method which we have advocated in these columns ere this is the fixation of seats for Muhammadans, the electorate remaining general. This is sure to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of Muhammadans without creating a new barrier between them and Hindus.......... The Bombay District Municipal Act should be amended so as to permit of such fixation of seats, and we trust that the Muhammadan leaders of Sind would be glad to achieve their object in that manner."

EDUCATION.

Question of Anglo-Indian and "Eurasian" education in India.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 14th Jan.

45. Referring to the statement made by the Government of India in connection with the education of Anglo-Indians and "Eurasians" in India to the effect that the total of the contributions made from the public revenues in aid of the European schools in India rose, during the last quinquennium, from Rs. 18 lakhs to Rs. 26 lakhs, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks that it is improper that a particular section of the community should be thus specially favoured at a time like the present when on account of the war Government have adopted the policy of retrenching expenditure on education. It is of opinion that there is greater need for increasing expenditure on the education of the backward classes from among the Indian people rather than on that of "Eurasians" who should, like the other advanced sections of the Indian public, make efforts to help themselves in the matter of education. It dwells upon the lack of higher education among "Eurasians" and remarks that for the high positions they occupy in different State Departments they are indebted not so much to their educational qualifications as to their "white" skin and to the special opportunities, in some cases unfair, that are given to them. The paper holds the belief that the spread of higher education among "Eurasians" will tend to bring them into closer contact with educated Indians and thereby will result in their being purged of that undue arrogance they are at present found to possess. It observes that since the Anglo-Indians and "Eurasians", in spite of their being born in India, enjoy special privileges and higher salaries than the Indians they should, with the help of their own exertions and means, try to get rid of the stigma of inferiority in the matter of higher education.

Need of scholarship funds and boarding schools for Muhammadans in the Bombay Presidency and Sind.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 11th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 16th Jan.; *Phœnix* (7), 13th Jan.

46. In the course of a contribution to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, *Momin* refers with approval to the advice given to the Muhammadans by the President of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference that recently met at Aligarh to start scholarship funds for helping the poor students from among the community. He also dwells on the advisability on the part of rich Muhammadans of helping to start boarding schools. In support of his suggestions, the writer points to the difficulties which students from the mofussil who are desirous of taking higher education have to encounter during the time they stay in big cities like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Allahabad, etc., and the temptations to which they are subjected of going astray, if left to their own devices, and emphasising the need for starting scholarship funds and boarding schools and hostels on an extensive scale to provide the necessary facilities for poor students, regrets the apathy of wealthy Moslems in these directions. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* reproduces the above article. The *Phœnix* also regrets that no systematic efforts have thus far been made by the Muhammadan leaders in Sind towards the diffussion of education among their community and inviting the attention of the former to Mr. Shafi's Presidential address remarks:—"The spread of secondary and higher education is urgently called for among the boys of the middle and poor classes who cannot take to education without the aid of scholarships. Apart from the Sir Ali Murad, the King Edward Memorial and some other scholarships, which in their way serve a very useful purpose, but are not adequate for the purpose, there is an absolute need for an All-Sind Musalman Scholarship Fund which should be started with the combined efforts of the Muhammadan leaders and the Government. What have the big wigs among Sind Muhammadans done in this direction? Whether they get special electorates or not, the Muhammadan leaders must know that it is education first and education last which will make the members of their community a potent force in Sind. Will they give an earnest of their sincerity in this direction?"]

Complaint about the permission given to Messrs. Macmillan and Company to raise the price of Sindhi School text-books.

Sind Patrika (46), 6th Jan., Eng. cols.

47. Referring to the sanction given by Government to Messrs. Macmillan and Company to raise the price of the Sindhi text-books by about half an anna to two annas per copy with effect from the 1st January 1917, the *Sind Patrika* remarks that the ground on which Government have given the sanction is, to say the least, extraordinary and has caused much surprise and deep dissatisfaction all round. The paper points out that in October 1915 also, when this firm renewed their contract with Government, the price of paper had already gone up very high, and Government was not bound to show any consideration to the firm at the expense of the poor parents, "especially as too much preference has already been given to this firm by ignoring the claims of the sons of the soil who might have agreed to charge still less prices for the same publications." The paper thinks that in view of the rich harvest of profits already reaped by the company in the course of a large number of years past they could very easily have borne the additional expenditure on account of the rise in the cost of paper. The paper further complains that the fact that the trade discount on these books has been reduced by 5 per cent. will cause a still further rise in the price at which these books are sold to those using them. It concludes as follows:—"We are led to believe that if the above contract had been given to an Indian publisher instead, or if it be offered even new, no such thing would happen. We trust it is not yet too late to mend matters. Surely public interests deserve better consideration than those of an individual firm."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the discussion in the Bombay Municipal Corporation over the subject of free primary education.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 21st Jan., Eng. cols.

***48.** "The debate that followed the motion of Mr. Rajaram Tukaram that primary education be made free in the City of Bombay from the next official year disclosed a curious working of human mind. One can understand people like Mr. Vincent 'damning with faint praise' and pouring cold water on such a splendid ideal as the education of masses on the time-worn excuse of financial stringency. But that Congressmen like Mr. Jehangir Petit and others should take up such an attitude is not particularly an edifying spectacle, especially when the Congress leaders never miss an opportunity of having a fling at Government for having thrown out the late Mr. Gokhale's bill. As we anticipated in these columns Mr. Tukaram's motion has tested the sincerity of our civic fathers."

Comments on the proposal to erect a camp for the housing of immigrant beggars in Bombay.

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 16th Jan.

49. Referring to the resolution passed by the Standing Committee of the Bombay Municipality granting a sum of Rs. 10,000, subject to its being sanctioned by the Corporation, towards the erection of a camp for immigrant beggars, with a view to prevent the possibility of a recrudescence of plague in Bombay, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* characterises the erection of such a camp as a mistaken and inadequate measure for the preservation of the public health of the city. It considers the proposal for erecting a camp for the beggars, with its necessary concomitants of providing them with gratuitous maintenance and their ultimate repatriation to their native places to be imprudent and ill-conceived. Do the authorities know, inquires the paper, that if they are sent to their native places, these people will only serve to swell the ranks of thieves and robbers? It points out that though agricultural industry suffers from a dearth of labour and factories cannot secure sufficient labourers even after offering high wages, yet this country has to bear the burden of maintaining millions of beggars. It asks why Government, the Police and Municipal bodies should not, in co-operation with one another, evolve a satisfactory scheme to deal with the problem. It is a pity, observes the paper, that this class of idlers, who are a great burden upon the country, has not been provided with any means of employment. It

is of opinion that a body which takes up this beggar question and suggests some effective remedy to deal with the situation will have done a very great service to this country.

The Improvement Trust's duty of improving insanitary areas in Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 19th Jan.

50. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* observes that the statement in the last annual report of the Health Officer of the Bombay Municipality to the effect that the infection of some diseases has spread in the city owing to the influx of people from other parts of the country that are affected with plague and by the arrival of soldiers from Africa and Mesopotamia, is of a startling nature and, referring to the apprehension entertained by that officer that the influx of the former will continue for a few months more, believes that the Municipality will not be able to deal adequately with the situation without the help of Government. The paper remarks that the present situation points to the necessity of avoiding such congestion in different parts of the city as would tend to render them insanitary. It maintains that the Bombay City Improvement Trust was brought into being precisely for this purpose and that it has failed in this duty in a deplorable manner. It is of opinion that the existing state of things calls for intervention on the part of Government who should urgently issue an order to the Trust requiring that body to set aside their schemes of roads improvement and at once to devote their energies to the task of improving such insanitary areas as are suggested by the Municipality. The paper dwells on the desirability on the part of the Bombay Municipal Corporation to issue a warning to the Trust that in the event of the latter failing forthwith to undertake the urgent work above referred to, it will stop making its contribution to the Trust from next April. It believes that such a course will make Government realise the necessity of bringing about a solution of this vexed subject.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 26th January 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

H 480—6 CON

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 2 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 13th January 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:
- Comments on Lord Sydenham's article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* headed "The Danger in India" . . . . . . 8—12
- Comments on Mr. Curtis' *Round Table* circular letter . . . 13—15
- Description of the enthusiastic reception given to Mr. B. G. Tilak during his recent visit to Northern India . . . . . . 19 & 20
- Government and the industrial problem in India 21
- Government notifications in addition to being affixed in chavdis in villages should also be proclaimed by beat of drum 23
- India is likely to get nothing for her sacrifices in connection with the war 18
- Is India fit for *Swarájya*? 17
- Necessity of carrying on agitation to protect India from Colonial domination 16
- The suspension of the sale of the India Council Bills and the European mercantile community in India 22

Her Excellency Lady Willingdon: Appreciation of the bestowal on— of the honour of the Crown of India 38

Honours List: The New Year— 39

Indian National Congress:
- Appeal to Government to carefully consider the scheme of proposed reforms prepared by the joint Committee of the Congress and the Moslem League 33
- Comments on the proceedings of the— . . . . 28—32
- Reflections on the Hindu-Muhammadan Union brought about at the Congress . . . . 34 & 35
- Reflections on the proceedings of the recent sessions of the Moslem League and the Congress at Lucknow 36

Indian Students in England: Mr. Mallet's report on the Indian Students' Department 40

Moslem League: Proceedings of the recent session of the — at Lucknow . 37

Public Service: Comments on the possible selection of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee to replace the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair if he is sent to the Imperial War Conference 44

Public Works Department: Comments on the evidence given before the — Reorganisation Committee in Bombay . . . . 41—43

Revenue matters: Complaint that the managing khots in the Dapoli Taluka of the Ratnágiri District have not been given assistance to recover their dues from their tenants 45

H 468—1 CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded*.

Viceroy:

Comments on the Convocation address of His Excellency the — at the Calcutta University . . . . 1—6
Lord Chelmsford has not fulfilled the high expectations formed of him, on his arrival, with regard to educational progress in India . . 7

War:

Comments on the proposal to raise a company of educated Punjabis . 25 & 26
England should not help to prolong the — to enable Russia to secure the Dardanelles and thereby endanger the route to India . . 27
Representation of India at the Imperial — Conference. 24

EDUCATION—

Comments on the report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1915-16 46
State of Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency generally and in Bombay City in particular 47

RAILWAYS—

State *versus* Company management of — in India 48
Suggestions to the G. I. P. Railway to remove the hardships of the third class passengers 49

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay:

Appeal to the — Food Prices Committee to take measures to reduce prices 51
Need of timely measures to prevent recrudescence of plague in — City . 52
Question of free primary education before the — Municipal Corporation 50
Poona: The — Municipality's representation to Government respecting the cost of the Poona Drainage Works 53
West Khándesh: Suggestion for the postponement of the general election for the Dhulia (—) Municipality on account of plague. . . . 54

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Convacation address of His Excellency the Viceroy at the Calcutta University.

Young India (11), 10th Jan.

1. Commenting upon His Excellency the Viceroy's Convocation address at the Calcutta University, *Young India* remarks that it must have made the audience feel that this time it was Lord Chelmsford of educational experience on the London County Council and elsewhere, who spoke to them and not any departmental head from Simla. It thinks that the speech will give great satisfaction, but adds that it will raise hopes which, it is afraid, will be hopes deferred. The paper then continues:—"'I have every sympathy' declared the Viceroy, 'with those who are stirred by the causes which catch the imagination and arouse enthusiasm.' We hope the sympathy will last. We have yet to hear of any official person in India who did not declare that he had no 'sympathy' for India. But if the Viceregal sympathy will be allowed to have its way, before another five years have passed away, and we are thinking of a Chelmsford statue to be placed in some garden or other at Delhi, we may hope that prompt and useful measures will be taken to open up these new avenues to Indian talent of which mention was made by the Viceroy. But we need not trouble him so far. Let him really interest himself in any private agency anxious to establish technical institutions, and see that it really gets the desired help in the matter of facilities for workshop equipment, of an assured sale of the products turned out by the students and in similar other directions." [Elsewhere the paper publishes a letter from one Mr. B. G. Pal, who comments as follows on the Viceroy remarks, in the course of his address, about "discontented B. A.'s":—"Is the blame entirely theirs? Have not our faulty system of education, which has never emphasised the importance of the study of technical and scientific subjects and never given adequate scope for their cultivation, and the faulty industrial and economic policy which has never fostered indigenous efforts, have these not something to do with the proclivities of our educated young men, which His Excellency regrets? Taking the profession of teaching, His Excellency remarked that it is only regarded as a form of employment which will keep the wolf from the door until briefs come in or some other permanent occupation be secured. With the highest and most lucrative appointments reserved to Englishmen in the Indian Educational service, third rate or fourth rate though they may be, there is nothing surprising if the teaching profession presents no permanent attraction to our aspiring youths.......... His Excellency is perfectly right in realising the seriousness of the state of things. But the diagnosis was only partially correct, and the prescription is consequently quite inadequate and ineffective. The fact of the matter is that these meaningless distinctions should go and the sooner His Excellency and his Government recognise this the better for all concerned."]

Messege (6), 10th Jan.;
**Mahrátta* (5), 14th Jan.

2. The *Message* quotes the following words from His Excellency's speech 'On the walls of our colleges we could see the portraits of those who had played a great part in the life of the State. We took in the lesson of the past as naturally as we had imbibed our mother's milk', and remarks:—"True, but what is the situation in India? Under what is ironically called an 'atmosphere of pure study,' all the influences that make for character-building and creating responsibility of citizenship have been ruthlessly destroyed. In our schools and colleges, the portraits of those who have played a great part in the life of the State are tabooed and students who love and revere the past as much as the present are censured and even condemned. The study of their sacred books is discouraged and their own religion pooh-poohed and extraneous ones praised and extolled. A student cannot keep even in his own room, without fear of censure, the portraits of Sivaji, Akbar, Tilak, Besant or Surendranath Banerjee and

Whenever his Principal or Professor pays a casual visit, he has to conceal them under the table or beneath the bed. He is asked to worship and venerate foreign heroes and heroines, to whom in sympathy, feeling and sentiment he is an out-and-out alien. If in these circumstances, University training and culture have failed to reproduce in the Indian student 'character and responsibility of citizenship,' does it lie in the mouth of anyone to condemn him as a hybrid youth who imitates Western manners and customs without understanding and appreciating them? His Excellency speaks of 'ancient' University tradition. Our University in its modern sense may be young and so it is, and it does not run up to centuries, we admit. But he has overlooked the fact that the Indian student possesses an educational tradition which far excels all the traditions of Europe and America put together and which he still venerates notwithstanding the wet blanket that is applied to the enthusiasm and devotion. Character building and spirit of service were of the essence of all education in the past and had been so until recent times. If the Indian Universities produced in the past some distinguished *Alumni* it was because then there were no Lord Curzons, no Universities Acts and no 'atmospheres of pure study'. Under a system of so-called 'benevolent neutrality', the religious note was crushed in the education of our youth and if the spirit of devout reverence and discipline, which characterized them in the past, has disappeared, those who planned a lifeless system of education, an education which had form but no soul, which worked with a machine-like regularity but ignored the human factor altogether, should thank themselves for the results......... We are glad to have the hopeful assurance from His Excellency that we shall be able to switch off the overflowing stream of students into new channels of instruction and employment and, further, that he will do all that is in his power to answer the call of the country. His Excellency says in one place that the call to our generation is to educate our people. He would have been more felicitous in his idea if he had said 'Educate your rulers.' With all deference to His Excellency, we beg to submit that, more than the people, our rulers stand in urgent need of education. They have to learn that the educational policy which is being pursued in this country is not only reactionary but in a way mischievous." [The *Mahrátta* observes:—" If it is desirable that there should be no flaw in the character of our University students, the causes of irritation and resentment which embitter their minds must be removed. They must be treated with the courtesy due from teachers to pupils. Their country and their countrymen must not be spoken of in contemptuous terms. The racial and colour bar which prevents an Indian from getting his due place in the University staff and which places a raw white man over a ripe Indian of acknowledged and indubitable superiority in attainments—this bar must go. If the present system of white supremacy is maintained in the sacred halls of Saraswati, we have reason to doubt if any endeavours on the part of the authorities will serve to turn out from the Universities Indians of a perfectly balanced temper. There will be an acerbity of a more or less virulent character in the mind of every self-respecting Indian coming out of the University. .... Turning now to the desire of the Viceroy to see Indians coming out of the University 'as men ready to take up the duties of citizenship and play their part in the common life,' it is obvious that this desire must remain unfulfilled so long as the students are neither taught as a part of their curriculum, nor are allowed to teach themselves, the duties of citizenship. Do we not know that politics is *taboo* to Indian students in nearly all institutions? Some old rigmaroles dealing theoretically with political and economical topics, mixed up with some good writing, are no doubt placed in their hands. But how can that be sufficient to make a capable citizen out of a raw student."]

Indian Social Reformer (8), 14th Jan.

*3. Referring to the Viceroy's statement that it will be the policy of the Goverement of India to find new openings for educated Indians, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—" How the Government of India is going to give effect to this new policy, is more than we can say. There are enormous vested interests to encounter, long-standing prejudices to overcome. There is a proverb in several of our vernaculars that even if God allows, the officiating priest prevents. The Government of India may propose, but the lesser authorites are not easily moved from old ruts.......... We hope that Lord Chelmsford will have the strength of mind to initiate some tangible measures in the direction of the wholesome policy which he expounded at the Convocation of the Calcutta University.......... [Commenting on His Excellency's remarks about the profession of teaching in India, the paper observes:—] 'Why are not capable men taking to the teaching profession? To our mind, the first reason is the slavish subordination which is expected of the Indian teacher......... Independence, initiative and departure from routine, are impossible. No man or woman of some capacity, some belief in himself or herself, some sense of a mission in life, is likely to be attracted to a profession where the first condition of such success as is attainable in it, is subservience and servility.......... Then, there is the question of emoluments. Government are themselves responsible for the poor opinion in which the teachers' profession is held in this country. In no other profession is the invidiousness of the distinction between Europeans and Indians more insistently and persistently brought home to the latter than in the teaching profession. The matter attracted the attention of even such a conservative critic of Indian administration as Sir Valentine Chirol. [Referring to the proposed appointment of a Commission to enquire into the working of the Calcutta University, the paper remarks:—] With due deference to the Viceroy, we must dissent from his estimate of the value of English experts in advising on problems of Indian education. The Bombay University tried the experiment, and we wish Lord Chelmsford heard the opinion privately expressed of his report by many English and Indian Fellows of the University.......... Let us have one eminent English expert, by all means. We may include one or two others from other countries whose conditions, though dissimilar to those of England, are more similar to those of India. We should much like to have an American expert and a French expert on such a Commission. The large majority of the members must be men of Indian experience and Indians. The Indian gives hostages to the educational system, which he may recommend, in the persons of his own children, whereas few Englishmen do so." [The paper further suggests that other Indian Universities should also be included within the scope of the Commission.]

Indu Prakāsh (36),
9th Jan., Eng. cols.

4. "His Excellency the Viceroy's Convocation address does not stray away for a monent from the realities of life and is pervaded by the sole idea of adapting the Universities to the general national environment and developing them into active forces answering efficiently the new call. His Excellency could not in the nature of things discuss the probem in its wider aspects.......... The great ideal of University life, according to His Excellency, is the aspiration to play a great part in the life of the State. That is the aspiration of the alumni of British Universities. As His Excellency observed, the task was a harder one for the Indian alumni as their universities were still young and had not, like the British universities, the traditions of centuries. But is that the only thing which makes the case of the Indian student hard? We ask with all respect but in all seriousness:—Has the Indian student the same prospects of playing a great part in the life of the State as are assured for his British compeer? Can the Indian student, while studying at a university, feel, as his British compeer, studying at a university, does feel, raised and elevated by the idea that after his entrance into the larger university of life he would have numerous opportunities of rendering distinguished services to the State in any walk of life for which he feels he is especially fitted by virtue of natural aptitude and inclination?........ We devoutly hope that as a result of the post-war reforms the scope of opportunities for Indians to serve the State will become widely extended and that as a logical outcome of the happy change, university education will acquire greater meaning and significance for Indian students."

5. "The utilitarian point of view from which Lord Chelmsford surveyed the educational problem of India in his address to the Calcutta University makes it by far the most remarkable speech ever delivered by the Chancellor of an Indian University. Though not devoid of those high and learned sentiments which impart to Convocation Addresses that tone of gravity with which we are familiar, Lord Chelmsford centred his thoughts upon a problem which to a fastidious thinker might appear as a subject unfit for a Chancellor's mission and aims......... With the foresight of a statesman, Lord Chelmsford has seen how discontent spreads in India and where it originates. It is in the want of opportunities for educated Indians to be able to flourish upon some standard of comfort and decency more in keeping with their educational status. Most graciously, His Excellency has declared that the things that obtain shall hold no longer. We commend the Viceroy's address, and heartily wish him success."

Rast Goftar (28), 14th Jan., Eng. cols.

6. Taking an appreciative note of the convocation address delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Calcutta University, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that though it was delivered before the students of the Calcutta University it will be read with enthusiasm by the whole Indian nation. It thanks His Excellency for the assurance he has given to try to open up as many avenues for earning a livelihood as possible to the educated classes and wishes that such a policy may be adopted as soon as possible. In connection with the Commission Government propose to appoint to consider the educational problems of the Calcutta University, the paper expresses its desire that in view of the great need of considering the whole question of education in its different aspects, a Royal Commission should be appointed for the purpose. It hopes that there will be a sufficiently large number of representatives of the province of Bengal on the proposed Commission. It believes that the Commission will prove a greater success if it were to include one or two members from other parts of India. [The *Sánj Vartamán* emphatically declares that if all officers were to deal with the question of education in the spirit of sympathy, liberality and justice displayed by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, the discontent that has spread in the country with regard to education would disappear. It remarks that the speech is calculated to inspire high hopes, as it shows that Lord Chelmsford is trying to be free from the two defects common to those who examine the question of education, *viz.*, first, want of sympathy and an independent spirit, and, secondly, a tendency to view the problem of education from a political standpoint. The paper is of opinion that a University Commission should be appointed for the whole of India which might lead to innovations enabling the universities to cope with the growing educational requirements of the country and place the university senates, which have become official-ridden as a result of Lord Curzon's University Commission, on a more popular basis. Appreciating the ideals of university life set up before the students by the Viceroy, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* feels constrained to observe that Indian colleges do not afford students scope for cultivating and strengthening the spirit of patriotism as the English colleges do, and that very few from among the English professors coming to India show any anxiety to mould the character of the students under their charge. The paper observes that it is for this reason that Indian patriots press Government to confer high posts in the Educational Department on capable Indians possessing English qualifications. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regards as valuable the assurance His Excellency gave for making arrangements to impart to students such practical training as might enable them to make the most of the opportunities which the present Industrial Commission might bring within their reach. By way of increasing the present facilities for acquiring industrial training the paper suggests that Government should place their orders for stores required by them with such factories in India as would consent to take up a certain number of apprentices to be determined by Government

Bombay Samáchár (55), 10th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 8th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 10th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 8th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (17), 10th Jan.; *Indian Loyalist* (19), 11th Jan.

and further suggests that the law of patents should be so amended as would compel those securing patents in this country not only to open factories in India within a particular period but also to train up in those factories a particular number of Indian apprentices. The *Hindusthán* hails with delight the sentiment expressed by the Chancellor to the effect that he sympathises with those "who are stirred by the causes which catch the imagination and arouse enthusiasms." It hopes that the Indian students will put into practice the exhortations of the Viceroy with regard to the formation of character and the responsibility of citizenship. It regrets the undesirable condition in which qualified Indian youths find themselves in this country as a result of the absence of avenues for employment and thanks Lord Chelmsford for his assurance to ameliorate the existing state of things. The *Indian Loyalist* wishes that early steps may be taken to give effect to the desires His Excellency has expressed for effecting an improvement in the condition of educated men in this country and for facilitating the acquisition of commercial training. It points out that, since commerce and industries in India are to a great extent in the hands of uneducated men, Government should give their help in opening commercial colleges, technical institutions on a more liberal scale than at present.]

Lord Chelmsford has not fulfilled the high expectations formed of him, on his arrival, with regard to educational progress in India.

Young India (11), 10th Jan.

7. "At the time of Lord Chelmsford's appointment to the Indian Viceroyalty, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton wrote in *India* that His Excellency had evinced a keen interest in the educational work of the London County Council and that the invaluable experience he had gained there would help him to solve the vexed problem of Indian education in a manner satisfactory to the people. Mr. Cotton considered it a very fortunate circumstance that the Member of Education was an Indian—an ex-Congressman—and that he, with the sympathy and support of a Viceroy who had always taken a keen and active interest in education matters, would be able to initiate and carry out far reaching measures of educational reform. Nine months have now passed away—a long period in the comparatively brief career of an Indian Viceroy—and the country is still left practically in the dark about the future of education, primary, secondary and higher; nay, more, the impending conference of Directors of Public Instruction at Delhi has provoked the suspicion of thoughtful people.......... After the rude shock which Lord Curzon's Indian Universities Commission dealt to public feeling, it is not without justification that people apprehend that there is some fresh storm brewing, which when it bursts forth, may set back the hands of the clock of progress. Alarmed perhaps by the gloomy spectre of this Conference, the Congress spurred itself to greater energy than is usually the case with it on such subjects as education and set itself to passing a resolution, breathing a spirit of thorough determination. The resolution was characteristically comprehensive and pointed."

Comments on Lord Sydenham's article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* headed "The Danger in India".

Young India (11), 10th Jan.

8. "We hope, as a result of the Triple Entente, an exchange of veteran officials takes place between Russia and England. Lord Sydenham would be an admirable administrator of a Russian province, where the monjik has to be driven into good government, and the intellegentzia have to be alternately smiled into silence or bullied into sullen acquiescence. One wonders whether it is a Russian official who is writing his administrative experiences when one goes through Lord Sydenham's opinions and his profuse quotations from the speeches, he read out to us some years ago, in the Danger to India he has raised in the *Nineteenth Century*. Our late Engineer-governor quotes with some satisfaction from a speech he made to us sometime in September 1912 how he 'frankly confessed that he could not see colonial self-government for India even in vision because it involved the absolute destruction of all that is most deeply engrained in the life of the people.' Lord Sydenham believes this 'cold douche' was taken in good part. Let him cherish the

[illegible]......... We congratulate Lord Sydenham of Coombe for speaking out. Here at least is an honest pro-Consul whose angle of vision has not changed." We await with interest his views on reforms in India with which readers of the *Nineteenth Century* are to be regaled. But will one of them be, that Indians in order to have the British constituents in their character should be encouraged to be born on British soil? We wonder; if so, we are sure Lord Sydenham will propose "maternity scholarships" to be given to poor Indian families, who have deserved well of the Government. We remember our *ex*-Governor had some great difficulties to struggle through on the subject, when his Government wrote one of the most disquieting notes on the subject of compulsory education in India. No, the angle of vision of some people will never change—there is so much dust about in this country—both of blind prejudice and of perverted facts.

Mahrátta (5), 14th Jan.

***9.** Referring to Lord Sydenham's observation that a change in the constitution of the Councils will lead to the 'surrender or weakening of the British power in India', the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"We are anxious to make it clear that neither the Scheme submitted by the *Nineteen* nor that adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League has any the remotest tendency to *weaken* the paramount power of Britain. What it does is something different. It seeks to *weaken* the power of the bureaucracy. Those who wish to scare Britishers and make them hostile to our demands are of course interested in identifying with Britiain the Bureaucracy in India. But these tactics of our haters cannot succeed in the long run. Representative Indians will soon be in England to tell the truth to the British people......... Lord Sydenham strongly deprecates even 'hints of concessions' in an authoritative announcement. So apparently he tears up and spits upon the pledges and promises given us on various occasions by our sovereigns—as things most impolitic. Do they break the Sydenhamite rule for the East: 'The frankest policy is always the best'? Does the *ex*-governor charge the Royal Masters of Britain and her Empire with having lied to their Indian subjects?......... Lord Sydenham has, in our humble opinion, rendered himself supremely ridiculous by putting in print the nauseous excretion of his anger-muddled brain: 'In the East, the frankest policy is always the best.' Is the West, then, so peculiarly tempered? Are people in the West specially gifted with a love for swallowing lies? Lord Sydenham is a Westerner and may consider the implication involved in his wonderful dictum a compliment to himself and his brother-Westerners. But we fear, his brethren will differ from him.......... The *Statesman* encouraged by the letter of Lord Sydenham calls on the Government of India to take measures to stop the Home Rule propaganda. That is in the Sydenhamite line. What is wanted according to these pillars of the British Empire is to stop the educated Indians' mouths and let Britain be 'enlightened' by the Sydenhams and their tribe, and by none else. It is a good plan, if they are tired of the Peace in India and want anarchism to run wild. All who are for Peace and Orderly Progress will hate the programme of these haters of India and we hope that Government will always be wiser than these disguised lovers of headbreaking."

Kesari (95), 9th Jan.

10. Considering Lord Sydenham's position and influence in England his article may well be called the flag planted on the banks of the Thames by the enemies of *swarájya*. The article will also furnish a rough idea as to the policy which the British Government will adopt at the time of Imperial reconstruction. That there will arise a "danger in India" as asserted by his Lordship there is no doubt, but it will be neither a rebellion nor an invasion but will take the shape of a great agitation in India which will result in universal suffering like the agitation against the partition of Bengal. His Lordship needs no introduction to the people of the Bombay Presidency, and judging from his present article we cannot but say that his narrow-mindedness which he purposely kept concealed from public view while in India has had a rapid growth after his return to England. We gladly concede that his Lordship is in favour of extending education "leading the people onward and upward and smoothing the path to nationhood and self-government". But he gives us no idea as to how long and by what means that education is to be given. Nor does he prescribe the precise form of self-government to be granted to India. He is, however, against giving us the Colonial form of self-government. But it is simply quibbling with words to maintain as he has done that Indian self-government cannot be like Colonial self-government because Indians are not Colonials. The self-government scheme formulated by the National Congress, moreover, falls far short of Colonial self-government. Indians want power and do not care for names. His Lordship expresses his apprehension that the agitation for *swarájya*, if neglected by the authorities, might develop into an anarchic movement quite surpassing the Irish rebellion. We too are afraid of anarchism developing, but we differ from his Lordship as to the steps that should be taken to stop it. Anarchism is bound to increase if attempts are made to suppress the agitation for political freedom by branding it as seditious. The present policy of Government instead of stamping out anarchism is only sending loyal people to the Andamans for the offence of agitating for *swarájya*. Lord Sydenham seems to be much afraid of the political agitators, but we can assure him that their occupation will be gone as soon as the rights of *swarájya* are granted to India. His Lordship observes that "the Indian political party was at first astonished at the generosity of the Morley-Minto reforms"; he, however, ought to know that it was only a particular clique of the moderate party that declared itself satisfied with them. That the reforms fell far short of the requirements is amply proved by the simple fact that the moderate leaders themselves have within ten years put forth tenfold demands. That the Morley-Minto reforms did not check anarchism only shows that the reforms were not sufficient and does not justify the deduction drawn by Lord Sydeham that no rights should be given to Indians as they are discontented. To the objection that several of the signatories to the memorandum of post-war reforms are lawyers, which has also been brought forward by his Lordship, our reply is that an Indian lawyer can look to our interests better than a foreign engineer. There are many lawyers in Parliament and the parliamentary system of Government is not condemned on that score.

Message (6), 7th and 12th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 9th Jan.

11. "Lord Sydenham says that the Sikhs, Punjabis and other martial races of India would not like to be ruled by the *intelligenzia* in India, comprising the Congress-wallas and the Moslem-League-wallas. We are always told that the masses are voteless and voiceless and yet it seems that men like Lord Sydenham come to know, perhaps by a supernatural power denied to Indians, what is in the inner hearts of the 'dumb millions'. We do not claim to have such supernatural powers, but we can say that an administration which does not allow men who have shown 'conspicuous bravery' and even obtained Victoria Crosses to rise to the rank of commissioned officers and under which a raw youth from England, who has not been to any field of battle, is placed over the heads of veteran warriors—such an administration, we say, has not much in it to make the martial races prefer it to another under which their proved valour and actual experience in the field will not certainly be undervalued, only because of their colour." [In a subsequent issued the paper writes:—"We for our part are sure that the contribution to the *Nineteenth Century* will be much appreciated by the business Secretary of State, when the time comes for nominating a successor to Lord Chelmsford in the Indian Viceroyalty. Lord Ronaldshay got his Bengal Governorship for his abuse of 'Babuism', and we shall not be surprised if under the Chamberlain regime at Whitehall Lord Sydenham gets the Indian Viceroyalty." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—His Lordship may attach as great an importance as he likes to things like Bengal anarchism, Punjáb dacoities and the Singapore mutiny, and disregard altogether the spirit of loyalty shown by India during the war; but that will not in the least help him to undo the pledges given regarding the future position of India by Messrs. Asquith, Bonar Law and Herbert Roberts. It seems foolish for him to oppose the new state of things by resorting to out-of-date and stale arguments.]

[illegible] "We know several of our retired pro-consuls have written off and on disparaging the very people whose salt they had eaten for a long time and whose hospitality they had enjoyed so long. Lord Sydenham threatens to outstrip them all with the virulence and bitterness of his language and the narrowness of his ideas. His contribution to the *Nineteenth Century and After* reveals him in his true colours if this was needed and shows what are the forces we have to contend with in our struggle for higher rights and privileges. He trots out the usual pleas about the educated Indians being but a small section of the population the majority of which, he alleges, are not in sympathy with them and that they have their real guardians in the official class. Just one instance to show the nature of this scurrilous tirade. 'The Briton who feels no sense of defilement if the shadow of a pariah falls upon him, who will live with the so-called low caste people in the jungle and take food and water from their hand, and who can make the wild tribesmen of the North-West Frontier into soldiers who will follow him to death, is able to draw closer to the real people of India than the memorialists who, in their came(?), have demanded the control of Government.' It is a pure unadultered lie which was amply answered at the recent session of the Congress. We point out all this here to show to the frequenters of the Government House during the Sydenham *regimé* and the eulogists of His Lordship, before what an image of clay they were falling down in hysterics." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes in its vernacular columns:—Lord Sydenham professes to be a friend of India but in reality is its enemy. We know him full well by the retrograde educational policy he adopted in this Presidency. The object of the article is to decry the memorial sent by the nineteen non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council to Government and to wean the sympathy of the British public from the aspirations of the Indians. It is to be seen how far Lord Sydenham succeeds in his object. [The paper then proceeds to show the fallacy of the arguments adopted in the article and to expose the deductions drawn by Lord Sydenham.]

[illegible] (17), 7th and [illegible] Jan., Eng. cols.

Comments on Mr. Curtis' *Round Table* circular letter.

Gujarāti (13), 14th Jan., Eng. cols.

***13.** "The art of creating or manufacturing, guiding or misleading public opinion has been cultivated to perfection in western countries, and Mr. Curtis' effort to mislead the self-governing Dominions and the British public about the capacities and potentialities of India and her people and to impose on India the rule of the reformed Imperial Government consisting of the representatives of the Colonies is an excellent illustration of the ways and means adopted by such publicists. They pose as Imperialists and pretend to be solicitous for the interests of the whole Empire. But after all there is a good deal of literary commercialism and political and racial parochialism about these literary wanderers. Being in quest of fresh literary and political pastures they are readily accorded profuse and prolonged hospitality by high-placed but reactionary officials and even succeed in getting their co-operation in manufacturing solutions of highly important political problems to the detriment of India. Subordinate officers are prevented from participating in political movements. The poor fellows are afraid of even attending political gatherings of a perfectly constitutional character. They not seldom come to grief for their supposed connection with or participation in political movements that are not in good official odour. But high-placed officers, it would seem, are at liberty to take part in the elaboration of political theories and projects in co-operation with literary adventurers which are strongly disapproved by the whole country. If Mr. Curtis thinks that India is unfitted for self-government or any sort of representation but the very limited advisory form now in vogue, this gentleman, whatever his literary attainments, must be asked to leave the country at an early date, and the officials must cease extending their generous hospitality to such would-be authors and not supply them with official materials behind the back of the people whose hopes and aspirations they wish to hamper with official co-operation and encouragement."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 9th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (17), 6th Jan.

14. We are surprised to see that Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, has fully associated himself with Mr. Curtis. The publication of Mr. Curtis' letter is very ill-timed inasmuch as it advocates the establishment of the control of the Colonies over India at a time when India is likely to be admitted to the enjoyment of Imperial responsibilities by being allowed to participate in the Imperial War Conference. Sir James has been very careful not to allow Government servants to take part in political movements, and it is, therefore, very curious that he should not be ashamed to take part in a secret political movement working against the aspirations of the Indian people. We hope some honourable member of the Imperial Legislative Council will give Government an opportunity of expressing their views on the subject by asking a question in the next meeting. It is the duty of Government to explain their position with a view to counteract the influence of Mr. Curtis' letter and to enable India to participate effectively in the ensuing Imperial Conference. [The *Hindusthán* records an emphatic protest against Mr. Curtis' letter and strongly condemns the suggestion about India being subjected to the control of the Colonies.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 12th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti* (13), 7th Jan.

15. "Unfortunately, the associations of Mr. Curtis, while he is touring the country to understand the situation, are not calculated to inspire confidence. We should have greater respect for these views, if the letter did not betray Mr. Curtis pursuing his inquiries under constant official tutelage, and in the company of Sir Valentine Chirol, whose continuous residence in India also the letter serves partly to explain. This is the unfortunate part of the affair. We regret, for Mr. Curtis' own sake and in the interest of impartial study, this constant association of his with Anglo-Indian officials and with men like Sir Valentine Chirol, who are definitely committed to one particular side. We still more regret, for the sake of the officials themselves, and of the people's confidence in them, this intimacy of high officials with political missionaries, and their association with views, which, whether politically sound or unsound, are bound to provoke undesirable agitation in this country. We epecially regret the association of Sir James Meston with politics in this form. He governs a large and important province, and so far His Honour has enjoyed the confidence of the people equally with that of the Government of India. It would serve to maintain that confidence, if His Honour were to vouchsafe some explanation. We are afraid it cannot be disguised that the people view with some suspicion the continued presence here of men like Mr. Curtis and Sir V. Chirol. The circumstance that these gentlemen enjoy, not merely the hospitality, but a certain amount of intimacy and confidence with very high placed Government officials, is not likely to remove that suspicion." [The *Gujaráti* justifies the publication of Mr. Curtis' letter by the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* on the ground of its containing views advocating a policy that would be harmful to the Indians. Is it not, it inquires, the duty of people who know about the doings of thieves, murderers or anarchists to warn others? The paper then proceeds to criticise the views expressed in Mr. Curtis' letter and suggests the convening of public meetings to protest against them.]

Necessity of carrying on agitation to protect India from Colonial domination.

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 12th Jan.

16. The New Year's formal messages from Canada and Australia to the Indian Government seem to have much impressed the *Times of India* which advises Indians to refrain from criticising the Colonies, and to leave all disputed questions to after-war settlement. We, however, hope that our countrymen will not be misled by our contemporary's fallacious arguments to give up their agitation against the proposed Colonial control of Indian affairs. It is a fact of most serious significance, that though the names of several high officials have been openly bandied about by Mr. Curtis in connection with his schemes, none of them have come forward to contradict him. We hope efforts will be made in our Legislative Councils to ferret out

the matter. The truth about the Colonial question is that our [illegible] have not yet acquired the mental courage to treat whites and blacks on a footing of equality. There has been a slight opening of the eyes caused by the war, but that process must be completed before Indians can hope to get anything. Our agitation must, therefore, be continued with vigour to safeguard our interests.

Is India fit for *swardjya*?
Rást Goftár (28), 7th Jan.

17. Referring to the Indian aspirations for *swardjya*, 'Peabody' writes:—Whether Government confer *swarajya* upon India or not and whether they may do so soon or at a late date, there is no doubt that the time has now become ripe for declaring whether they intend to grant it or not. A country that takes it upon herself to liberate small foreign States like Belgium and Servia from German oppression at the sacrifice of countless lives and untold treasure, that same country, England, can never prefer to do the injustice of keeping for ever the different communities of India, her own Dependency, in a state of dissatisfaction. Jealous Englishmen naturally do not like that such justice should be done. It is asked, through the medium of their organs, their spokesmen and their flatterers, has education spread among the Indians widely enough to entitle them to the grant of *swarajya*? It is also asked, where is the martial spirit among them which formerly existed and where is the prowess to defend their country? It is further required, how will the people of India govern themselves when they are not united? These and such other objections are the attempts of selfish Anglo-Indians to keep the Indians permanently in a backward condition, and they have been answered at the last Congress by Mr. Bannerji and Mrs. Besant. If the cordiality of relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans at the Lucknow Congress is not a proof of the unity of the whole Indian nation it may be asked where lay the unity among the English people when a year or two before the war the labouring classes in England organised a general strike? If the Indians are not sufficiently educated whose fault is it? It was the Imperial Government themselves that threw cold water upon the efforts of the late Mr. Gokhale for the introduction of free and compulsory education in India. When the Indians are deprived of the use of arms and when they are debarred from military service, how can they become warriors? All these answers are telling. Every true Indian will support them and will have a longing for *swardjya*. [Here the writer adopts an attitude of doubt and proceeds.] But—but—*swardjya* in India should be as firmly established as it is in the Colonies, it should be sound, loyal, powerful and able to prove helpful to the British Empire in a crisis like the present war. Will your Congress leaders be able to make it such? Will they be able to achieve what they talk about? If Russia desires some day to invade India, if the Amir of Kabul creates trouble at the frontier, or if an enemy like Germany—or suppose Japan herself—at some future date brings a naval attack with a view to destroying our ports and commerce, will your managers of *swardjya* in India be in a position to cope with such situations? Ponder over this a little, be farsighted, and take a leap after ascertaining the true situation. Good Indians, do not take such a step as would make you rue in the future.

India is likely to get nothing for her sacrifices in connection with the war.
Kesari (95), 9th Jan.

18. India has done what was in her power to do for the war. She has given her whole army and borne the whole of the expenditure of the expeditionary force. This expenditure which is still increasing has already amounted approximately to fifty crores. How could England secure the assistance of the Indian army just at the nick of time? Only because it had been kept ready at the expense of India. The force was not necessary for the defence of India herself. It is only to be seen what recompense India is going to have for all her sacrifices. In addition to the above, she will have to meet all the charges for military pensions and for providing new recruits for the Indian army. The Indian people have, besides, up to the present given away thirty crores in cash by way of gifts, etc., and the amount is increasing day by day. Government have also got the advantage of making a free use of thirty-seven crores of

rupees out of the currency reserve. We would not have minded this expenditure, but the thought that after the war the Colonies are to get whatever they desire and India nothing, is most disappointing. Poor India! There is no one to appreciate your sacrifices and services!

Description of the enthusiastic reception given to Mr. B. G. Tilak during his recent visit to Northern India.

Young India (11), 10th Jan.

19. *Young India* gives the following impressions of the journey of Congress delegates from Bombay to Lucknow from the "Diary of a Recluse":—"The journey was interesting mainly for the one event which recurred whenever the train halted, *viz.*, the reverential and enthusiastic reception given to the idol of patriotic India throbbing with a new life. How intense, how genuine and how deep was the devotion of the masses as well as the leaders of the respective places! At Harda, Mr. Tilak was literally buried in garlands. Flowers were showered on him or his carriage wherever the train stopped. All these expressions of reverence and admiration seemed quite natural.......... But in his own words with which he began to support the resolution on Home Rule to-day, Mr. Tilak is not foolish enough to think that the reception given is to him instead of the cause he upholds. And India knows it well. Mr. Tilak is no longer the isolated Maháráshtra leader, but an All-India leader. People of all shades of opinion, all creeds and races seem to hold him in high esteem. Many who come to catch a glimpse of 'Mahatma Tilak,' to touch his feet, to exchange a word of greeting had never seen him before. It is the indomitable courage of his convictions and the plain, fearless expression of his opinions, his sufferings and sacrifices, the selflessness and simplicity that have won for him a permanent place in the hearts of the people of India.......... Mr. Tilak, like Mrs. Besant and other Nationalists, never minces matters. No political privileges were ever given for the mere asking either by pious resolutions or by costly deputations. Those who are holding the power now should feel seriously that our demands are not to be slighted. The first step has been achieved by the union of the two great bodies. The Sikhs, the Indian Christians, the Parsis as a whole must now step forward to identify themselves with the cause of national progress. There is little doubt that the Home Rule League established by the leaders of Young India will sooner or later achieve yet another triumph over the forces that encourage divisions."

Sandesh (103), 7th Jan.

20. "An eye-witness" writes to the *Sandesh*:—The reverence with which Mr. Tilak is regarded in this country has no parallel. He is looked upon as a god incarnate. The immense ovations which he received at Benares, Lucknow, Calcutta and other places in Northern India prove that people in that part of the country entertain as much warmth of affection for him as those of the Maháráshtra. He was everywhere spoken of as "Mahatma Tilak" and he was so much in evidence at the Congress that if I was asked to describe in one word what I saw there I would say "Tilak". Wherever he went the people reverently touched his shoes and applied the dust to their foreheads. They even took the earth from beneath the chair on which he sat at the Congress and applied it to their foreheads. Muhammadans also regarded him with reverence; a high class Muhammadan refused to enter Mr. Tilak's room with shoes on, saying that it was a "sacred" place.

Government and the industrial problem in India.

Gujaráti (13), 7th Jan.

21. The *Gujaráti* animadverts upon the exception taken by the *Times of India* to the statement made by the President of the Indian Industrial Conference to the effect that in the matter of industries India was on the lowest step of the ladder. It quotes paragraph 44 of a report compiled in 1911 under instructions from Lord Morley and gives similar other opinions to show that India has been industrially declining since the transference of the Government to the Crown. It says that the Government of India refused to encourage infant industries on the ground that England was in a position to supply India's needs. It adds:—Can England now supply India's needs? Why, then, has there been curtailment in the railway traffic? Did England really supply India, or did it merely act as a sort of commercial agency? It is to is suggested that the Secretary of State does not take an undertaking from those firms that supply Government stores that they should take in Indian students to give them practical training. Indian industries will receive an impetus only when Government stores are purchased in India itself. All these matters are worthy of the attention of Government. If no heed is paid to them, the report of the Industrial Commission will be as disappointing as the one compiled in the year 1911 under Lord Morley's orders.

The suspension of the sale of India Council Bills and the European mercantile community in India.

Message (6), 12th Jan.

22. Referring to the decision of the Secretary of State to suspend the sale of India Council Bills, the *Message* remarks:—"It is no wonder that the European mercantile interests which have enjoyed all the benefits of the system at the expense of the Indian taxpayer should feel a righteous indignation at the present decision of the Secretary of State. Not only that; the Finance Member of the Government of India had to run down to Calcutta to appease the wrath of inconvenienced merchants and issue an elaborate press communique explaining the situation. The promptitude with which the fulmination of the Calcutta merchants have been attended to stands in vivid contrast to the wet blanket that has been applied to Indian constitutional reformers and carries its own moral with it.......... For over 23 years the Secretary of State has indulged to his heart's content in these operations regardless of the just needs of India. It has even been asked in some well-informed quarters whether he and his financial advisers are paid handsome salaries for transforming the India Office Finance Department into the Chief Eastern Exchange Bank in London, of which the Secretary of State is the nominal Managing Director. It has been said that the transactions are meant to assist trade. What trade? It is not at any rate the Indian trade that is being assisted. Even were it so, what business has the Secretary of State to keep on interfering with the normal course of trade?......... We have been protesting all these years against the financial juggleries of the India Office and it is one of the principal considerations why we demand Home Rule. If we have Home Rule, like the Dominions, we can manage our own finances not in the interests of London banking houses, but in the interests of our own taxpayers. We can then put an end to the ruinous method of exchange which has been followed by the Secretary of State for a quarter of a century almost, without paying any heed whatever to the feelings and sentiments of the best informed people in this country. The danger is not yet past. The operation has only been suspended for a time and will be resumed according to Sir William Meyer as soon as practicable. It is, therefore, necessary that Indian financiers and politicians should bestir themselves and tell the Government of India and the Secretary of State in a manner that cannot be disregarded any longer that it will not certainly do for the last-mentioned officer to play ducks and drakes with Indian finance."

Government notifications in addition to being affixed in chavdis in villages should also be proclaimed by beat of drum.

Shetkari (38), 7th Jan.

23. A correspondent of the *Shetkari* draws attention to the fact that in many cases Government notifications affixed in chavdis calling for objections or suggestions regarding certain proposed measures indicated in the notifications pass entirely unnoticed by the villagers as they are mostly illiterate and as they are engaged throughout the day in their fields. He, therefore, suggests that such notifications should also be made known to the villagers by beat of drum and declares that the suggestion if adopted will come as a great relief to the backward agricultural classes.

Representation of India at the Imperial War Conference.

Message (6), 9th Jan.; *Sandesh* (103), 10th Jan.

24. "The proposal to select the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair is not unacceptable to the Indian public, though it does not take away the bottom of the Indian demand for the selection of a non-official Indian leader 'of broad, statesmanlike imperial ideas'. In the peculiar circumstances and having regard to the large stakes at issue, we would be fully justified in demanding that both the representatives should be non-official Indians of not only broad and imperial ideas but also of fearless independence. It will not do if, as the *Pioneer* suggests, India is represented by a European official and a ruling prince! The suggestion of our Allahabad contemporary may be considered as flattering to the high sense of the Princes themselves. But we have the authoritative declaration of their accredited spokesman that the Ruling Princes of India have no desire whatever to interfere in the affairs of India. The suggestion is a mischievous one and is merely an attempt to detract from the value of the representation. Be that as it may, the question is why the Government of India are so sparing of breath in this matter. This is more inexplicable considering the fact that Government seem ever ready, notwithstanding the cry for economising stationery, to dump the tables of the Indian Press with communiques after communiques on the most trivial topics." [The *Sandesh* remarks that the very fact that the Secretary of State for India has been allowed two advisers to assist him at the Imperial War Conference clearly shows that he cannot represent Indian public opinion. It goes on:—The ignorance of the Secretary of State about India is most pitiable. The poor man is neither in touch with Indian public opinion, nor has he any direct knowledge about the policy of the Government of India. We have no objection if he is given not two but even ten advisers as a remedy for his ignorance, but if the War Conference really wants to know Indian public opinion—the opinion of twenty-four crores of British Indian subjects—then it is necessary that as suggested by the National Congress, the Indian representatives should be selected by the elected members of our Legislative Councils, and that they should be given independent seats in the War Conference. Otherwise, the Secretary of State, under pressure from the Colonies, may give undesirable pledges, against which Indians will have to agitate. Let us see what the bureaucracy is going to do, whether it accepts the suggestion of the Congress or as usual acts according to its own ways.]

Comments on the proposal to raise a company of educated Punjabis.

Message (6), 12th Jan.; *Sandesh* (103), 10th Jan.

25. Referring to the proposal to raise a company of educated Punjabis, the *Message* remarks:—"In this connexion one cannot but inquire whether Government will be as ready to give the recruits their due as the latter are to give even their life for the service of the Empire. Even the *Times of India* has to admit that the scheme is incomplete, inasmuch as the *communique* gives no assurance that the road to commissioned ranks is not barred to the educated recruits. We are often told that the universities in the United Kingdom have furnished many recruits for the army, but those who are glib on this point fail to add that, though most of the Indians who were resident in the United Kingdom offered their services to the recruiting officer, they were deliberately given no opportunity of serving the Empire, except in a more or less non-military capacity. There is another matter besides the bar to the commissioned ranks to which, we think, we ought to refer. If pay and honour are to be proportional to worth, we do not see why the educated Indians, or even the uneducated Indians for the matter of that, should be paid *less* than the 'colourless' soldiers." [The *Sandesh* remarks:—Had Government removed the bar against educated Indians entering the army before this, it would not have suffered from the want of officers as it is doing now, and educated Indians, too, would have shown their mettle to the world. Will our Government take up the question of forming a similar double company of educated Indians for Bombay?]

Sánj Vartamán (29), 11th Jan.

26. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its appreciation of the step taken by the Punjáb Government to enrol graduates and under-graduates into a Double Company irrespective of caste and creed and writes:—The opportunities which are afforded to the educated young men in England, after they join the army, of distinguishing themselves, have not yet been afforded to Indians. They can expect commissions and hope even to rise to the ranks of generals and field-marshals. We hope Government will give careful consideration to the question of opening up the commissioned ranks to the educated Indians who are admitted into the army with a view to inducing them to display their energies and abilities to its best advantage. It has been a standing complaint of the Indians that they are debarred from the commissioned ranks, but now that educated Indians have been allowed to enlist in the army, it is but in the fitness of things that they should be considered eligible for commissions.

England should not help to prolong the war to enable Russia to secure the Dardanelles and thereby endanger the route to India.

Gujaráti (13), 14th Jan.

*27. Both the Allies and the Central Powers declare that they are prompted by honest motives in prosecuting the war. The Allies say that they are fighting for the peace of Europe and for maintaining the existence and independence of the smaller States. At the commencement of the war, Russia declared that she was fighting for the existence of the Slav people and there was some force in this as the Serbians belong to the Slav race. But now the angle of vision of the Russians seems to have undergone a change. The English papers recently to hand make an announcement to the effect that a new arrangement has been arrived at with respect to the Dardanelles and that the Allies have agreed to hand it over to Russia, and that the Russian Minister announced the fact in the Duma on the 2nd December as having been arrived at in the year 1915, with a view to making it clear why Russia is pouring out her blood in the war. France and England, who were fighting for the existence of the small States and nations, might not at first have been aware of Russia's intentions with regard to the Dardanelles, for at one time France and England stoutly opposed Russia's ambitions to secure the control of the Straits. The Mediterranean forms part of the shortest and easiest route for communication between England and India, and it would not be a wise step to allow a mighty Power like Russia to possess a port near this direct route from England to India. England should, therefore, not help in prolonging the war. The people of India hope that England will not commit the mistake of allowing Russia to extend or strengthen her possessions in Asia. We hope the Secretary of State will not fail to draw the attention of the Imperial Conference to this matter while discussing the question of the defence of the Empire.

Comments on the proceedings of the Indian National Congress.

Subodh Patrika (39), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.

28. "We cannot pretend to say that the language used by Mr. Tilak in supporting the self-government resolution in the Congress meeting was the happiest that could have been used under the circumstances. But there is one point in his speech to which we would like to particularly refer. Mr. Tilak appealed to young men to devote all their energy, all their enthusiasm and all their resolution to the cause of self-government. He asked them to do this whole-heartedly 'so that by 1918, they might meet somewhere in India under the banner of *self-rule*!' It is doubtful whether 1918 would bring in self-rule, but the necessity of working whole-heartedly for a cause which is worth having cannot be denied. We have grown so much accustomed to an annual three days' activity in the cause of the political advancement of the country that such an appeal was urgently needed. We trust that the self-rule activity will be carried on on rational lines throughout the year. We are neither political idealists nor dreamers, but while on this subject of self-rule or home rule, as some prefer to call it, we must express a hope that men in authority will wisely guide and foster this movement and not say or do anything which is calculated to throw cold water on these right and cherished aspirations of the people of this country. No one who has the interest of India at heart expects any violent political developments or catastrophic changes in the administration of the country. But to say that 'the home rule absurdity is dead and buried' is neither wise nor true." [The paper in its vernacular columns, while admitting the necessity of young men taking part in political agitation, warns Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant that if they fail to curb in time the unrestrained enthusiasm of some of their youthful followers, they will have to repent afterwards.]

Sind Journal (9), 4th Jan.

29. Referring to that portion of the address of the President of the 31st Indian National Congress, wherein he emphsised the necessity for the grant of self-government to India, the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"There is no inherent defect in the Indian character to disqualify us for the task of self-Government, and when even the Philippinos are deemed fit for such a task why should Indians be labelled as unfit?......... Sir William Wedderburn recently wrote a letter in the English Press in the course of which he said: 'Can anybody show valid cause why the good example (of America) should not be followed by the British Government with regard to India? Are the Philippinos in any respect superior to the people of India? Or, is it that the British people are inferior to the Americans in love of principle and moral courage?' The question has not yet been answered, not even by the *Round Table* group which seeks to place India under the yoke of the Colonies in addition to that of England. The assurances given by responsible British statesmen during the war and the part played by India in the war have roused strong hopes of national advancement, and if those hopes are frustrated the outlook in India would be gloomy indeed. The President has warned England not to treat the Indian problem after the war as lightly as some irresponsible and mischievous critics are evidently disposed to do. We trust such a solemn warning would not go unheeded by the powers that be.......... The demands as summarized by the President have been for the most part ratified by the Congress, and they cannot be lightly ignored with such expressions as 'not yet' and 'catastrophic changes.' India has made up her mind as to what she wants and it would be a grave blunder to put off the reforms indefinitely."

Phœnix (7), 6th Jan.

30. "The National Week at Lucknow, which has just closed, will be remembered as epoch-making in the annals of the Indian National Congress. All glory to the storied Lucknow where the "Aligarh School" Musalman and the "Hindu Movement" Hindu, not to say the broader elements among both the communities, closed in and put the coping stone upon the Hindu-Moslem *Entente*. The acceptance by both the Congress and League of the scheme of Reform is a glorious achievement in the cause of Indian progress. From now the trumpet voice of United India will proclaim to the world that Indians shall have, without loss of time, a real and effective voice in the administration of their country. The only way in which Indians can possess an effective voice in the concerns of their country has in no uncertain terms been stated in the resolution on self-government passed by the Congress and the League at Lucknow during last Christmas. The significance of the Hindu-Moslem union cannot be lost even upon the Chirols and the Curtises. British statesmanship, true to its traditions, must recognize it. We attach immense importance to the Hindu-Moslem at-one-ness, for without the Moslem joinder it would be doubly difficult to wrest reforms from the all-powerful bureaucracy. Happily for India, the conjunction of events bearing on her fortunes made the task of union and concord easier.......... When a Moslem of the stamp of the Raja of Jehangirabad readily moves a resolution in favour of sending a deputation to England to co-operate with the Congress deputation in placing before the British people the Indian claims as outlined in the reform scheme, how dare the Chirols and their tribe call in question the responsible and representative character of the people demanding the the satisfaction of the Indian claims? But the solution of the Indian problem is not so easy a task as the blatant and youthful Home Rulers would have us believe. By shouting the loudest no real reform can be achieved, nor by traducing the elderly Congressmen who decline to join them in their political tub-thumping."

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 14th Jan., Eng. cols.

*31. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* thus concludes a lenthy review of the proceedings of the recent Session of the Congress:—"The proceedings of the thirty-first session of the Indian National Congress were undoubtedly very successful and of great significance. If indeed anything were needed to complete the success of it, that was forthcoming in the Ninth All-India Moslem League, presided over by a Mahammadan wholly devoted to the cause of self-government in India—the Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah. His presidential address was one that might have been delivered from the platform of the Congress itself. It must rejoice the heart of India that the resolutions passed

League were also wholly Indian in character, thus giving whole-hearted support to Mr. Jinnah's ideas and ideals. Demand for self-government, deputation to England, condemnation of the Press Act and the Defence of India Act, and of the internment of Mr. Mahomed Ali—these were the subjects of the resolutions, and which one of them would not be cordially endorsed by every Congressman? The days of Hindu-Moslem enmity are gone, and with them one shibboleth of the Anglo-Indians. May it ever be so! In the Moslem League Session of this year's was heard the siren voice of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and the vigorous accents of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. What a beautiful change in 'the angle of vision'—not the one that is talked about, but the one that is actually realised."

Phoenix (7), 10th Jan.

32. Commenting on the post-war Reform Scheme jointly accepted by the Congress and the Moslem League, the *Phoenix* remarks:—"This Reform Scheme is the minimum which the Indians must have after the termination of the war. But whether this minimum will be granted is a matter on which it is difficult to prognosticate, for we painfully note that already the interested Anglo-Indian opposition has begun to raise its head. Lord Sydenham, a former Governer of Bombay, between whom and the educated Indians there was no love lost, has given vent to his pent up feelings in the columns of the London *Times* while dealing with the Reform Memorandum presented by the nineteen elected Indian Members of the Imperial Legislative Council.......... Then we have the Chirols and the Curtises who are scouring the country with a view to making out a case against India being admitted into the partnership of the Empire. It is but certain that when the war is over the Tory reactionaries in a solid phalanx will oppose the grant of the reforms demanded by the Indians. But the Indians are already forearmed for that contingency. As soon as the war is over the joint deputation of the Congress and the League will go to England for agitating for the acceptance of the Reform Scheme. In this connection Educated India, both Hindu and Moslem, will present a united front to the forces of reaction which may be called into play by those from whom power is to be taken away......... In spite of depressing opposition from a large portion of Englishmen out here to the Indian Reform Scheme we hope and trust British statesmanship will not, in the end, belie its best traditions."

Appeal to Government to carefully consider the scheme of proposed reforms prepared by the joint Committee of the Congress and the Moslem League.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 9th Jan,

33. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses admiration for the tact and foresight shown by the joint Committee of the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress in framing the draft of their scheme of reforms for India. It fully endorses the recommendations made by the Committee and discussing them in detail, expresses a hope that Government will be pleased to give them careful consideration and to adopt them in course of time with a view to satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people

Reflections on the Hindu-Muhammadan union brought about at the Congress.

Kesari (95), 9th Jan.

34. The Anglo-Indian journalists certainly cannot be expected to bear the sight of the Hindus and Muhammadans sinking their differences and making common cause in demanding *swarájya* for India. They are, therefore, characterising the union as hollow. But they should remember that the stars are favourable to India at present, and hence it was that all the attempts made by some high-placed evil advisers to cause a split between the two communities did not bear fruit. The Muhammadans are not a weak-minded people. Before the advent of the British they were rulers of Northern India and Englishmen and Marathas served them as their Dewans and Mutaliks. During the quarter of a century following the Mutiny they were under Government's disfavour and this treatment made them sullen and disappointed. But all the while their political aspirations remained as strong as ever, and education acting like a tigress's milk naturally put new life into them. Moreover, their Khaliphate which had grown powerless has recently improved its position and Turkey, which the whole of Europe had declared to be at its last gasp, has recovered and has risen rejuvenated from its death-bed and is struggling for nourishment. In these circumstances, and at a time when their Hindu brethren are marching forward with the times, why will the Muhammadans sit silent with folded arms? They, therefore, joined hands with the Hindus. The Hindus too showed their good sense by toning down their opposition to their demands for special representation. They also consented to the grant to them of representation in the Legislative Councils in excess of their numerical strength. The Hindus have thus given to the Muhammadans some things at least for which they will be grateful. But what is Government going to give to the Muhammadans? The spirit of compromise has removed all fears of differences between the two communities and Government must now bear in mind that they will now unitedly fight with them with greater energy than before. [The paper elsewhere writes that the enemies of the Indian nation, as a set-off to the union of Hindus and Muhammadans, have got up a new quarrel between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, which, the paper feels confident, will come to nothing in the end.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 11th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 10th Jan.

35. In the course of a letter contributed to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, *Momin* contrasts the objects with which the All-India Moslem League was originally founded with the object it has now set up before itself and inquires, if the happy termination of the joint efforts of the Committee appointed by the Congress and the Reform Committee appointed by the Moslem League does not mean Hindu-Moslem unity, what else it can mean. He then goes on to remark that the proper duty of Moslem leaders is to put the uneducated classes among the community on the right path and settling the present differences among its members. He considers it to be their duty to impress upon the minds of Muhammadans the desirability of working in co-operation with the Hindus at the time, when on the termination of the war, His Majesty's Government will introduce reforms beneficial to India. The writer observes that it will be principally these two communities that will reap the benefits of such reforms, and the greater the good understanding between them, the more far-reaching will be the character of the rights conferred on India. [After declaring that the establishment of unity between the Hindus and Muhammadans would really be a good thing for India and referring to the harmony brought about between the political leaders of the two communities at the last session of the Indian National Congress, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* continues:—But does this *rapprochement* between the leaders mean a real unity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans? If the union between the Congress and the Moslem League is to be regarded as the union of the two communities, we would characterise it as only a superficial union because the Congress does not mean the Hindus and the League does not mean the Muhammadans. It is true that the political leaders of both these communities have arrived at an understanding on certain controversial matters; but can their unanimity be regarded as the unanimity of the two communities? Will the latter be ready to abide by the understanding so arrived at between their respective leaders? Are the Moslem leaders who have come to a settlement with a few Hindus with regard to certain Moslem questions, the trusted representatives of the community? All these questions can hardly be answered in the affirmative unhesitatingly, and if that be the case it is not easy to understand how unity can be said to have been effected between the Hindus and the Muhammadans at the Lucknow session of the Congress.]

Reflections on the proceedings of the recent sessions of the Moslem League and the Congress at Lucknow.

Islámic Mail (4), 7th Jan., Eng. edition.

36. "The Honourable Mr. Wazir Hasan has at last succeeded in fastening his League to the Congress tether and there is great jubilation on both sides on the event. The Congress people rejoice at 'winning over the Muhammadans' to their side and the Muhammadans are happy at the prospect of governing India conjointly with the Hindus. We poor moderates will find ourselves in a fix. As a friend humorously remarked, we played the part of the bat in the war of [illegible] and the beasts and now that the two are united we will find ourselves cut off from both. We had a foretaste of it......... The Congress people refused to admit a representative of this paper in the Congress pandal,........ He was also excluded from the Moslem League.......... But our woes do not end here. We have been assured, as is very likely, that the authorities, too, for whom we have stood so long would not treat us with any great favour when they find that we live in complete isolation from the forces that mean so much in the political life of India. They say that Government will only respect those who have the people at their back; as you lose your influence with the people you lose all your respect in the eyes of Government. .... This sort of sophistry has beguiled no doubt many of us to the extremist camp and it was perhaps responsible for the incredible change in the attitude of that sober and veteran politician—the Raja of Jehangirabad. People were spell-bound with wonder when they saw this great conservative leader getting up to propose the resolution of self-government at the last session of the League. The young boys never regarded him with favour and he was certainly a *bete noir* with the Congress.......... When he got up to speak, there were dissenting grunts and a few hisses. The young men assembled there expected this veteran conservative leader to denounce their extravagant demands with his usual vigour and energy. But they were simply stupefied to hear words of encouragement and approval and their astonishment knew no bounds when he proposed the resolution about forming a committee to concert measures for the achievement of *swaraj*. They cheered him wildly and it is said that a prominent European officer who was present at the meeting expressed as his opinion, to one of the organisers of the meeting, that with a few more conversions like that of the Raja of Jehangirabad they (the Home Rulers) would be within easy reach of their goal. A prominent Zemindar Chowdhari—who had gone to the meeting, as he said, to see the Lat Saheb—was surprised at the way the Sahebs took the whole thing. They were denounced for the internment of Messrs. Mohammed Ali and Showkat Ali and their various other measures were subjected to unpleasant criticism. When Mr. Nabiullah condemned the internments, and there were cries of 'shame' from the audience, all those who were responsible for the internments sat silently, gulping down the vote of censure. What is more, the Governor of the Province graced both the Congress and the League sessions with his presence and sat nonchalantly among *ex*-convicts and suspicious characters as if they were his peers and equals.......... If anything can really undermine the official prestige it is the extraordinary sense of toleration displayed by the officials on such occasions as these. If any thing serves to increase the rank of extremists it is the way the officials temporise with them. It may be called policy or sympathy; it may be justifiable in the eyes of the officials and they may have their reasons for patronising these, what may be called anti-bureaucratic movements, but ordinary people, not much versed in official diplomacy consider it as a sign of weakness.......... We must confess we were horrified at the perverse and bellicose spirit displayed by the youths of the United Provinces. For the session of the Moslem League was mostly composed of the young men from all parts of the United Provinces. No other province took any prominent part. Bombay stood firm to the decision arrived at a few weeks before the League meeting and no one attended the session from our province except Mr. Jinnah and his personal friends.......... All those who have identified themselves in some way or other with extremism or, to be more exact, with the anti-bureaucratic movement, such as Messrs. Tilak, Gandhi, Bepin Chandra Pal, Mrs. Annie Besant, etc., etc., were given an ovation and all those who have stood with the Government such as Mian Mohammad Shafi, Dr. Ziauddin, Sir Ali Imam, etc., etc., were treated with hostility.......... It may be glorious to play the part of opposition and abuse those in power.......... But placed as we are in British India, it would be disastrous to our interests to try to imitate the unruly youths of Bengal. It may frighten some chicken-hearted leaders, but it is foolish to suppose that it will frighten Government. It is possible that our misguided friends have mistaken kindness for weakness and in spite of all that Mr. Gandhi or others may say, it is not safe to twist the lion's tail." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The proposal to insert Sir Syed

Ali Imam's name in the list of the Vice-Presidents of the Molsem League was hooted by the audience and it required superhuman efforts on the part of Messrs. Mazharul Haq and Jinnah to get it passed. The young men assembled in the meeting could not consider with equanimity the proposal to confer the great honour of the Vice-Presidenship of the Moslem League upon one who had been given an honour by Government. They vehemently protested against it. But Messrs. Mazharul and Jinnah ran to their friend's rescue and the latter won his case as a personal favour to the Lord High President of the League. We wonder if Sir Ali Imam at all cares for the great honour thus bestowed, and it would be a pleasant joke if he refuses it. But there is a humorous side of it which cannot be ignored. So long as Sir Ali Imam was in service and a member of the Government, these very gentlemen who opposed his vice-presidentship of the League were vociferous in praise of his work, and one or two went so far as to say that he was the saviour of the Mussalmans. (This was when he helped the solution of the Cawnpore Mosque Muddle.) But it is just the same in every case. They praise one at a moment and condemn one in the next breath."]

Proceedings of the recent session of the Moslem League at Lucknow.

Gujaráti (13), 7th Jan.

37. The *Gujaráti* makes the following observations on the session of the Moslem League at Lucknow:—Had it not been for the war India's loyalty and powers would not have been appreciated by England and her Colonies. The war has indirectly advanced the cause of India and has cemented the union between Hindus and Muhammadans. But it is the British that must be primarily thanked for bringing about this union for they have given us education and enabled us to take broad views. It is western education that has enabled the Muhammadans and the Hindus each to recognise the importance of the other in Indian polity and has caused the Moslem League to rise to the height of recognising *swarájya* as the ultimate goal of India's aspirations and thus identifying itself with the Indian National Congress. [The paper then gives excerpts from the speeches of the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the League and its President, and adds:—] It is surprising to note the change that has taken place in the aims and aspirations of the League in such a short time. The change is largely due to the advance of education among the Muhammadans during the last decade and the experiences they have received during that period. As the proverb goes, the wearer knows where the shoe pinches and the Honourable Mr. Jinnah has shown where the shoe pinches the Indian in the matter of the administration of his country. [The paper then goes on to quote from Mr. Jinnah's address to show how the bureaucracy have monopolised all power and are unwilling to part with it.]

Appreciation of the bestowal on Her Excellency Lady Willingdon of the honour of the Crown of India.

Gujaráti Punch (15), 7th Jan., Eng cols.

38. "Every one of our readers will be pleased to read of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon being appointed a Lady of the Order of the Crown of India. From the time of her arrival in our midst Her Excellency has thrown herself heart and soul into every movement for the good of this Presidency in general and its women in particular. Since the outbreak of the war she has identified herself with all movements to relieve the sick and the wounded in war and the magnitude of the work done by the various branches of the Women's War and Relief Fund in this Presidency under her guidance and leadership will long bear testimony to her capacity as an organiser and to the noble response which Indian women are capable of giving in times of Imperial necessity."

The New Year Honours List.

Islámic Mail (4), 7th Jan., Eng. edition.; *Gujaráti* (13), 7th Jan.

39. Referring to the New Year's Day Honors List, the *Islámic Mail* says:—"The Honourable Sir Claude Hill has identified himself so closely with the Muhammadans in Bombay that every Muhammadan regards him there as one of their own and his distinction will be held with deep-felt satisfaction by the Mussulmans of this Presidency. From the official point too no one can claim to have earned [illegible] little better than he. His career in Bombay was marked by a breadth of view and liberality of opinion which is by no means very common in the I.C.S......... His sympathy for India and his deep interest in Indian progress, his ever preparedness to advance the cause of the country which he serves, his kindness of heart and generosity of mind made him exceedingly popular with all, Hindus, Muhammadans and Parsis......... It is to be regretted that the Muhammadans have come in for a smaller share of the honours than used to be the case. In fact except Mr. Azizuddin Husain, retiring Collector of South Arcot, and the Wazir of Kalat, no Muhammadan name appears in the list of higher titles. Nawab Mushtaq Husain, our veteran leader, Nawab Ishaq Khan, Honorory Secretary of the League, *ex*-Justice Karamat Husain and many others deserved some recognition of their distinguished services to the community and to Government." [The *Gujarāti* thinks that there is very little that can be said to be attractive from the popular point of view in the New Year's Honours List. The paper then proceeds to congratulate Lady Willingdon and others for the honours they have gained and adds :—The country's treasury has been depleted on account of the war and we, therefore, doubt whether people will approve of the increase in the emoluments of the Indian Medical Service announced on the New Year's day. It must, however, be said that Government have taken a very fit step in undertaking to supply free rations to the Indian troops.]

Mr. Mallet's report on the Indian Students Department.
Dnyān Prakāsh (35), 12th Jan.

40. Mr. Mallet's report for 1916 does not show that the suspicion with which the Indian Students Department is regarded by the Indian students in England has in any degree diminished. The difficulties under which our students there have long been labouring have not only not been removed, but have actually increased since the Department, for which India has to pay six thousand pounds a year, came into existence. In none of its reports has the charge made against the Department that it has been doing the work of keeping the students under surveillance, been clearly rebutted and this fact has apparently strengthened the students in their suspicions. Referring to the difficulties of Indian Medical students, Mr. Mallet suggests that facilities for complete medical education should be provided for in India and he has also made a somewhat similar suggestion respecting law students. Mr. Mallet, whose duty consisted in looking after the interests of Indian students in England, should not have gone out of his way to make these suggestions. The students who have all along disliked his Department may very well say that Mr. Mallet has been prompted to make them with a view to rob them of the opportunity of gaining a first-hand knowledge of England.

Comments on the evidence given before the Public Works Department Re-organisation Committee in Bombay.
Bombay Samāchār (55), 11th and 12th Jan.

41. Commenting upon the evidence recorded before the Public Works Department Re-organisation Committee in Bombay, the *Bombay Samāchār* writes :—The official witnesses seem to be of opinion that the existing conditions are not sufficiently favourable to permit of the adoption of a system of entrusting large works generally to private agency. However, there is ground to believe that construction works undertaken by the Public Works Department prove more costly than those executed through private agency. We fail to understand why work done through private agency should not be durable if it is properly supervised. Public Works Department contractors, when they give evidence, will be able to show that works done through them are both durable and cheap. We hope the Committee will recognise the fact that the College of Engineering at Poona is not sufficient to meet the requirements of our Presidency and that many students are refused admission to that institution owing to lack of accommodation. We hope Mr. Wittet's scheme about a college of architecture in Bombay to be affiliated to the University, will be taken in hand soon after the war is over. [In the subsequent issue the paper expresses gratification at the frank and straightforward views expressed before the Committee by the Principals of the Engineering College, Poona, and the Technical Institute, Bombay, about the lack of facilities for giving their students practical training and expresses the hope that some arrangement will be arrived at to give students the practical knowledge they are found deficient in by enlisting the co-operation of private firms to which the students may be apprenticed for a certain number of years. The paper emphasises the need of opening more engineering and technical institutions in the Presidency.]

Message (6), 11th Jan.

42. Commenting on Mr. Sly's opening address before the Public Works Committee, the *Message* remarks:—"For any but small works, the agency of the contractor is the most unsuitable at present, at least so far as we in India are concerned, and we are strongly opposed to the idea of the state divesting itself of all direct interest in such works. It is a different thing, however, to say that the Government of India should have all authority centralized in it. There must be devolution of powers and except for purely imperial works financed directly by the Government of India, the power of initiative and execution must be vested in the Provincial authorities. The Government of India may retain some sort of supervisory control over the Provincial authorities; but the latter should not be kept in leading-strings. With regard to the second possible line of advance, devolution of power to local bodies, we feel that the time has come when they should be treated more liberally and with a greater amount of respect. They should have power to manage their public works as best they can and beyond advising when advice is sought, the Provincial departments should have nothing to do with them. Local authorities may make mistakes; but the Public Works Department is not free from such mistakes. It is from small mistakes that they will attain to the capacity for success. In some places, a scheme of restricted devolution of authority has been carried out and it would be interesting to consider its lesson in the light of experience gained during the past five or six years."

Message (6), 12th Jan.

43. "Mr. Wittet made a sugestion for the bifurcation of the Roads and Buildings Branch of the Public Works Department, so that the roads and the buildings would each be in charge of a special department. Bifurcation has long been effected between Irrigation and Buildings and there is nothing extraordinary in the proposal to effect a similar bifurcation between roads and buildings. Under it, each will be in charge of men who will not only design but carry out the construction of the works falling within their charge. But before it can be effected, we should have the necessary human material. It will not do to effect division and then go abegging for trained men to Europe or America. The time for effecting any change would, therefore, be when we have the college working for a number of years and it will have turned out a sufficient number of hands to meet adequately the departmental requirements."

Comments on the possible selection of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee to replace the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair if he is sent to the Imperial War Conference.

Message (6), 9th Jan.

44. Referring to the statement that Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee will replace the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair in the Viceregal Executive Council if the latter is taken up for the Imperial War Conference, the *Message* remarks:—"If the information of the *Madras Mail* is correct, one would be thoroughly justified in asking why is this craze for retired Judges of High Court? Is not there a single non-official Indian outside their ranks, who can fill equally satisfactorily, if not better, the Educational Membership? It is true Sir Ashutosh once held the high office of Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and he is as conversant with Indian educational problems as any Indian could be expected to be, perhaps more. All the same, an impression—a rather well founded impression—prevails that he has imbibed too many bureaucratic ideas. Even were it otherwise, it is impossible for him to bring to his work that freshness and vigour of mind, as also breadth of vision, which are the essential requisites of success."

Complaint that the managing khots in the Dápoli Taluka of the Ratnágiri District have not been given assistance to recover their dues from their tenants.

Satya Shodhak (104), 7th Jan.

45. There seems to be much dilatoriness in the Dápoli Taluka in the matter of giving assistance to the khots for recovering their dues from their tenants. Complaints have reached us that the managing khots have not yet been given assistance for recoveries for the year 1914-15. If in *Dharekari* villages failure in the payment of the revenue instalments is punished with fine, which is recovered by coercive measures, why should not steps be taken to give prompt assistance to the khots for recovering their dues? We hope that the district authorities will inquire into the matter and remedy the grievance.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for the year 1915-16.

Hindusthán (17), 11th Jan.

46. Commenting on the latest report of the Director of Public Instruction for the year 1915-16, the *Hindusthán* writes:—The report has been published after nine months of the completion of the official year; six months were taken up in the compilation of the report and Government took three months to accord their approval to it. We thus see how slow the working of the Educational Department is. It is to be regretted that the report slurs over important details and makes unsuccessful attempts to cover up the faults of the department. In explaining certain matters, humorous writing has been indulged in. It is not proper to poke fun at such an important subject as education and such writing is quite out of place in an authoritative report. The report gives no indication of the steps taken to remedy defects. The figures given in the report prove that the expenditure on primary and higher education was very meagre during the year under report. It would be no exaggeration to say that the attitude of indifference taken up by the department towards higher education is quite deplorable. We are extremely sorry to note that only three pages of the report are devoted to University and collegiate education! It is to be regretted that Government have taken no steps to remove the complaint of lack of accommodation in colleges. The only way to meet the situation is to open new colleges or to provide extra accommodation in the existing colleges. Some efforts are being made to open new colleges and we hope the organisers of the movements will meet with success.

State of Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency generally and in Bombay City in particular.

Islámic Mail (4), 7th Jan., Eng. edition.

47. "We wish we could accord our approval to the proposal put forward by the Aujuman-e-Tarakki Urdu at its annual sitting at Lucknow, to perpetuate the Urdu training classes at the Ahmedabad Training College. So far as we know this arrangement has in no way been helpful in advancing the interests of Urdu which its organisers had at heart. The outturn of its work has not only been poor but inefficient and what is more in no way proportionate to the expenditure incurred over it. The teachers who have passed from it have not given satisfaction to the public, and even the best of them have not been able to secure public confidence; with the result that, as we have repeatedly said, people are reluctant to take advantage of Urdu schools and prefer private arrangements.......... If the people are really anxious to continue the arrangement at Ahmedabad or to advance the instruction of Urdu, they should approach the City Fathers in Bombay and local boards in the districts to place the supervising staff on a better and more efficient footing. In Bombay the whole trouble appears to cluster round the supervising staff which he said to be wanting in efficiency. In fact it is said that Mr. Bhaiji knows as much of Urdu as we know of the Russian language and yet he is the Inspector of Urdu schools for the City. He carries on his correspondence in Gujarati and we would not be surprised to hear that he writes his inspection remarks too in Gujarati. We call upon the Schools Committee of the Corporation to look to these complaints which are growing in intensity and volume and try to remove the grievances of the public if they find them based on truth and fact."

RAILWAYS.

State *versus* Company management of Railways in India.

Young India (11), 10th Jan.

48. Mr. B. V. Mehta writes to *Young India*:—"The need of a united, strong and persistent protest against company management of railways is paramount if the most powerful brakes on the wheels of Indian progress are to be released. Government with all its benevolent intentions and desire to promote our material welfare is powerless to shape its railway policy with a sole eye to the Indian nation's interests. It is subject to the powerful influence of the shareholders and directors of the railway companies whose interests always conflict with Indian interests, and who know only too well how to use that influence to their best advantage.......... The columns of *Young India*, *New India* and the *Chronicle* have made it abundantly clear that in 1881 the Government of India was strongly opposed to company management, but its hands were forced by the Secretary of State to adopt the policy which was repugnant to it and which was fraught with positive incalculable harm to India. There is no ground for supposing that Government will not again protest against company management when the question comes up for decision next year. But Government will again be helpless because of the Parliamentary influence of the railway companies. It therefore behoves the Indian national press, the Indian national associations, and the Indian national leaders to do all they can to strengthen the hands of the Indian Government.......... When disinterested Englishmen like Sir Guilford Molesworth are loudly and persistently crying out that 'the reversal of Lord Lawrence's railway policy of State construction and management has been disadvantageous, and the continuance of such reversal is, in the interests of the people of India generally, to be strongly deprecated,' it is the duty of every person who is interested in the progress of India to contribute by his pen, speech and purse, as far as in him lies, to the agitation for State management."

Suggestions to the G. I. P. Railway to remove the hardships of the third class passengers.

Sandesh (103), 9th Jan.

49. Mr. V. G. Javdekar writes to the *Sandesh*:—The hardships to which the third class passengers were already subjected before have now been immeasurably increased by the recent reduction in the number of trains by the G. I. P. Railway and the withdrawal of the various concessions. But all these hardships must be undergone without complaint on account of the war. At the same time I would like to suggest that the practice of reserving compartments for Europeans and Eurasians should now be discontinued. If English soldiers take pride in fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Indian soldiers on the battlefield, there is no reason why Europeans should think it a degradation to travel in the company of Indians. Similarly the number of first class and second class carriages attached to trains should be cut down as it is a patent fact that on many an occasion they remain empty owing to paucity of passengers, and the first and second class fares should also be increased. The Railway authorities should also take care to see that recruits for the army travelling in trains do not take up more room than is necessary. It has been found that sometimes a single recruit occupies a whole bench, and all appeals to the guard, station master and the police go unheeded as these recruits are looked upon as guests of Government.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Question of free primary education before the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

**Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 14th Jan., Eng. cols.

50. Referring to the motion brought by Mr. Rajaram Tukaram before the Bombay Municipal Corporation on the subject of free primary education in Bombay City, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"This will prove a very testing motion. For the Corporation contains trusted leaders who never tire of demanding that Government should make primary education free and compulsory. It is to be seen if they will come [illegible] occasion, or whether they will play the part of official [illegible] Government pleading 'financial stringency'. We trust these [illegible] rise to the occasion and set a good example to Government. [illegible] credit will be lost and they will be seen to be men who talk more [illegible] they actually do, and who are prepared to spend lavishly, if only the money comes out of somebody else's pocket!"

Appeal to the Bombay Food Prices Committee to take measures to reduce prices.

Akhbár-e-Islám (52), 12th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 13th Jan.; *Hindi Punch* (16), 7th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Indu Prakásh* (36), 8th Jan.

51. Expressing its satisfaction at the reduction brought about in the recent abnormal rise in the price of charcoal, through the intervention of the Food Prices Committee, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that the Municipal Commissioner should, as Chairman of the Committee, in a like manner, make all possible endeavours to bring about a reduction in the prices of other household articles, and thus put a stop to the hardships the poor and the middle classes have to suffer at present as a result of the prevalence of high prices. It particularly suggests that a reduction should be effected in the present price of kerosene oil on the ground that while charcoal is a commodity which, to a great extent, the poor people can do without, kerosene oil is an article which is indispensable even to the poorest among them. Under the heading "an appeal to the Food Prices Committee" the *Jám-e-Jamshed* publishes a letter wherein the writer dwells upon the hardships poor people have to suffer on account of the dearness of rice and requests the editor to take up the question with a view to bringing about a satisfactory solution of the matter similar to that recently arrived at in connection with charcoal. The *Hindi Punch* and the *Indu Prakásh* also appeal to the Food Prices Committee to take steps to bring about a lowering of the prices.]

Need of timely measures to prevent recrudescence of plague in Bombay City.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 13th Jan.

52. The *Bombay Samáchár* congratulates the local Municipal Health Officer on the far-sightedness he has displayed in suggesting the establishment of a camp for immigrant beggars with a view to preventing the possibility of a strong recrudescence of plague in Bombay. It, however, does not approve of the action of the Municipal Standing Committee in sanctioning the expenditure of Rs. 10,000 for the purpose, subject to confirmation by the Bombay Municipal Corporation. The paper remarks that the Corporation should inquire as to whether the Standing Committee could legitimately give such a sanction and adds that it should be settled whether the liability for such expenditure rests on Government or the Municipality and that it is the duty of the party that is so liable to take timely measures for the preservation of the health of the city.

The Poona Municipality's representation to Government respecting the cost of the Poona Drainage Works.

Mahrátta (5), 14th Jan.

*53. Referring to the representation submitted by the Poona Municipality to Government in connection with the cost of the Poona Drainage Works, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"The representation will give our readers enough information to form a correct idea of the humiliations which our Municipality has suffered, thanks to the 'courtesy' of Mr. Mandy, the Executive Engineer, supplemented by that of Government. The defiance of rules in an officer of Mr. Mandy's position is highly deserving of censure. But instead of obtaining his well-merited meed, Mr. Mandy seems to have been indulged in his waywardness by the higher authorities. The Municipality is treated as *naught* by an official who by specific rules was bound to respect it, to send monthly reports to it and to apply for its sanction in the case of anticipated excess in expenditure and deviations from sanctioned plans. And this illegal and discourteous behaviour of the official *passes* without censure while the 'humble' Municipality is ordered to pay a large sum which it is 'not legally nor morally' bound to pay—to meet the expenditure illegally incurred by the self-willed Executive Engineer. This is, to say the least, highly unjust.

We hope that Government will see their way to examining this scandalous affair in a thorough manner and do reasonable reparation to the Municipality of Poona for the humiliations it has been subjected to for no fault of its own.'

Suggestion for the postponement of the general elections of the Dhulia (West Khándesh) Municipality on account of plague.

Khándesh Vaibhav (96), 8th Jan.

54. The *Khándesh Vaibhav* calls attention to the prevalence of plague at Dhulia and the consequent evacuation of the greater part of the town, many inhabitants of which have gone to reside at long distances, and suggests that as the triennal general elections for the local Municipality fixed for next month are now impossible under the circumstances, they may be postponed for at least three months. The paper asks the President and the Collector to take the necessary steps in the matter.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 19th January 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

H 468—7 CON

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 4 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 27th January 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on Lord Sydenham's article "The Danger in India" . . 22 & 23
Comments on Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai's book "Young India" . . . 21
Comments on the alleged participation of Sir James Meston and other Government officials in the activities of the *Round Table* . . 18
Comments on the Bombay Government's decision to stop the publication of the *Blue Book Quarterly* 32
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's new book entitled Self-Government for India under the British Flag 20
Comments on the offer of gold bullion by Government for sale through the Presidency Banks 28
Comments on the reported intention to grant autonomy to Portuguese India 25
Comments on the reported purchase of lands in India by English Co-operative Companies 31
India should be permitted to develop on her own lines 19
Mr. Tilak should be invited to visit Sind 26
Native States have done much more for their subjects than the Indian Government which is only appointing commissions . . 24
One rupee notes if issued will not be popular 29
The importance of irrigation canals even from the military point of view 30
Will Muhammadans profit by joining the Hindus and the Congress party? 27
Excise; Protest against the rumoured increase in the salt tax 46

Indians in the Colonies and America:

Comments on the proposed continuance of the indentured labour system for further period of five years . . . . 33—36
Proposed Asiatic exclusion legislation in the United States and the British Ambassador's failure to protest against it 39
The right claimed by the White Colonists to keep out Asiatics is not based on civilization but on brute force 37
When India gets self-government it will see that Indians are treated with respect by the Colonies 38
Judicial matters: Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the appeal in connection with the action taken by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, with regard to accommodation for C. I. D. reporters in the Provincial Conference pandal . . . . 43 & 44

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Police: Comments on the recent prosecution by a Bombay — Officer of Mr. H. A. Wadia for a breach of one of the Rules under the Bombay Motor Vehicles Act. 45
Public Service Commission: Comments on the recommendations of the — . 40—42
Sind:
  Comments on the address presented by the Sind Muhammadan Association to His Excellency Lord Willingdon . . . . 47 & 48
  Complaint about arbitrary and unprecedented enhancement of income-tax in Hyderabad (—) 49
War:
  Comments on Dr. Wilson's advocacy of a peace without victory . . 14 & 15
  Comments on the proposal to raise a double company of educated Punjabis 12
  Comments on the selections made to represent India at the Imperial — Conference . . . . 1—6
  How India has rendered pecuniary help to England during the — . 11
  India's representation on the Council of the Empire will be nothing more than an empty honour 7
  It is possible that Sweden may join the enemy to achieve her aims against Russia 16
  Protest against the reasons adduced for introducing compulsory service for Europeans in India 17
  The part played by the Indian forces at the front should be made more widely known in India than is the case at present. . . 13
  The proposed Indian — Loan . . . . 8—10

LEGISLATION—

Protest against the proposed amendment in the Court Fees Act in connection with land suits 50

EDUCATION—

Comments on Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford's views on female education in India 55
Comments on the announcement of a Government grant of one lakh for scholarships for Muhammadans in Sind 56
The Conference of Directors of Public Instruction at Delhi . . . . 51—54

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay: The — Corporation and free primary education in the City . . 57
Poona: The period for submitting objections to the town planning scheme for Bhamburda (—) should be extended 58

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the making of primary education free and compulsory in Bhopal State 59

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the selections made to represent India at the Imperial War Conference.

Mahrdtta (5), 28th Jan.

*1. "The Secretary of State will be no doubt assisted by Sir James Meston, Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner and will learn much from them about the aspirations of the Indians. But is he, like the premiers of the Dominions, bound to put the views of the Indians before the Conference? The answer is in the negative and the three nominees, subordinate as they are to him, must, as was clearly said by Lord Hardinge, 'act in conformity with the policy and the wishes of the Secretary of State.'......... One of the assistants, too, Sir James Meston, is involved in the mischievous Curtis clique and wishes to put India under the yoke of the Dominions with whom we have claimed equality and from whom we have won it.......... Such is then our situation that of the four persons who will be present there there is only one who can sit with the Dominion premiers as their equal, and he is not bound to represent the cause of India according to the wishes of the people. Not only this but unfortunately he is such a man as was not afraid to show a cynical indifference to our opinions when he piloted the Government of India Consolidation Act and the Indian Civil Service (temporary provision) Act through the Parliament! He did not even think it necessary to inform the Indian public about these Bills. A gentleman who can slightingly treat the opinions of the Indians in this manner with impunity can hardly be trusted by the Indian community, and can hardly be expected to present the case of India before the Imperial Conference according to the wishes of the people. His assistants will give curtain lectures to him but will be powerless before him. This, if at all it is anything, is but a mockery of representation. We are therefore constrained to say that by the present arrangement India can be said to have won recognition, but not a true and direct representation.......... Sir Shankaran Nair would have certainly been a fit person in Sir James Meston's place.......... His Hisghness the Maharája Gaekwar of Baroda, who acted as the spokesman of the Princes in their last conference, would have been a better selection than the Maharaja of Bikaner. He would yield to none of his colleagues in faithful loyalty, patriotism and statesmanship; and, added to that, he has got much experience and above all boldness and eloquence.......... We do not know why his claims were ignored. We must, however, be content with having the Maharaja of Bikaner for the present and we are sure that he and Sir S. P. Sinha will play their part with consummate ability and skill, and show to the Dominion premiers that India has as much 'fitness' as they have to deal with not only the Indian, but even the Imperial, questions."

Message (6), 25th Jan.; *Sandesh* (103), 21st Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 27th Jan.

2. Referring to the selection of Sir James Meston for the War Conference, the *Message* remarks:—"Whatever his abilities and merits for the task, he has now utterly disqualified himself for it. If Government were not willing to deal with him in the manner his undesirable conduct deserved, was it not at least due to the public that the Government of India should have spared them this humiliating infliction? With regard to Sir S. P. Sinha's appointment, we do not want at present to say much except that the public should be told at once in what capacity he is going to the conference, whether as the representative of official India or Indian India, and if as the latter, whether he is going to occupy the same dignity and exercise the same voice as the Colonial representatives.......... If he is merely to occupy an humble position and have no direct share in the conference it is better that they should know it beforehand, to avoid disappointment in the end. We understand that the whole energies of the conference will be devoted exclusively to one purpose and that is the winning of the war. So far so good. But the question is whether His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner is going to speak for himself or for the whole of the area representing 'one-third of

India and one-fourth of its population'. This is another important point which has to be made clear.......... Notwithstanding their staunch loyalty and magnificent help of the Ruling Chiefs, so voluntarily given, they are both in principle and practice the Allies of His Majesty just as much as any of the other Powers are. It may be they are small and uninfluential by themselves. But the present attempt to drag them into the arena of imperial politics is not very desirable, look at it how we may. We write subject to correction, of course; but it appears to us beyond doubt that in dragging them into the Empire politics, Government would be reducing them to the position of a semi-independent landed aristocracy." [The *Sandesh* writes:—Out of the three representatives from India, Government could have selected one having their confidence to explain their views to Mr. Chamberlain, but the other two should have been of the people's selection. Is it not unjust that Government should strengthen their own side alone and leave the popular side weak? Further, Government have, in making the nominations, not only failed to consult public opinion, but have also taken no account of the people's likes and dislikes. The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—From English papers it appears that there is every likelihood of other imperial subjects besides war being discussed at the conference, including the reorganisation of the Empire. In that case, the Maharaja of Bikaner and the two officials who are going to assist Mr. Chamberlain at the conference will never be acknowledged by the Indian public as their accredited representatives. But at the same time it is doubtful if even such representatives will be in a position to express opinions different from those of the Secretary of State. If they have to follow the latter's lead then it matters little who go with him as our representatives, for from what is known about Mr. Chamberlain, there is no hope of India's side being properly represented at the conference, whatsoever advisers are deputed to assist him.]

Gujaráti (13), 28th Jan., Eng. cols.

***3.** "Under the arrangement proposed by Mr. Chamberlain his nominees will simply give him such advice as he may choose to accept from them.......... Mr. Chamberlain is to be India's direct representative and in what respect he would be a better spokesman, for instance, than Lord Curzon, Lord Milner and Mr. Bonar Law who along with the Premier represent His Majesty's Government at the Conference, is incomprehensible to us. We confess we are not at all satisfied with the proposed arrangement. At the same time it must be borne in mind that unless and until the Conference changes its constitution, the representatives of India cannot be admitted to the ordinary Imperial Conference that is expected to meet later on.......... The principle of the recognition of India's right to be heard had been already conceded and the matter has now advanced a stage further. That is satisfactory so far as it goes and we are thankful to His Majesty's Government for having practically recognised India's right of audience at the Imperial Conference when it meets to consider questions of the kind it has handled in the past.......... As regards the persons selected by Mr. Chamberlain to assist him at the special meetings of the War Cabinet, we do not think a better qualified and representative Indian than Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha could have been found.......... The selection of Sir James Meston is not calculated to inspire great confidence.......... Now that he has been placed in a responsible position, we take it that he will falsify the apprehensions that his official association with Mr. Curtis' schemes of Imperial reconstruction has widely aroused. As regards the Maharaja of Bikaner, his selection will be welcomed in all quarters.......... The marked efficiency shown by his Imperial Service Troops in war is a further proof that he will be able to speak on military and other questions on behalf of his brother princes and of his countrymen in India with knowledge, experience and authority."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 24th Jan., Eng. and Guj. cols.

4. "Sir S. P. Sinha's selection was a foregone conclusion. As a member of the Viceroy's Executiue Council, as Advocate-General of Bengal, and now as a member of the Governor's Council in his own province, he has proved himself to be a very able man.......... At the same time some people would have preferred a non-official Indian; but it should not be forgotten that we should proceed by gradual steps and not *per saltum* in the evolution of representative Government......... Sir James Meston is reputed to be an exceedingly good administrator, and has some knowledge of the policy of the Dominion Governments and as such will be able to bring about a bond of sympathy between them and India. The announcement further states that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has also been invited by Government and has accepted the invitation. Hence we shall have two Indians on the Imperial Conference, one a representative of the people and the other a representative of the princes. We welcome this selection also as a recognition of the great assistance given by the Indian Rajahs during the war." [In its vernacular columns the paper writes in a similar strain, but remarks that in view of the light in which the public hold Sir James Meston owing to his connection with Mr. L. Curtis of the *Round Table*, Sir B. Robertson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, would have been a better choice.]

Bombay Samáchár (55), 25th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 23rd Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 24th Jan.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (75), 24th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (17), 24th Jan.

5. There is no doubt that the Indian Chiefs and their subjects will be glad at the selection of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir. We have every hope that the knowledge and experience he possesses will enable him to safeguard the interests of the Native States at the Conference. The appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha should be welcomed in all quarters inasmuch as he possesses ripe experience and holds moderate views in politics. The appointment of Sir James Meston will scarcely give satisfaction to a certain section of the Indian public. There are no two opinions as to Sir James' abilities, but some people have reasonable grounds to be apprehensive as to whether he will safeguard Indian interests considered from the Indian point of view. Let us hope that Sir James will co-operate with Sir Satyendra in safeguarding the interests of India at the Conference and that the Conference will prove beneficial to India. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The selections cannot be said to be objectionable on the whole. We have every hope that the three representatives will understand their responsibilities and dischange their duties to the satisfaction of all concerned. Both the representatives from British India are officials and the people would have been more glad if the choice of Government had fallen on a non-official gentleman. However, Sir Satyendra is as good as a non-official. We hope the representation of India on the War Conference will lead to its representation on the Imperial Conference in the near future. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* considers the selections as very satisfactory on the whole. It tries to dispel the prejudice created against Sir James by reminding the public of his sympathetic utterances at the Congress and the Moslem League. The *Shri Venkateshwar* wishes that some one else had been appointed in the place of Sir James. The *Hindusthán* also is of opinion that Sir James should not have been nominated on the Conference as he has given offence to the Indian public by his participation in Mr. Curtis' scheme for placing India under the control of the Colonies.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 28th Jan., Eng. cols.

*6. "Although we share the regret that India will have no direct representative on the Imperial War Conference we welcome the announcement of the names of those who are to assist the Secretary of State in the difficult task to which Mr. Chamberlain has been invited by the Prime Minister. The prosecution of the war to the only issue will be the one task before the Conference and it was only in the fitness of things that a further decision had been arrived at by His Majesty's Government that the Secretary of State should have the assistance of a Ruling Chief as well......... We look upon Sir Sinha's appointment in no other light than as a surrender to public opinion in the country and we regard him as the non-official who is to speak out the mind of the country before the Conference officially......... Sir James Meston is a Civilian of mature experience and some sympathy. His identifying himself with the 'Round Table' group has caused much displeasure against him. It is on that account that his appointment is looked upon with a great deal of suspicion."

India's representation on the Council of the Empire will be nothing more than an empty honour.

Gujarâti (13), 21st Jan.

7. The *Gujarâti* enters into a lengthy disquisition on the causes that have led England to concede the demands made by the Colonies for participation in the governance and defence of the Empire, and adds:—Viewed from any point, the reconstitution of the Empire will dethrone England from her present position and reduce it to the level of a Colony. Will India derive any benefit by having a seat in the Council of the Empire? Should India be represented by the Secretary of State without securing self-government, he will in the interests of his constituents side with the representative of England and thus England will really have two votes. But even if India gets self-government and sends her own representative on the Council of the Empire it is very doubtful whether the Indian representative will be able to achieve anything substantially beneficial to India. No doubt an Indian representative on the Council of the Empire will add to the self-respect of India, though he may not be able to do any good. The self-governing Colonies have been hankering for a share in the Government of the Empire, and they have secured it, and India might also be allowed to participate in it. But neither India nor the Colonies seem to have given a thought as to the price they will have to pay for the privilege they desire to get.

The proposed Indian War Loan.

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (24), 25th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Kesari* (95), 23rd Jan.; *Dnyân Prakâsh* (34), 21st Jan.

8. The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* declares that the Indian War Loan proposed to be raised during the next financial year will prove successful because it will appeal to the loyalty and patriotism of the people. It then continues:—"The only wonder is why the time of the issue of the new India War Loan should have synchronised with the issue of the new British loan which is also thrown open to the Indian public for subscription.......... The British War Loan will not be taken advantage of, however, by the mass of the people as the minimum price is fixed at £50 and £100.......... It may be suggested to Sir William Meyer however, that the loan should be issued in as democratic a form as possible. Even Rs. 100 which is the face value of ordinary Government paper is too high for ordinary people. The loan must be issued in small notes just as the war bills were issued in England, say of the amount of Rs. 10 or Rs. 15, which a poor man even can invest in by rigid economy." [The *Kesari* writes:—If the concessions and the rate of interest for the Indian War Loan be not the same as those offered for the British War Loan it will not be substantially subscribed for by the people. To make the Indian Loan popular a suggestion has been made that the rate of interest should be 5½ per cent. of which 4 per cent. should be actually paid and the balance of 1½ per cent. should be distributed amogst the subscribers by drawing lotteries according to the French system. The suggestion is worth trying as there is nothing in it either against morality or law. The *Dnyân Prakâsh* writes:—Had the Imperial Government declared its readiness to grant India's demands simultaneously with the announcement of the Indian War Loan, the country from one end to the other would have been enthusiastic about the loan. The opportunity is not gone yet. The public hope that the Viceroy will not lose this golden opportunity and will declare at the forthcoming session of the Imperial Legislative Council the determination of Government to concede India's demands. The raising of the War Loan would thereby be materially helped and the Indian soldiers would rush by millions to the battlefield and, crushing the enemy, bring about a victorious end of the war for the Allies.]

Bombay Samâchâr (55), 23rd Jan.; *Gujarât Mitra* (14), 21st Jan.; *Jâm-e-Jamshed* (20), 22nd Jan.; *Akhbâr-e-Islâm* (52), 22nd Jan.

9. The *Bombay Samâchâr* welcomes the proposal for issuing the new War Loan as an opportunity for India to help England to bring the war to a successful issue and exhorts the rich and well-to-do to subscribe to it as liberally as they possibly can. [*Gujarât Mitra* writes in a similar strain. The *Jâm-e-Jamshed* asks Government to make known to the public the terms of the Indian War Loan without waiting for the Budget

and suggests to them to make it attractive by offering for it as high a rate of interest as possible. The *Akhbâr-e-Islâm* exhorts the rich Muhammadans and the trustees of charitable institutions to help Government by subscribing to the British War Loan. It expresses hope that the Indian War Loan will be made as attractive as the British one.]

Gujarâti (13), 21st and *28th Jan., Eng. cols.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 28th Jan., Eng. cols.

10. After explaining the terms of the new British War Loan the *Gujarâti* writes:—The Government of India would do well to make a pronouncement as to whether the controllers of charitable or other public trusts can invest moneys in this loan. Various banks in India have undertaken to purchase the loan on behalf of the Indian people without charging any commission, but it has not been made known whether they will also collect the interest without charging any brokerage. [Refering to the Indian War Loan the paper writes:—The Indian war loan will in no way be less attractive than the British war loan and taking everything into consideration it seems fit that the Indian loan should be specially patronised by the Indian people. Let us see whether the Government of India will allow the controllers of public trusts to invest money in the British war loan. They might say that this is not necessary as the Indian war loan is open to them. There is no likelihood of there being any competition between the two loans as the Indian loan will be issued after the latest date fixed for subscribing to the British loan. [The *Gujarâti* in its issue of 28th instant remarks:—"The general impression is that the proposed loan is intended to be an extension of the British Loan, and instead of remitting their moneys to London, the Indian people are to pay them down in this country, the interest charge falling upon the British exchequer. What the Imperial Government want is that the contributions to their loan should be large, and the Government of India will, if this interpretation of the message is correct, only collect money from the Indian people and remit the same to the Imperial authorities. Here is a service which every citizen of the Empire is expected to render according to his capacity for the successful prosecution of the war and the Government of India very rightly hope for a loyal response from the Indian public." The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"Though she has not the wealth of England, India will not fail to contribute her modest mite and make the Indian War Loan a complete success. The myth of hoarded wealth apart, India has already borne the full weight of her pecuniary share in this war, and if unprecedented efforts are needed now more than ever before, India will not lag behind, and will be only too glad to make all necessary sacrifices."]

How India has rendered pecuniary help to England during the war.

Kesari (95), 23rd Jan.

11. The *Kesari* gives an analysis of the figures connected with the Indian cash balances, the currency and the gold standard reserves and Council Bills and tries to show that India has, at considerable loss to herself, allowed the Imperial Government a free use of her pecuniary resources. It goes on:—A matter for special regret is that the Government of the Transvaal, where Indians are refused even the common rights of citizenship, has been given a loan of over a crore and a half from India's money at 3 per cent. interest, while India herself has now to borrow at 4 or even 5 per cent.! Taking all items into account it appears that of the 33 or 34 crores of rupees out of the cash balances loaned out to the Imperial Government only 5 crores bear 4½ per cent. interest, no interest is paid on 18 crores and the rate of interest on 11 crores is only 3 per cent. Looking to the high rate of interest at present prevailing in England, the importance of the fact that England could have such a large amount at such a low rate of interest can well be appreciated. Add to the above amount 41 crores from the currency reserve also which are being used by England at a low rate of interest. In spite of the important financial assistance thus rendered to England by India, the outcry raised by Mr. Webb and his friends has at last apparently prevailed and the Government of India are going to raise a new War Loan in this country.

Comments on the proposal to raise a double company of educated Punjabis.

Gujaráti (13), 21st Jan.; *Kesari* (95), 23rd Jan.

12. Expressing its approval of the steps taken by the Government of the Punjáb to raise a double company from among educated Punjabis, the *Gujaráti* writes :—We would also like to see a double company formed from the educated men of this Presidency. If Bengal and the Punjáb can each furnish a double company why should Bombay not do the same? Government should not stop short of allowing educated men to enlist in the army, but they should also throw open the higher commissioned ranks to them. It is not desirable that Indian students should shed their blood and the British officers should get the credit for it. Do Government want to postpone the consideration of the question of giving commissions to Indians till they have suffered further great losses in life and money in the war? If it be so, Indians will have to wish for the prolongation of the war. Indians have given ample proofs of their loyalty and we see no reason why Government should be so cautious in granting further concessions to them. [The *Kesari* declares that thousands of such double companies of educated Indians will be easily raised if higher posts in the army are thrown open to them.]

The part played by the Indian forces at the front should be made more widely known in India than is the case at present.

Gujaráti (13), 28th Jan., Eng. cols.

*13. Writing about the ceremony of the presentation of the Union Jack, and shield to the representatives of the Indian forces now fighting at the front, the *Gujaráti* remarks :—"The withdrawal of the Indian forces from the Western front has had one undesirable result. Their doings are no longer before the British public and their services do not meet with the same prominent recognition at their hands as those of the Colonial forces. The people of India do not know why the Indian forces were withdrawn *in toto* from the Western front. We of course write subject to correction. They splendidly co-operated in the Gallipoli operations and thence, it is said, they were removed to Africa and Mesopotamia. The public in India do not get the more or less full information that is supplied to the British public. We do not understand why this should be so.......... Whilst glowing accounts of the deeds of the Allied European and Colonial forces are now and then supplied by Reuter, almost nothing is said about the part that is now being played by the Indian Army.......... We think the Government of India and the home authorities ought to be more communicative than they have been.......... If the Indian public knew more about the doings of the Indian forces in the different theatres of war, there would arise a spontaneous desire to contribute more liberally to the War Fund and the various other funds that have been started. The policy of reticence results in widespread ignorance and cold indifference. This is altogether undesirable from every point of view."

Comments on Dr. Wilson's advocacy of a peace without victory.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 27th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 25th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 25th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 25th Jan.

14. The *Bombay Samáchár* characterises the advice given by Dr. Wilson to the belligerents in the present war to conclude peace without victory on either side as visionary and worthless. The paper strongly believes that it is only by a decisive and complete victory that the Allies can accomplish the objects for which they are fighting which embrace even the liberation of the enemy's subjects from a cruel military despotism. It is of opinion that instead of giving such misleading advice to the Allies, Dr. Wilson ought to have helped them in a practical manner in the beneficient task in which they are engaged. It is inclined to attribute his suggestions for the freedom of the seas being extended to all nations, the regulation of the naval strength of the big powers and the keeping open, permanently, of the Dardanelles, Panama, Suez, Gibraltar, and other wateways for all powers, to his jealousy for the naval superiority of Great Britain and

questions Dr. Wilson's honesty of purpose in making these suggestions. [The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that Dr. Wilson's recent advocacy of a peace without victory is of a startling nature. It does not uphold his theory that if peace be concluded after a victory for the either side such a peace would be short-lived because of the vindictiveness that would rankle in the hearts of the vanquished against the victors. It is of opinion that the Allies will be in a position to bring about, without America's help, a peace which would last for a hundred years if they can defeat Germany and Austria, wrest from them the territories they have taken possession of, and dictate their own terms to the enemy. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also does not approve of Dr. Wilson's proposal, and writes in justification of the Allies' determination to crush Prussian militarism. It remarks that Dr. Wilson's advocacy for the permanent opening up of the seas to the shipping of all nations will greatly delight Germany and opines that it indirectly supports the latter's aim of breaking the sea-power of Great Britain. In view of the German submarining "frightfulness", the paper holds the belief that the safety of the commerce of the whole world would be in danger if Germany were to be allowed to attain her naval ambition. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* welcomes Dr. Wilson's proposal provided that the peace that can be concluded at present will prove to be of an honourable and lasting nature. It endorses his view that a crushing victory on either side would only be the precursor of a fresh war.]

Message (6) 26th Jan.

15. "President Wilson proposes to bring about peace without victory. The expression means 'a draw' in simple English. His proposals are, however, not really for declaring a drawn battle but amount to giving undue advantages to Germany. He wants to ensure 'freedom of the seas' to Germany. It means, in his own words, 'a direct outlet to the great maritime highway', to be given to Germany. Does this mean the giving up of Antwerp to the enemy, as also the neutralisation of Suez and the Straits of Gibralter? Conceding this would be practically admitting defeat. Again, if Germany is to be given free outlet to the seas should it not also mean the neutralisation of the Kiel Canal and the Dardanelles? Neither the Allies, nor the enemy, can seriously entertain such grotesque proposals. But perhaps these *pourparlers* are not to be taken very seriously.... ...... The Allies must make it clear that they will have nothing of the so-called 'peace without victory.'"

It is possible that Sweden may join the enemy to achieve her aims against Russia.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 26th Jan.

16. Dwelling upon the difficulties neutral powers like Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden have to put up on account of the British blockade and the enemy's indiscriminate submarining of vessels as a reply to that blockade, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that, though these powers, with the exception of Sweden, have done nothing beyond making certain preparations to meet the situation in case their neutrality is violated, it will not wonder if Sweden, on account of her known antipathy for Russia, fall into the net of Germany to achieve her own aims against Russia. It refers to various acts on the part of Sweden pointing to her unfriendly attitude towards the Allies, *viz.*, the stoppage of her exports to England and the passage of munitions from England to Russia through her territories, the closing of one of her straits, which resulted in interfering with communication between the Allies without adversely affecting the enemy in any manner, etc., and points out that the Allies have, all the same, had the patience to put up with all these acts of Sweden as so many necessary evils resulting from the war. The paper declares that Sweden's complaint that the British naval blockade detracts from her prestige, which ground she has also urged in support of her unfriendly acts referred to above, cannot be reconciled with her quitely putting up with the submarining of her shipping by Germany.

Protest against the reasons adduced for introducing compulsory service for Europeans in India.

Message (6), 25th and 27th Jan.

17. "A correspondent of the *Englishman* says that compulsory military service for European and Eurasians is 'necessary for the safety of our position in this country'. He speaks of possible 'troubles in this country' and paints a glowing picture of the usefulness of a body of well-trained and well-disciplined Europeans and Eurasians in quelling those troubles. It seems then that some people want conscription in this country, not so much because the Afghans, the Russians or the Germans might create trouble as because the Indians might do it! The apprehension betrays a disagreeable consciousness on the part of the writer that the popularity of the Englishmen is a myth. It also reveals the writer's view that it is not enough that the Indians are unarmed and the English are armed, and that the former are denied all training and experience in leading troops and in higher tactics and strategy. He would apparently have the inequality still further windened by keeping the former where they are and by making the latter more efficient.......... Now we put it to Government whether such an attitude is fair or calculated to promote good feelings between class and class. Would Government have for a moment tolerated an Indian writer, *if* he had advocated the arming of Indians in view of the possibility of 'trouble in this country'? Here is an Anglo-Indian paper publishing a letter which is as void of sense as it is gratuitously insulting to Indians, and yet Government have not up to this time shown that steps are being taken against it.......... When even the highest quarters are singing the praises of Indian loyalty, this writer makes innuendoes as regards possible trouble in this country. When the blood of Indians is freely mixing with that of Europeans on the banks of the Tigris and elsewhere, this writer would *suggest* imaginary pictures of bloodshed on the banks of the Ganges or the Hoogly,—blood of Europeans shed by Indians and of the latter by the former! .... Indians, it seems, are to be further taxed for the privilege of being disarmed and of being denied the right of volunteering and admission to commissioned ranks, *as well as* for the further privilege of training and disciplining Europeans and Eurasians that they may be of use 'in case of trouble in this country.'" ['Ignis' writing to the paper remarks in a subsequent issue:—"They apprehend 'trouble' in this country. I might agree but wish to add an explanation. The 'trouble' if it ever comes, will come from the armed and trained section to the unarmed population."]

Comments on the alleged participation of Sir James Meston and other Government officials in the activities of the *Round Table*.

Gujarâti (13), 21st Jan.

18. It is a rule of Government that their Indian servants should take no part in political movements or societies. This rule should also be made applicable to European officials. It has recently come out that Sir James Meston and other Government officials have taken a very prominent part in the activities of the *Round Table* in connection with the reorganisation of the Empire after the war. Why should these officers have been allowed to take part in the discussion of the *Round Table*? Are Government in sympathy with the aims and objects of that body? It is strange that Government officials are allowed to take part in Anglo-Indian and European associations that have political objects in view, and no objection is raised to their contributing lengthy articles to Anglo-Indian papers. We now come to know that the Government of India took no objection to the services of the United Provinces Secretariat being placed at the disposal of the *Round Table*. Under the circumstances the hearts of Indians are naturally stirred with indignation. Government should now make an announcement to the effect that no European officer has a right to take part in the discussion of the *Round Table* or any other association of a similiar nature. Some one would do well to ask a question or bring forward a resolution on this subject at the next session of the Imperial Legislative Council.

India should be permitted to develop on her own lines.

Mahratta (5), 28th Jan.

*19. "Will England refuse to be guided by the lessons of her own history? Will she be blind to the political evolution of the civilized world? Will she consent to keeping educated India in political subjection? Let her permit India to develop on her own lines and according to her own inclinations. Let her gain her own experience, let her blunder and muddle through. Let England govern India, but as an experienced friend and adviser, not as a self-willed mistress. We want England's protection, England's guidance, but we want our own rule. In return we are and have always been prepared to place all our resources at her disposal at any critical period, but we cannot barter away our own liberties. It is a crime and a sin for which we shall be responsible to the future generations. No country can be grateful at the expense of its liberties. There is no price too high for liberty or sacrifice too great for self-rule. England would surely find self-governing India the strongest bulwark against aggression, the greatest security for the world's peace and the staunchest friend in the British Confederacy. But the difficulty is that England is convinced by the logic of hard facts alone. The present war has been a great boon to us in that it has brought out and placed the real India before the British people. The war would be won easily if England freely took into confidence the trusted leaders of the Indian people and made a frank demand for volunteers. The mobilization of Indian volunteers will be the beginning of Indian autonomy and we do not grudge the sacrifice as it is the only way to create the new ties of trust and friendship between the two peoples."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's new book entitled Self-government for India under the British Flag.

Young India (11), 24th Jan.

20. In the course of its review of the Honourable Mr. Sastri's book 'Self-government for India under the British Flag,' *Young India* points out how the writer has silenced those critics who say that India is not fit for self-government by showing that the colonies were also not fit when self-government was conferred on them, and that for the matter of that even England was notoriously backward at the time the Reform Bill of 1832 was brought in. The paper then continues:—"Nobody denies that we have not yet reached in many particulars the high efficiency of the most advanced nations of to-day; but how are we to gain it? Mr. Sastri's reply is definite: The people of India will become fit for self-rule only by practising self-rule. 'There is no other way for it. They must conceive their aims and ideals, they must lay their plans and execute them, make mistakes and rectify them, incur losses and recoup them, encounter perils and overcome them.' And this is not lightly said; for he fully realises that the 'process should not begin too early,' that 'there must be a period of preliminary training,' that it is wise to wait 'till the necessary general intellectual and moral equipment is acquired, till the necessary political experience has been gained.' But he contends 'that we have this necessary equipment and experience' and quotes in support the testimony of highly placed responsible officers of the Government, who have declared that Indians have proved themselves absolutely efficient and capable in all the high offices in which they have been till now tried......... Mr. Sastri next deals with the question of the illiteracy and poverty of the masses, and the differences of castes and creeds; and while accepting the difficulties caused by these evils, he points out that they are grossly exaggerated to keep us out of our rights. In this connection he takes occasion to speak some trenchant words regarding the race prejudices of the whites, which are at the foundation of the absurd doctrine that 'the Asiatics do not yet possess the faculty of self-government'. He aptly terms these prejudices 'a revival of the caste-system without its spiritual sanction'.......... This must suffice to remove all illusions about the permanent inferiority of our races and must open our eyes to the fact that if we choose to strive, our destiny is in our own hands. Mr. Sastri has offered ample proofs to show that we are competent to manage our own affairs and now that this confidence is created in the more discerning amongst us, it would not take very long to infuse it amongst the millions that stand behind these. Once this is done, there is no power on earth that can keep us from our own."

Comments on Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai's book "Young India".

Dnyān Prakāsh (34), 26th Jan.

21. Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai's book "Young India" published in America having been prohibited from being brought into India, there is no way to know what dangerous principles it has inculcated, but from what has been said about it by respectable journals in England like the *Nation* and the *New Statesman*. It appears that it deals with the spread of nationalism in India and other cognate subjects. Both the said papers have spoken in very high terms about the book, and the *New Statesman* has even asked Englishmen to give it a thoughtful reading. We are at a loss to understand how a book which has been so highly spoken of by one of the best journals in England, could have been considered objectionable by our Government. They have, of course, taken the necessary steps that the book should not fall into our hands, but we would ask them at least to act up to the suggestion of the *New Statesman* that the Secretary of State and his Councillors should make it a point to read it. We think that Mr. Chamberlain who has shown himself so ignorant about Indian matters will be much benefitted by its perusal. The above journal also calls upon the India Office to publicly answer the allegations against the Indian Government contained in the book, and we hope the suggestion will be acted upon. On the whole it appears that the exclusion of the book from India is unjustifiable.

Comments on Lord Sydendam's article "The danger in India."

Sind Advocate (8), 11th Jan.

22. Commenting upon Lord Sydenham's article on "The danger in India" the *Sind Advocate* declares that his Lordship was a second but more insidiously dangerous Curzon. It stigmatises Lord Sydenham's remark that the members of the Viceregal Legislative Council who signed the Reforms Memorandum did not represent the masses and the agriculturists as a "shameful argument." The paper continus:—"Are not the members of the Viceroy's Council or of the provincial councils practically speaking the chosen of the best mind and heart of the people? Do they not represent the best culture of the country, a culture that is given them by England herself? You withhold from India a larger franchise and then find fault with the claim of the best of our representatives to be representatives at all! Lord Sydenham also resorts to the stock argument about the 'martial races' being out of sympathy with and even disdainful of the Indian politician. In the first place, broadly speaking 'Are the poor so called martial races really martial any longer?' Let Sydenham and Co. understand that even the emaciated martial races are awaiting to a consciousness of the glory of Universal Swaraj under England's guidance and help."

Islāmic Mail (4), 21st Jan., Eng. edition.

23. "Lord Sydenham's letter to the *Times* (? *Nineteenth Century and After*) has created an outburst of angry feeling in the Congress Press and with one accord they all assail him for being reactionary, bureaucratic, etc., forgetting all the eulogies that used to be paid to him when he was in India. Lord Sydenham was no *persona grata* with us. Muhammadan progress was stationary—rather retarded during his Governorship of this Presidency and we have no desire to take up the cudgels on his behalf. But to render unto Caeser what is Caeser's we must say that in in this case his Lordship is only guilty of telling the truth. As an administrator of no mean order, endowed with a rare knowledge of modern India by virtue of his personal association with most of the advanced politicians, his Lordship can claim to speak about India with accuracy and knowledge. He knows those who aspire to govern India in the name of its people, the set of upstart lawyers who are as much out of touch with the feelings of the mass of the people as the bureaucracy are in touch with them. He knows the teeming millions who know nothing about self-government and Home Rule and whom experience has taught to be afraid of any delegation of authority to their own people. Those who stand in perpetual dread of the officers of their own race such as Thanedar, Mamlatdar, Munsiff, etc., and regard the European Sub-Divisional Officers and Collector as their saviour and protector. Lord Sydenham has spoken the truth and put the case in as outspoken a manner as could be expected."

Native States have done much more for their subjects than the Indian Government which is only appointing commissions.
Kesari (95), 23rd Jan.

24. In point of indecision in settling principles and inconsistency in taking action, the Government of India can best be compared to Rasselas. Other people moved on and prospered whilst Rasselas' quest after happiness never came to an end. Similarly, the Government of India have appointed scores of commissions to guide them in effecting various administrative reforms, but to-day they find themselves exactly where they were before. And yet they are not tired of these commissions and new ones like the Industrial and the Public Works Commissions are vigorously at work taking evidence. And what will be the outcome of these commissions? They are sure to come to a "conclusion in which nothing is concluded"! But it is to be noted that while Government are trying to solve their problems by means of commissions the Native States have already stolen a march upon them. Thus the Mysore State has put the Government of India to shame by adopting practical measures to revive old industries and to create new ones. Even a petty Muhammadan State like Bhopal has made education free and compulsory for its people, and Gwalior, by opening a State Bank for the encouragement of industries has indeed surpassed all. As a matter of fact the ways for encouraging industries are now so well known that it would be criminal on the part of any government to plead ignorance about them. It behoves Government, therefore, to take up the work of industrial reform in right earnest. We have had enough of lip-sympathy. Now some practical action is required to secure public confidence.

Comments on the reported intention to grant autonomy to Portuguese India.
Prakásh (102), 24th Jan.

25. Referring to the reported intention of the Portuguese Government to grant administrative and fiscal autonomy to Portuguese India, the *Prakásh* observes:—While the Portuguese Government does not seem to have even suspected that Indians in Portuguese India who bear a close resemblance to Indians in British Territory in matters of religion, customs, intelligence etc., were unfit for Home Rule, the British Government which has been proclaiming to the world its love of freedom and equality for all doubts the fitness of Indians for self-government. This is no fault of the Indians but only their misfortune. Whatever that be, it is indeed a novel sight that the British Empire should have to learn a lesson in the matter of extending the realm of freedom from a small nation like Portugal lying neglected in a corner of Europe.

Mr. Tilak should be invited to visit Sind.
Message (6), 30th Jan.

*26. "Pralhad" writing to the *Message* dwells upon the necessity of inviting "patriots" to lecture to the Sindhis in favour of the spread of the Home Rule movement and suggests that the people of Sind should request Mr. Tilak "whom they so much love and admire" to visit the Province before he leaves for London. He declares that as Mr. Tilak's visit "is sure to produce good effects upon the Sindhis", the Sind Home Rule League "should not lose a minute in inviting him."

Will Muhammadans profit by joining the Hindus and the Congress party?
Islámic Mail (4), 21st Jan., Eng. edition.

27. "If the Congress people wish to win us over they must convince us that the arrangements which they have made through some of their hirelings would be to our advantage and no power on earth, the bureaucracy or the autocracy or any other 'cracy', would keep us back from joining heart and soul with them. We want to know for instance whether the new constitution would give us more seats in the Executive and Legislative Councils than we enjoy. At present we have the billets almost equally divided. For instance in Bombay out of six seats in the Imperial Council four are occupied by the Muhammadans. There is Sir Fazulbhoy, Sir Ebrahim, Mr. Jinnah and the Sind representative. In Madras we possess more than a third of the Imperial seats with Nawab Syed Mohamed and Mir Asad Ali Khan of Banganpalli. In our Council here we have nine Muhammadans. In Bengal

there are more than half, and so on in almost all other provinces. By the proposed change we will not be able to get the mixed vote and most of those who are trying to make a position by winning the goodwill of the Congress will have to go. There is another point to be elucidated. At present the seat in the Executive Council is held alternately by Hindus and Muhammadans. The constitution proposed by the Congress makes no provision for a Muhammadan in the Executive Council and even in the Legislative Council they won't get quite as good a number as they obtain at present. If they enlighten us on these points we shall be prepared to reconsider matters."

Comments on the offer of gold bullion by Government for sale through the Presidency Banks.
Gujarâti (13), 21st Jan.;
Hindusthân (17), 21st Jan.

28. The *Gujarâti* dilates at length on the causes that, in its opinion, have led to the sale of gold bullion by Government through the Presidency Banks and writes:—It would have been in the fitness of things if Government had allowed the free importation of gold into India from Japan, America and Egypt before taking this step. Government believe that the sale of gold in India will release the silver hoarded by the people and lower the price of both silver and gold and also facilitate the flotation of the war loan. This goes to prove that gold should be minted in India and Indian gold should not be allowed to be exported. England is in need of money. Why should then no attempt be made to liquidate India's liabilities in England and to purchase from her the securities in connection with Indian railways and irrigation works? All other nations are buying up on favourable terms their own securities from England; why should India be not given an opportunity to purchase her own securities? [The *Hindusthân* considers it an injustice to India to keep the currency and gold standard reserves in England and to utilise them for purposes that are not profitable to India. It believes that India has had to suffer on account of the location of these reserves in England and expresses hope that Government will see their way to keeping them all in India after the termination of the war.]

One rupee notes if issued will not be popular.
Sandesh (103), 21st Jan.

29. A Calcutta paper suggests that just as the English Government has introduced one pound and ten shillings notes, the Indian Government also should have one rupee notes, and that they are likely to prove popular. We, however, think that the idea is a fallacious one as the mass of the ignorant people, who are disinclined to use even the five-rupee notes, will refuse to use them. Moreover, these notes will not be payable at sight, as, following the system prevalent in England, Government will not be bound to keep an equal amount of reserve in their Treasury for paying them.

The importance of irrigation canals even from the military point of view.
Praja Mitra and Pârsi (24), 22nd Jan.

30. The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* considers it to be a happy augury of the times that the Anglo-Indians and their organs should now agree with the Indians in recognising the desirability of utilising, to a larger extent, the rivers and irrigation canals of the country as a means of communication for commercial purposes. It refers to the evidence recently given by Mr. W. A. Lee before the Indian Industrial Commission advocating the extension of irrigation works in India and to the remarks made by the *Pioneer* in support of it and remarks that the present war, which has caused much congestion on the Indian railways and the consequent dislocation of traffic, has exposed the fallacy of certain Anglo-Indian bodies and their organs in holding that the Indians were not sufficiently loyal, nay, even were actuated by seditious motives, in pressing for the extension of irrigation works and in complaining of the extension of railways in spite of their knowledge of the military importance of railways in India. The paper observes that irrigation canals are also not without their importance from the military point of view inasmuch as they not only relieve congestion on railways in times of war but can also afford shelter to men-of-war that are not intended to be used for war purposes for the time being. It is of opinion that great benefit will accrue to India if

Government will look at the question of irrigation not from the interested point of view of the railway companies but from the standpoint of the general interests of the country.

31. Referring to the news published by Reuter that certain co-operative societies in England have purchased large tracts of land in India for wheat cultivation, the *Sandesh* desires that further details about these purchases, such as the localities, in which the lands are situated, the terms, etc., should be made available. It wants to know whether the teaplanters having already taken up extensive lands for tea cultivation, big English Companies are now to be permitted to purchase tracts for the cultivation of wheat, cotton and oil seeds also, and expresses the hope that the necessary steps will be taken to prevent foreign capitalists from reaping the benefits of the deliberations of the Industrial Commission, to the disadvantage of Indians.

Comments on the reported purchase of lands in India by English Co-operative Companies.
Sandesh (103), 21st Jan.

32. Refrring to the Bombay Government's decision to stop the publication of the *Blue Book Quarterly*, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks that it cannot be too much regretted. The paper continues :—"We think it is not impossible to make the Quarterly more attractive as well as cheaper, if the management is handed over to a qualified non-official agency. We believe that a junior member of the Indian Civil Service was in charge of it during the last two years and a half, and his salary alone must be a heavy charge upon a publication making its appearance only four times in a year. Holding as we do this view we shall be glad to see the publication of the *Blue Book Quarterly* revived on the lines suggested above, on the cessation of the war, which may not improbably have been a further factor to a certain extent to influence the decision of the Bombay Government."

Comments on the Bombay Government's decision to stop the publication of the *Blue Book Quarterly*.
Praja Bandhu (27), 21st Jan.; Eng. cols.

33. "After years of deplorable neglect and breach of duty our Government woke up and decided that indentured labour should go and Lord Hardinge promised its early abolition. Now we are told that Fiji has been assured of its continuance for five years more. The powers at Whitehall are going on leisurely, consulting the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who in his turn is consulting the wishes of the multitudinous components that go to make up the Empire on which the sun never sets, and these are holding conferences to settle the question. If there was any justification needed for the early achievement of Home Rule for India it is this criminal disregard of the crying needs of India, and the virtual impotence of the Government of India, to say nothing of the disabilities of the people, to settle their own difficulties and affairs. The moral, physical and economic degradation of India is involved in the system and with every hour that the system is prolonged this is aggravated. It is, moreover, the very people, responsible for these humiliating results, whose wishes and opinions are being leisurely consulted, when definite and immediate action is the supreme need and the fondest hope of the people based on plighted word. 'Legalised prostitution' that is what Mr. C. F. Andrews calls this heinous system of transporting three men to every woman to foreign climes, without any the slightest attempt to ensure their welfare and to safeguard their interests, a system which permits and indirectly encourages the most shameful immorality, which forces helpless, innocent women to live lives of unbridled license and vice. Will not the Government of India stand up for India to put an end to this human traffic and take measures to bring the Colonies to their sense of duty and humanity and duty as parts of the Empire?" [The *Mahrātta* says :—"The barbarous system which legalises prostitution, which flouts the sanctity of our marriage laws, which undermines the chastity of the Indian women, encourages suicide and murder amongst us, and mocks all ideas of morality as a sham, must be ended at once. No lease of prosti-

Comments on the proposed continuance of the indentured labour system for a further period of five years.
Young India (11), 24th Jan.; **Mahrātta* (5), 28th Jan.

tution can be tolerated for a moment, but strange to say that such a lease is given and—it is reported—it is to last for five years more in Fiji! Insufferable! The idea itself is revolting! Heaven and earth must be moved to save our women from this, and India must show that, come what may, she will never suffer this intolerable wrong any longer. Organised agitation, constant vigilance is needed and we hope India will be astir with this movement......... The lease of prostitution must be attacked from every quarter and its immediate abolition must be secured."]

Dnydn Prakash (34), 26th Jan.; *Prakdsh* (102), 24th Jan.

34. We are very much gratified to see that public meetings are being held all over the country to protest against the proposed continuance of the indentured coolie system and the thanks of Indians are due to Messrs. Andrews and Polak for the way in which they are exerting themselves in the matter. This is a question of national self-respect for the Indians and they would never tolerate the sight of their countrymen remaining in slavery in the colonies with whom India is demanding to be placed in a position of equality. We would also warn Government that no attempt should be made to replace the present indenture system by the one now prevalent in Ceylon under which coolies are also reduced to semi-slavery, and against which a movement is already afoot in that island. As regards a system of free emigration of labour, that too cannot be sanctioned until some method for preventing its abuse is devised. In the meantime the present indenture system must go, the Colonies being informed once for all that India absolutely refuses to allow her people to remain any longer in a state of slavery and in immoral surroundings. [The *Prakdsh* remarks:—That the British Government should have acceded to the wishes of the selfish Colonists of Fiji without consulting Indian public opinion is a stigma on the British sense of justice and fairplay and also derogatory to the prestige of the Empire. There can be no greater injustice to India than that the system should be continued in the interests of people who have been deliberately maltreating Indians, and that too in spite of the resolution passed by the Imperial Legislative Council for its early abolition. But how can dependent India prevent this?]

Gujardti (13), 21st Jan.

35. The *Gujardti* quotes Mr. Andrew's letter to the Press in connection with indentured labour in the Fiji Islands and adds:—What an immoral arrangement to send out one woman to every three men! The arrangement is meant for the benefit of the planters of Fiji than for Indian labourers! Is it not strange that England which is shedding its own blood for the protection of the weaker nations should encourage such a despicable trade? Nothing could have given us a more unpleasant shock than the assurance from London for the continuance of the system of indenture, which involves such hardships and degradation to Indian labourers. What nation will allow its mothers, sisters and daughters to be subjected to such humiliation for five years? How do the Government of India allow ship-loads of indentured labourers to be exported from India for immoral purposes? We feel sure Lord Chelmsford feels as strongly as the Indian people on this question and that he will not encourage the system for a day more than he can help it. If the Government of India, backed by the unanimous opinion of the Indian people, refuse to continue this system, the Government of Great Britain will not think of bringing any pressure to bear upon them. Will England choose to support the worshippers of the golden calf in Fiji and disregard the demand made by India in the interests of morality? Do the promoters of immorality exercise such great influence in England?

Jdm-e-Jamshed (20), 22nd Jan.; *Gujarati Punch* (15), 21st Jan.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (75), 21st Jan.

36. The *Jdm-e-Jamshed* expresses its disapproval of the assurance declared by Mr. Andrews to have been given by the Secretary of State for the continuance of the system of indentured labour to the Fiji Islands for a further period of five years and exhorts public bodies in India to convene meetings to protest against the step taken by the Secretary of State and to press for the immediate abolition of the system which in the words of Mr. Andrews conduces to 'The slavery of their men, the dishonour of their women and the degradation of their motherland in the eyes of the world.' [The *Gujarati Punch* and *Shri Venkateshwar* also protest against the idea of continuing indentured labour and call upon Government to respect the wishes of the people in this matter and bear in mind the views of Lord Hardinge on the subject.]

The right claimed by the white Colonists to keep out Asiatics is not based on civilisation but on brute force.

Young India (11), 24th Jan.

37. Mr. S. Banker contributes to *Young India* a lengthy review of the book entitled "Imperial unity and Dominions" by Dr. Keith, Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh, wherein the reviewer remarks as follows on Dr. Keith's view that as Indian, Japanese and other Asiatic immigrants are dangerous competitors in the Colonies, the European Colonists "are entitled in obedience to the law of self-preservation and the desire to perpetuate the type, to secure that they shall be left in free occupation of the territory they have":—"And even if there be any moral sanction for such a right, we have to point out, that it should operate in favour of the original coloured inhabitants of the Dominions and not of the white immigrants. If, however, it be said that the whites are physically stronger and as such can enforce their will on the coloured people, whether it be morally right or wrong, we have no objection; for in that case there will be no attempt at covering the inequity under the cloak of the law of self-preservation. And in fact Dr. Keith himself, gives away the whole case, for in the next sentence he says that 'Australia and New Zealand must hold firmly to the Imperial connexion since otherwise they could have not the slightest chance of remaining in possession of land which they have not the men to keep, and which they cannot hope adequately to people for many years to come, especially as the birth-rate in both countries is regrettably low for newly settled lands.' This is nothing but selfishness and high-handedness carried out into a definite policy. For there are not enough whites to people the land, nay, there will not be enough for ages to come, and still it is sought to justify the exclusion of the coloured peoples on the ground that the land will be wanted in the far distant future for the progeny of the whites; and further in order to carry out this policy they have to hold firmly to the Imperial connexion, that is, to the might which the Empire possesses. Things cannot be more plainly said: and it is high time for us to realise that, in spite of all platitudes, the rights of the whites are based not on civilisation but ultimately on brute force; and that it is therefore not wise to sit with folded hands looking for justice, but to strive and be strong so as to be able to enforce what is right and just. In our remarks above we have been discussing the question in its general aspect as it affects all Asiatics. We shall now proceed to consider it from the Indian standpoint. In this connection it might be thought that although the policy of the Dominions is narrow and selfish as regards coloured people as a class, the fact of our being British subjects must make a considerable difference. And, in fact it does, but all to our prejudice; for the treatment offered to us is much worse than that offered to other Asiatics, e.g., the Japanese. This is, however, in no way surprising, for the Governments of the other countries try to protect the interests of their subjects in the Dominions, while our benign Government leaves us to the tender mercies of our fellow citizens—with what result we need not recount here. On this point Dr. Keith is very plain-spoken.......... But more than any of these, South Africa offiers a striking instance of the utter helplessnes of British Indian subjects in the British Dominions. Dr. Keith has given a lengthy account of the troubles of our countrymen in the Transvaal and other parts of South Africa; but without going into these details it is enough to point out that the condition of our countrymen there has become actually worse after the annexation of these parts to the British Empire. [The reviewer then refers to Dr. Keith's suggestion for the establishment of a tribunal 'to which India could appeal against the action of the self-governing Dominions in treating [illegible] resident Indians', and concludes:—] To us this seems to be a very practical suggestion and there could be no question that it would be a real advantage to have a tribunal to which questions of serious differences between the various parts of the Empire can be submitted for arbitration. We may, however, add that the constitution of such a tribunal cannot be satisfactory or complete unless due representation is given thereon to Indians, both as judges and as statesmen."

When India gets self-government it will see that Indians are treated with respect by the Colonies.

Mahrátta (5), 28th Jan.

***38.** Referring to the reported preference shown to an Indian from Portuguese India to one from British India by the authorities at Mombassa and Zanzibar, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"When the authorities in England could not protect us from the ignominious position to which we are relegated in the colonies who can stand by us but ourselves? A self-governing India would protect herself, and getting self-government depends upon us. That achieved, we will then see whether Zanzibar can refuse a British Indian subject and bring upon itself a retaliation which would spell disaster and ruin to her."

Proposed Asiatic exclusion legislation in the United States and the British Ambassador's failure to protest against it.

Message (6), 21st Jan.

39. "Professor Sudhindra Bose, writing in the latest issue of the *Modern Review*, asserts that referring to the Asiatic Exclusion Bill in America, Viscount Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador, protested to the American Government against 'lumping Japanese and Indians together.' The *Modern Review*, commenting on this, expresses indignation at the supercilious conceit of the Japanese Ambassador. We, too, feel indignation, but it is directed elsewhere. We can understand and even excuse the refusal of the Japanese to be named in the same breath with the Indians who have no political status either in their own country or elsewhere. But we should like to know what the British Ambassador did to protest against the open insult to India from the Japanese Minister, as well as against the unjust exclusion legislation. We are often told that our interests lie safe in the hands of the British. *Are* our interests in America as safe as we could wish? Is there no danger to Indian interests in the contemplated Asiatic Exclusion legislation? Are Indians to congratulate themselves upon being openly declared to be unfit to be 'lumped together' with the Japanese in an American statute?

Comments on the recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

Hindusthán (17), 26th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 26th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 26th Jan.

40. Commenting upon the Report of the Indian Public Service Commission in the course of an article under the heading "The mountains are in labour and only bring forth a mouse", the *Hindusthán* remarks that the report has proved all its bright expectations for the future welfare of the country to be a mere dream and has pushed out the people from the land of hope to the region of despair. It dwells upon the defective character of the constitution of the Commission which, according to it, contained an overwhelmingly large number of European Commissioners. The paper cannot find the spirit of the late Mr. Gokhale reflected in any of the recommendations made by the Commissioners in their report, although they state that their recommendations have been influenced by his views. It observes that the complaints of Indians against the system of public services in this country are very weighty and they should be remedied as soon as possible. It adds that the fact that the sons of India have to remain in a helpless condition in their own country is not only discouraging but it causes a great deal of harm to the interests of both the rulers and the ruled. The paper's greatest regret is that this 'Royal' Commission has not proved sufficiently 'royal', liberal and impartial in its breadth of vision. It concludes by wishing that greater liberality may even yet be shown towards India and her natural rights recognised. [The *Sánj Vartamán* also writes about the report in a dissatified tone. After a careful study of the Report, it declares that if Royal

Commissions are to bring forth such regrettable and disappointing results their appointment is a waste of time and money. It is of opinion that had Mr. Gokhale been alive he would not have signed the Report, but would have drafted a separate minority report which he would have persuaded at least a few of the Commissioners to sign. The paper maintains that the Commission has, in the main, advocated the continuance of the present system and, referring to the recommendation about the reduction of the age limit from 21—23 to 17—19 years for the Civil Service which recommendation it characterises as of a retrogade nature, declares that the recommendation made by the Commission will not satisfy public opinion in the smallest degree. It considers Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim's minute of dissent as the best part of the Report. In this minute, declares the paper, Mr. Abdur Rahim has exposed the mistaken notions, faulty conclusions and erroneous recommendations of his colleagues. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* infers from the Report that the Indian members of the Commission have differed from their English brethren in important principles and regrets that the latter failed to grasp those principles from the right standpoint. It also regrets that the recommendations of the English members of the Commission, who formed the majority, are not in keeping with the assurance given by the British authorities to place India on a footing of equality with the other members of the Empire and attributes this to the Report having been written before the British public got their experience of India in the present war. The paper points out how the Commission has been divided into two camps composed of English members on the one hand and Indian members on the other and hopes that in view of the change in the angle of vision, His Majesty's Government and the Government of India will not carry out the recommendations made by only one party and adds that if they cannot set aside those recommendations which have been influenced by a narrow spirit, and carry out the recommendations of the Indian members they will, at least, request the English members of the Commission to reconsider their recommendations in the light of the situation created by the war.]

**Mahrátta* (5), 28th Jan.; *Message* (6), 27th Jan.

41. "In one sentence the majority have opened their heart and said that 'in the nature of things no final solution of this problem is possible.' We are at a loss to know as to why it should be so. People expected that this Commission would recommend the strict observance of the statutes and the proclamations and would strengthen their faith in British justice so seriously undermined by a Viceroy branding them as 'impossible charters.' The Commission did nothing of the kind and suggested some half-way measures which would never satisfy the Indian minds who have now outgrown them. Time was when people could have been satisfied whith a few crumbs here and there; but the rapid march of Indian nationalism would not now stop by such paltry temptations. Nine posts in the Civil Service to be recruited for in India, some forty and odd posts in the Judicial Service and some appointments in others do not amount to a big concession to our growing demand for a more and more widening share in the administration of the county. The most effective way to satisfy this would have been to hold simultaneous examinations in India and in England where merit alone would count. But the majority of the Commissioners could not accept this as they were obsessed by the idea that as education is irregularly diffused in different parts and different communities in the country, only a particular community would take the lion's share to the prejudice of others.......... But Indians would prefer Indians of any creed to Europeans of a totally different creed and nationality. They would not mind whether a particular officer is a Hindu or a Mussalman, a Parsi or a Christian.......... But the Commissioners could not or would not accept this obvious means of satisfying our demands and left the galling state of things not materially improved. Indeed the perusal of the report leaves a sinister impression on one's mind that the equality of treatment so generously granted to us is yet a myth; or as Lord Salisbury would have it, 'a political hypocrisy'. The 'British responsibility for the good governance of India' and 'grounds of policy' are, to parody Lord Lytton's words, 'transparent and deliberate subterfuges

for stultifying the promises'. Parliament is responsible for the good government of India and the promises also are given to us by Parliament. Then the natural question that suggests itself is why should the executive and so many committees and commissions override the provisions of their masters?......... The Indian nation has left out of its consideration such minor demands for a few crumbs and has struck at the root of the question by demanding a substantial share of self-government. That granted, we will then decide how many places are to be filled by Indians and how many by Europeans." [The *Message* remarks:—"It was not to be expected that a body of men, three-fourths of whom were non-Indians and which included some people of pronounced anti-Indian views would bring out a report which could in any manner be worthy of acceptance by Indian public opinion.......... The conclusions and recommendations of the majority of the Commissioners, which includes one Indian, Mr. M. B. Chaubal, are hopelessly one-sided and disappointing, and it does not appear to us that the Commissioners have been much influenced by any considerations of justice and equity. Their recommendations regarding the methods and manner of recruitment of the various services, particularly the I. C. S. and the Police, are of a character which would be tolerated only here in India.......... [The paper then refers to the minute of dissent of Justice Abdur Rahim and says:—] Mr. Abdur Rahim has taken up the only attitude which he as an Indian felt consistent with the honour of the Motherland and the indisputable rights of his countrymen to have the determining voice in all the services of the country. His objections to the continuance of the present monstrous system of excutive *cum* judicial officers are unanswerable...... ... We enter our emphatic protest against the reactionary and narrow-minded view taken by the Commissioners in regard to what are primarily our indisputable rights and we want Government clearly to bear in mind that any action it may take to give effect to the ridiculous recommendations will not have even the most distant approval of the public."]

Gujarâti (13), 28th Jan., Eng. cols.

***42.** The *Gujarâti*, after paying a compliment to Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim's Minute of Dissent, goes on to say:—"The Indian members were in a hopeless minority and their English colleagues were never known for their liberalism or statesmanlike grasp of the Indian point of view. It is, therefore, no wonder that the report of the Commission is a disappointing document full of transparent pleas, excuses and plausibilities which are unconvincing and will dissatisfy the whole country. The Indian people have all along demanded the institution of simultaneous examinations. But that demand has been rejected and no number of crumbs that have been given to them will give any satisfaction whatever......... All other questions or concessions are of subordinate importance, and it is a thousand pities that a reform which has been overdue for the last 30 years and more has not been recommended by the Commissioners. They have also shirked the question of the separation of judicial and executive functions by resorting to half-hearted and lame excuses which are utterly unworthy of the importance of the subject. The pretexts and excuses are so transparent that no one will be deceived by them."

Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the appeal in connection with the action taken by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, with regard to accommodation for C. I. D. reporters in the Provincial Conference pandal.

Hindusthân (17), 25th Jan.; *Gujarâti* (13), 21st Jan.

43. Referring to the decision of the Bombay High Court, dismissing the appeal preferred by the General Secretaries of the last Provincial Conference held at Ahmedabad against the order issued by the District Magistrate, requiring the Secretaries to provide the C. I. D. reporters with suitable seats in the Conference pandal, on the ground that it could not interfere with the order as it was issued by the District Magistrate in his executive capacity, the *Hindusthân* remarks that it is at a loss to know whether it should congratulate the Secretaries or should condole with them. It maintains that the District Police Act under which the order was issued contains no provision which might be interpreted to enjoin that special facilities should be given to the C. I. D., reporters by the organisers of a public meeting and observes that the District Magistrate had enforced his order only by an arbitrary exercise of his authority. The paper asserts that the High Court has shirked the duty of deciding the real point at issue. [The *Gujaráti* writes:—Should the public infer from this decision of the High Court that the executive officers are exempt from all legal control? Suppose a District Magistrate, as head of the District police, passes an illegal order does it mean that the people can have no justice against such an order? English history tells us, and the British law and constitution bears it out, that it is only the King that can do no wrong, but in India no one can challenge the order of an officer if it is passed in his executive capacity. Verily this is an age of wonders.]

Prakásh (102), 24th Jan.; *Sandesh* (103), 21st Jan.

44. The High Court has held that the orders of the District Magistrate of Ahmedabad were passed in his capacity as head of the Police. But as the powers under section 39 of the Police Act are granted to the District Magistrate alone, the orders in question were unquestionably the District Magistrate's orders. Instances can also be cited in which the High Court has quashed orders passed by District Magistrates under sub-section (2) of the above section. The High Court's decision thus not only departs from precedents and contracts its own powers but also gives a free hand to the Magistrates and closes to aggrieved people one of the avenues for securing justice. We are afraid that, on the strength of this decision, the C. I. D. will put forth all sorts of extravagant pretensions for preferential treatment at public meetings, and therefore, it behoves the Secretaries of the Provincial Conference to get the matter clearly decided once for all by having it placed before the Local Legislative Council. [The *Sandesh* also expresses similar views and declares that at least from the layman's point of view there appears to be no justification for the interpretation put upon the District Magistrate's action by the High Court. It suggests that Government should now be appealed to in the matter and the necessary action should also be taken in the Legislative Council. A resolution on the subject may, it observes, be disallowed just as was done in the case of the resolution sent in by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri in connection with the Moslem League meeting in Bombay, but that should not discourage our public leaders, both Hindus and Muhammadans, who should go on hammering at the question as a matter of duty.]

Comments on the recent prosecution by a Bombay Police Officer of Mr. H. A. Wadia for a breach of one of the Rules under the Bombay Motor Vehicles Act.

Rást Goftár (28), 28th Jan., Eng. cols.

***45.** "We cannot sufficiently deprecate the conduct of Deputy Inspector Hobson who led the prosecution in the case against Mr. H. A. Wadia, the other day. To say the least of it, the action—as the evidence only too plainly proved—was simply vexatious. And we venture to add that conduct of this kind, if allowed to be continued, will eventually prove detrimental to the best interests of Government. To drag into police-court publicity—with inadequacy of plea or of accusation—men who are amongst the leading and most accredited citizens of Bombay and active supporters of Government withal is to belittle the self-respect of the public of this city which is never behindhand in cherishing the merit or in safeguarding the dignity of its eminent men. We are sure, however, that had the Inspector with less zeal and larger discreetness referred the matter to his superiors, the gracious tact and courtesy of the Commissioner of Police would have called forth a timely explanation and settlement, and thereby averted the people's anger and disappointment."

Protest against the rumoured increase in the salt tax.

Sandesh (103), 21st Jan.; *Shetkari* (38), 21st Jan.

46. Referring to a report published in a Calcutta Anglo-Indian paper that there was the possibility of an enhancement of the salt tax in the next Budget, the *Sandesh* suggests that if there be any truth in the report, strong protests should immediately be sent to Government against the proposal from all parts of the country. It points out that there are other directions in which taxation can be safely increased without taking from the poor man the most essential ingredient of his everyday meals, and it hopes that Government will inform the public as to whether there is any truth in the report. [Mr. Shankar Gopal Lele, pleader, writing to the *Shetkari*, appeals to Government to forego the salt tax altogether and to recoup the loss of revenue by taxing other articles.]

Comments on the address presented by the Sind Muhammadan Association to His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

Sind Journal (9), 18th Jan.

47. Commenting upon the address presented by the Sind Muhammadan Association to His Excellency the Lord Willingdon the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"We have said many times before and we repeat it once again that no sensible Hindu would be sorry to see Muhammadans returned to the municipal boards by means of election in a fair proportion to Hindus. There are several methods by which the end can be achieved, but the device of separate electorates which is surely not the last word in political wisdom is the least acceptable to Hindus and also to enlightened Muhammadans of Sind. Of the latter class Mr. Shahnawaz Pirzada, B. A., editor of the *Al Amin*, is an example and he has courageously discountenanced all agitation for separate electorates in the Press, notably by his letter in the *Daily Gazette* of the 4th instant. We, however, regret that the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri should have been one of the signatories to the address which is couched in language which wounds the susceptibilities of Hindus who have *not* been inimical to Muhammadan interests. The prayer of the Sind Muhammadan Association contained in the address that *at least* half of the total number of elective seats be allotted to Muhammadan electorates shows the mood which the Muhammadan leaders have worked themselves into. The real test for representation on Municipalities is the voting strength of a community and not its whole population. If the Muhammadans 'make enormous contributions to municipal coffers as octroi and terminal charges' do not the Hindus make the same contributions? The Hindus of Sind have made no grievance of the Muhammadan preponderance in Local Boards and it is only natural that they should resent any effort to curtail their representation in municipal boards where they are entitled to a much larger representation than Muhammadans on account of their numbers, education and position. By all means give Muhammadans their due share of elective seats, but do not drive the wedge of separate electorates between the two sister communities."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 25th Jan.

48. Referring to the address recently presented to His Excellency the Governor by the Sind Muhammadan Association wherein it was complained that the present system of municipal elections in that province prevented them from being adequately represented on the municipal boards, the *Bombay Samáchár* observes that the difficulties under which the Sind Muhammadans are stated to be labouring seem, in the light of the experience in Bombay and other big cities, to be somewhat exaggerated. It remarks that the Moslem community, instead of demanding from Government special favour in this and other matters, as it has been doing for some years past, should make endeavours to secure wider diffusion of education among its members, which it believes will put an end to their present difficulties. It supports its statement by referring to the fact of a number of Muhammadans having risen to high positions in the State by means of their educational and other qualifications and to the fact of the Parsis figuring so largely on municipal boards and the local Legislative Council in spite of their extreme numerical inferiority. The paper, however, maintains that in view of the recognition in the new scheme of reforms accepted by the Congress, of the principle of fixing the proportion of Moslem representation on different public bodies, other communities will have no objection to Government conceding the demand made by the Sind Muhammadans in the address referred to above.

Complaint about arbitrary and unprecedented enhancement of income-tax in Hyderabad (Sind).
Sind Journal (9), 18th Jan.

49. "The whole town of Hyderabad has been convulsed on account of the arbitrary and unprecedented enhancement of income-tax as assessed by the Mukhtiarkar of the taluka—Mr. Ojha. Mr. Ojha in his zeal to bring into the coffers of Government as much money as he possibly could, has, presumably to be in the good books of the officials, allowed his imagination full play to conjure up a vision of unprecedented prosperity in the town. The condition of the townspeople has by no means improved after the War, but in most cases would be found to have gone worse. Yet the optimistic Mukhtiarkar has found even the most backward classes wallowing in prosperity through his official glasses and assesed many of them to pay income-tax......... The present assessment of income-tax by the Mukhtiarkar has been found to be in many cases exorbitant and arbitrary and the whole list of assessment should be thoroughly revised, if the public is to be convinced that they are paying justly and according to the law of the land. .... The public feeling about thus arbitrarily assessing the income-tax was given vent to in the mass meeting which was held at the Holmstead Hall on Sunday last under the auspices of the Citizens' Association, Hyderabad. It would have done Mr. Ojha a lot of good if he had been present at the meeting to see the unique spectacle of at least three thousands of people belonging to all castes and communities huddled together in the Hall and the verandas, swayed by one common sentiment that injustice had been done to many of them." [The paper then gives a lenthy account of the proceedings at the meeting.]

LEGISLATION.

Protest against the proposed amendment in the Court Fees Act in connection with land suits.
Kesari (95), 23rd Jan.

50. Mr. R. M. Sane, Pleader, Bársi, writes to the Kesari:—The Court Fees Act Amendment Bill is shortly to come before the Imperial Legislative Council for discussion. Of all the amendments proposed by the Bill, the one in connection with fees for land suits is the most important and is likely to entail great hardship to the class of agriculturists who own land. Even under the present working of the Act the lot of the poor land owners is most miserable. And if the Court Fee is raised in the manner proposed we leave it to Government to judge for themselves how costly justice would be especially to the poor agriculturists whose interests Government want always to guard. Protests from all sides must pour in against the proposed raising of the Court Fee payable in land suits.

EDUCATION.

The Conference of Directors of Public Instruction at Delhi.
Bombay Samáchár (55), 25th and 26th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 24th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (17), 23rd Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 24th Jan.; *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* (24), 26th Jan.

51. Referring to the speech delivered by the Viceroy at the recent Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Delhi, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the principle he enunciated that "no political consideration should find a place in your discussion of purely educational problems" will not fail to create a profound impression upon the public mind with regard to the educational policy of Government. It is of opinion that a successful solution of the problem of education in this country will bring His Excellency greater popularity than any other reforms he might undertake, even admitting, remarks the paper, that the main aim of the Conference was not the hatching of any new policy, still as the questions that were discussed before the Conference were such as affected the public, popular representatives should have been included in its *personnel*, and they should be included in similar conferences in future, as such a course will add great weight to their decisions. As one of the means of securing an adequately large number of efficient teachers who might stick to their avocation, it suggests the abolition of the present invidious distinction between the Provincial and the Indian Educational

Service and of the practice of excluding competent Indian educationists from the latter. [In the subsequent issue the paper refers to the proceedings at the Conference and expresses its dissatisfaction at Mr. Godley's views in favour of instruction through the medium of the vernaculars, as in its opinion vernacular literatures are not yet in a sufficiently developed condition. It wishes that the advocates of the vernacular medium of instruction might create the necessary vernacular literature through the agency of mixed committees of officials and public leaders. It favours the suggestion about imparting education up to the "Intermidiate" class in the High Schools which course, it believes, will help to place increased educational facilities in the way of poor students. The paper then dwells on the great importance of making primary education free and compulsory and remarks that the Indian public will learn with feelings of regret and suprise the fact that that aspect of the question has not been discussed in the Conference even in a general way. According to the *Sánj Vartamán* the public are very thankful to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford for directing that the proceedings of the Conference should be conducted in public. While recognising the liberal character of the educational policy of the Government of India from the beginning, it believes that education has not yet made sufficient headway and that the speed at which Government wish to proceed is calculated to cause disappointment. It remarks that the greatest desire of the public is to see that primary education becomes universal in the land, and adds that it has been disappointed in its hope of receiving some joyful tidings from the Viceroy in that connection. The paper observes that much has happened since 1913 and it cannot comprehend why the educational policy declared by the Government of India in that year should not now be reconsidered with a view to introducing new reforms. Adversely commenting upon the *personnel* of the Conference, the *Hindusthán* remarks that it will not wonder if its readers will feel surprised at a conference composed entirely of foreigners sitting to consider the defects in the educational system in India. It considers it a misfortune for the people that these foreigners have so long been in charge of Educational Departments in this country. The paper then proceeds:—It is natural that foreigners can have little knowledge of our wants and our aspirations. It is their peculiar nature to keep foreigners (Indians?) dependent upon them and naturally they cannot sympathise with our national aspirations. It can be easily understood on what lines persons with such a bent of mind will run our educational system. We cannot expect much from them. If the educational system of the country is not based on a national footing in spite of an opportunity presenting itself and if, consequently, our brother countrymen remain ignorant the whole blame for it will rest on the heads of the administrators of the department. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the policy of excluding recognised Indian educationists from the Conference will never receive public approbation, adding that it would not be strange if the public did not take any interest in the proceedings of such a conference. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its gratification at the Director's Conference supporting the public demand for giving those Municipal and District Boards that wish for it the power to levy a special cess for the extension of primary education.]

Message (6), 21st, 25th and 26th Jan.

52. The *Message*, commenting on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech before the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction, declares that "the encomiums which His Excellency showered on the service are much more than they have deserved", and in a subsequent issue observes:—"The Viceroy's introductory speech at the Conference of Educational Directors was satisfactory *so far as it went*. We underline the closing clause, because we believe that His Excellency has omitted all reference to questions on which authoritative expression is eagerly awaited in the country. .... The representatives of India assembled at Lucknow pressed for 'self-government in education', among other things......... What has Lord Chelmsford to say in regard to this? The problem of education in India cannot be fully solved by a shirking, drifting and shifting policy.

Truths have to be boldly faced and tackled. But it is perhaps inconvenient to do so, and like a statesman, who does not want to do much, he wisely avoids going to the root of questions and emphasises aspects which are already familiar to the public and which, without committing Government to any definite policy, go a long way to raise hopes and tend to soften opposition. In speaking of education through the medium of the vernacular, His Excellency said: 'I would ask you and ask myself as University men how should we have fared in our education if it had been wholly through the medium of a foreign tongue'? We shall not spoil the effect of this pointed question by dilating on the point. The case for the teaching through the vernacular cannot be better stated in such a small compass. We shall, however, request His Excellency to ask himself a question, which arises out of the query which he has addressed to the Directors.......... Will he similarly ask himself and the Directors, what they and himself would have thought of a system of education, in the determination of which their countrymen had no voice,—a system in which all control and initiative rested with persons who were *not* their countrymen, who had a different civilization, whose ideals were different, and whose interests sometimes came into conflict with theirs." [In the next issue the paper, after observing that His Excellency's experience of educational work in the London County Council "will not prove of much avail" in India, goes on:—"From his speech we find no manner of encouragement to believe that the problem of education is going any more now than before to be solved in accordance with the needs and requirements of the country.......... No one will deny the value of enlisting the interest and sympathy of the general public in educational questions. But the best way of bringing home to the people the paramount importance of education is not for the half a dozen or so of European Directors of Public Instruction to meet at Simla or Delhi and deliberate within closed or quasi-closed doors.......... His Excellency has been careful to avoid misunderstanding by declaring frankly that it is not the intention of Government to go back on their past policy. The policy which it adopted in 1913 is to continue unaffected in 1917! His Excellency has recognized the need for growth in certain well-trodden directions; but such growth must wait pending the conclusion of the war and God knows how long thereafter. However, the plea for the non-inclusion of non-official Indians in the deliberations of the Conference can hardly be treated as a serious proposition. If this portion of the speech is carefully read, one would begin to suspect that His Excellency was speaking with a sense of having a heavy weight on his mind. [The paper next refers to the remarks of His Excellency on the necessity of having trained teachers and says:—] We do not mean to say that no training is necessary for teachers. But we want that training to be such as will give free play to their natural powers and not stunt them. We do not agree with His Excellency when he speaks of the training of the teachers as a matter of paramount importance, as the alpha and the omega of educational efficiency. Education has too long suffered already under the iron bands of an unduly exaggerated notion of efficiency and it is bound to continue to suffer so long as the present ideas dominate the minds of those who have got the entire direction of education in their hands. If that is one of the principal questions for which this conference has been summoned, we cannot certainly congratulate the Government of Lord Chelmsford on its wisdom."]

Mahrátta (5), 28th Jan.

***53.** "His Excellency said that there was no question of springing a new policy and, therefore, no non-official was admitted into the deliberations of that body. We fully trust him but we cannot follow his logic. Does he mean that non-officials should only be consulted when the policy of education is to be framed and not on any other occasion?......... On the question of the relative advantages of English and the Vernaculars as the media of instruction no Viceroy was more emphatic and outspoken than Lord Chelmsford. He frankly favoured vernaculars as the best media of instruction and said that if such a vicious system of giving instruction through a foreign tongue as now obtains in India had been in existence in England, he doubted whether Englishmen would not have abandoned the task in despair......... The difficulties invented by the officials are purely imaginary, and the Viceroy also seems to be labouring under the idea that text-books in the vernaculars cannot be had. This idea is erroneous. The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University has shown that any subject can be taught in Bengali, and if there would arise a demand for vernacular text-books, writers of them cannot be wanting, nor would the language stop short of the mark. What is true of Bengali is equally true of any other cultured language, and we perfectly believe that if vernaculars be fixed as the media of education, the difficulty of obtaining suitable text-books can be surmounted in a very short time."

Sandesh (103), 24th Jan.;
Prakásh (102), 24th Jan.

54. We agree with His Excellency in his demand that education should remain uncontaminated by politics. Had this sacred character of education been recognised by the authorities the present outcry against their policy would never have arisen and illiteracy would long have left the land. The so-called well-wishers of British rule in India foolishly scented danger to it in the spread of education in the country, with the result that it was made dearer and the study of English history was boycotted in our colleges. Radical changes being badly needed in our educational system, Government could well have availed of the present opportunity and taken into confidence our non-official educational experts such as Sir Gurudas Banerjee, Mrs. Besant, Dr. Bhandarkar, Principal Paranjpye and others. But unfortunately the Educational Department is disinclined to consult Indian public opinion as regards its policy, though this is a subject, of all others, in which Indians and Europeans can well co-operate on a footing of equality. But 'prejudices die hard', and non-official Indians are excluded from such conferences on one pretext or another. We are thus made to feel the want of Home Rule at every step. Though Home Rule is badly needed in all matters of internal administration, Government should have no objection to grant it at least so far as education is concerned. [The *Prakásh* writes approvingly of the advice given by His Excellency to the younger generation, but declares that their present faults can be traced to the faulty system of education under which they have been trained, for which the originators of the system are alone responsible. It points out that it is not just to give one sort of education and to look for quite another sort of results, and it appeals to His Excellency to see that racial considerations differentiating between the black and the white no longer obtrude themselves within the sacred precincts of the temple of education.]

Comments on Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford's views on female education in India.

Islámic Mail (4), 21st Jan., English edition.

55. Referring to Lady Chelmsford's "thoughtful little speech on the subject of female education" delivered at the Brahmo Balika Sikshalaya at Calcutta, the *Islámic Mail* remarks:—"Her Excellency has taken a deep interest in the advancement of Indian women and what with her familiar intercourse with the Hindu and Muhammadan ladies at Delhi which have already made her so popular with them and what with her association with schemes for their advancement such as the Purdah Club at Delhi and Simla, we can measure her great and lively interest in all that concerns the women of India and at the same time gauge her depth of views and insight into the delicate problems which entangle the cause of female education in India. [The paper here quotes the portion of Her Excellency's speech in which she declared that female education should proceed on lines which would inculcate the special ideals of home and its duties and that in schools for Indian girls the great gifts of the race for arts and home education should be encouraged on purely Indian lines.] We fervently hope that all those noble souls who are engaged in improving the lot of our women and yet turn out so small work in spite of all their zeal and energy will make a motto of Her Excellency's words. Our great misfortune is that our benefactors although imbued with all the lofty ideals and generous propositions for uplifting our backward classes know so little of the people and their requirements, their customs and their idiosyncracies that most of their efforts go astray and their energies are wasted. They innocently graft western methods and think that all that has proved so fruitful in their own country may equally prove beneficial here, but the differences of habits and temperaments assert themselves and nullify their noble endeavours to help our progress. This is in evidence everywhere, in politics as well as in social matters, but nowhere more so than in the case of female education where western methods have proved a complete failure and quite naturally too. The western and eastern modes of life, especially among the women, are vastly different. There is nothing in common between the two and they are as poles as under. What is regarded as a virtue in the one is regarded as a vice in the other. We want the women to take the charge of our private life, to manage the household, to bring up children, in short to be the mistresses of the hearths and take off the cares of the home from us......... Let us hope that the generous solicitude and noble efforts of the Vicereine would stimulate the promoters of female education to fresh efforts and with such high souled ladies as the Begum of Bhopal, the Maharani of Baroda, the Maharani of Vizianagram and other helpers, enligtened Lady Chelmsford may rest assured of an easy success in her noble efforts for the uplifting of these depressed of the depressed, the women of India."

Comments on the announcement of a Government grant of one lakh for scholarships for Muhammadans in Sind.
Islámic Mail (121and 4), 22nd Jan., Urdu Edition; and 28th* Jan., Eng. edition; *Sind Journal* (9), 18th Jan.; *Muslim Herald* (123), 26th Jan.

56. Referring to the address recently presented by the Muhammadans of Sind to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, the *Islámic Mail* expresses its thanks to Government for granting rupees one lakh for scholarships for Muhammadan students in Sind. It takes occasion to state that the Mussalmans stand in very great need of this kind of help just at present, and it urges Government to utilise the interest accruing on the munificent gift of Haji Saboo Siddique for a similar purpose in the Presidency proper, which would go a great way in transforming the dissatisfaction caused by Government's decision in the matter of Sir Yusuf Soudagar's donation into a feeling of gratitude. [The *Sind Journal* remarks that both Government and the Muhammadan Community deserve to be congratulated on the fact of the grant by Government of one lakh for scholarships for Sind Muhammadans. The *Islámic Mail*, in its English edition, remarks :—"We are deeply indebted to His Excellency for his generous gift and hope he will help towards a settlement of Haji Sabu Siddiq's donation in the same liberal spirit, so that Muhammadan money is used to advance the cause of Moslem education which is the crying need of our community. One who helps us in it is the real friend of the Muhammadans." Referring to the grant of rupees one *lakh* for distribution as scholarships among the Muhammadan scholars of Sind the *Muslim Herald* expresses its thanks to Government on behalf of the Muhammadan community. It urges the people of Sind to take advantage of this munificent gift, and it hopes that the grant will be a recurring one.]

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Bombay Corporation and free primary education in the City.
Kesari (95), 23rd Jan.

57. The *Kesari* declares that in view of the commanding position held by the Bombay Municipality in the whole of India, the public naturally expect it to take the lead in the matter of making primary education free and compulsory within its jurisdiction. It, therefore, regrets to see the attitude taken by the Corporation with regard to the question inasmuch as it is likely to affect the future of primary education in the whole of India. It, therefore, appeals to the Corporation to reconsider the matter in view of the many public meetings that are being held in Bombay on the question.

The period for submitting objections to the town planning scheme for Bhamburda (Poona) should be extended.
Kesari (95), 23rd Jan.

58. The Government Notification regarding the town-planning of Bhamburda, near Poona, published in the *Government Gazette*, dated the 28th December 1916, and notifications published by the Poona Municipality in the *Dnyán Prakásh* and elsewhere do not seem to have served the purpose for which they were meant, inasmuch as they were not published in such a way as to draw to them the attention of the people of Bhamburda who have to submit their objections to Government before the 28th of January 1917. The Government Notification in the *Gazette* is in English and the Municipal President's type-written notification, which was affixed at a few places in Bhamburda and which was also published in the *Dnyán Prakásh*, is also in English and moreover bears no date. There has thus been a misunderstanding as to the date before which the objections are to be submitted. Under these circumstances we request Government to extend the period for submitting objections. We would also suggest that the non-official members of the Poona Municipality should enlighten the people of the village on the nature of this new piece of legislation to secure their co-operation in working out the scheme. The Poona Municipality should prepare a scheme of its own since it will be less costly and more agreeable to the poor people concerned than the one prepared by Government experts.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the making of primary education free and compulsory in Bhopál State.

Muslim Herald (123), 26th Jan.

59. In the course of a highly eulogistic article on the beneficient activities of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopál especially in the cause of spreading education among her own subjects and the people of India generally the *Muslim Herald* states that Her Highness has set the seal of triumph on her endeavours by making elementary education free and compulsory in her State. It holds that this statesmanlike act of hers will be an additional argument for imparting free and compulsory education in India.

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 2nd February 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 5 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 3rd February 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bengal Legislative Council: Comments on the resolution to be introduced in the — regarding facilities for Muhammadans in law Courts to recite their prayers 35

British Rule:

- Comments on Dr. Keith's proposals with regard to India in his work entitled "Imperial Unity and Dominions" 28
- Conflict between the views of the Congress and the Hindu Sabha on the subject of Muhammadan representation on public bodies . 30
- How the Hindu-Muhammadan *rapprochement* is harmful to the interests of the Muhammadans 31
- Sir Benjamin Robertson and the exclusion of Mrs. Besant from the Central Provinces and Berárs . . . . 25—27
- Sir James Meston's explanation about his participation in the *Round Table* Consultation . . . . 20—23
- Suggestion that some members of the Bombay Legislative Council should inquire if any high European officers of Government are members of political associations in this Presidency . . . 24
- The Imperial Institute and the industries of India 32
- What sort of system of administration the "progressive moderates" among the Muhammadans want 29

Hajis: The — and the system of issuing return tickets only . . . 34

Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the reported intention to continue the system of indentured labour to Fiji for a further period of five years 33

Public Services Commission: Comments on the Report of the — . . 1—8

Sind: In the interests of the Muhammadan students in — the matriculation should be declared as qualifying for Government service and the — Pleaders' examination should be open to all 36

War:

- All the Powers are now at heart wishing for peace 13
- Comments on Germany's threat to the neutrals of unrestricted submarinism 14
- Comments on the selections made to represent India on the Imperial — Conference . . . . 9—12
- German schemes for undermining loyalty to the British Government in India 15
- India's duty to help the Empire wholeheartedly in the present struggle . 17 & 18
- Reflections on the reorganisation of the Empire after the war . . 16
- The proposed Indian — Loan. 19

H 514—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Bill to amend the Local Boards Act. . . . . . 37 & 38

EDUCATION—

Comments on the proceedings of the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction at Delhi . . . . 39 & 40

MUNICIPALITIES—

Alleged jobbery by the Sukkur (Sind) Municipality in a case of sale of land 41

NATIVE STATES—

Appeal to Government to deal justly with the petition submitted by the Rani of Jobat 42

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Report of the Public Services Commission.

Young India (11), 31st Jan.

1. Writing in *Young India* "V. R." describes the Report of the Public Services Commission as a singularly one-sided and inept affair and remarks:—"If at the beginning of the outbreak of the war, it was considered unfit to be published, all the greater reason now why it should not have been thrown at the head of the people at this stage. On account of the disappointment over the indifferent treatment accorded to this country in the matter of the War Conference and the discontent due to various other causes, the public mind is in such a condition that there would not have been a greater mistake on the part of Government than the publication of this report.......... We do not know if the publication of the antiquated findings of the Commission is intended to try further the patience of a patient people. Whatever may be the case, the people of this country will, we have no doubt, treat the report as absolutely impossible. If there is one noteworthy feature in the majority's findings it is the offensively egotistic assumption of racial superiority. Throughout the report, this feeling of superiority of Europeans over non-Europeans obtrudes on one's notice much more frequently than is desirable. It is further assumed that the Indian Civil Service and allied services are the monopoly of Europeans and there is a too obvious reluctance to admit the indisputable right of the children of the soil to even a small share in the administration of their own country. Whatever the Indian Civil Service may have achieved—we do not deny that it has some fine work to its credit—in the past, it has degenerated in the present day into a rigid super-caste, as all closely organized and jealous bodies tend to do in the long run. And it is a mistake to flatter it into the belief that it is indispensable. On the contrary, it could be tolerable only so long as the present irresponsible and bureaucratic form of Government lasts. It is strange that the Commissioners who insist on the European monopoly of the Civil Service of the country as well as on its indispensable character should have failed to recognize the lesson which history has to teach. The domination of one people over another can only last so long as the other people have no national consciousness. Once the seed of this consciousness has been sown and it has begun to blossom, the domination must necessarily evaporate into thin air.......... In other respects, the report mainly concerns itself with various details about the pay and emoluments of office, and a string of recommendations it put forward proposing the raising of pay here, the increase of pension there and better facilities for leave in a third place. Welcome as these are from the point of view of those whose pockets they will fill, they have for the Indian taxpayer this sinister significance that the Commissioners show a reckless disregard of the crushing financial effects which would follow were the changes now proposed given effect to.......... We will be failing in our duty if we did not congratulate Mr. Rahim on the very able and courageous manner in which he has fought for the rights of his countrymen. India ought to be and is proud of this son who has borne aloft the sacred banner of her rights against great odds. It is a thousand pities that the cruel hand of death snatched away prematurely from his side his great leader. It is true that the views expressed by Mr. Rahim were largely shared and even virtually approved by the departed patriot. Still had he lived, he would have been a veritable tower of strength to our cause in the Commission and in the anxious and trying moments, when Mr. Rahim was left alone to fare an adverse majority, and the difficult situation created by the attitude taken up for unexpected reasons by Mr. Chaubal, his leadership and wisdom would have stood Mr. Rahim in good stead. It was a great trust committed to the hands of the Indian members of the Commission; Mr. Chaubal has failed to justify that trust and has rendered a positive disservice to his countrymen. The report is a singularly unhappy expression of the vast gulf that divides opinion in regard to the essentials of Indian administration as between Indians and non-Indians among whom

are the Anglo-Indians. And we would strongly recommend Government to relegate it to a secure and undisturbed place on the upper shelves of its Secretariat record-room and there let it rest for ever."

Message (6), 30th and 31st Jan.

2. "Such is indeed the letter and the spirit of the recommendations made by the majority that it would be distinctly for the good if the report is consigned to the limbo of oblivion which it so richly deserves. The only redeeming feature of the whole report is the well informed criticism of Justice Abdur Rahim, who has shown that if in 1893, the time had come for holding the competitive examinations in England and India simultaneously, it is now long overdue. Perhaps, as many people have come to the conclusion, the time has now come for holding the examination *solely in India.* That is the only remedy for all the evils from which the administration of this country is suffering and the position which has hitherto existed must be thoroughly reversed. Indians should no longer be treated as beggars at their own doors.......... We do not wish to ascribe motives to anybody, but on reading through the report with the more than ordinary care it deserves, we have come to the definite conclusion that the Commissioners are by no means well disposed towards any policy that would break the sole monopoly which Europeans have enjoyed in the Indian Services from the early days of the East India Company.......... We do not blame Government for what happened in the past. But we now demand that it shall no longer be repeated.......... Those who read the signs of the times aright will perceive that the current of discontent has already gathered such volume and force as to make it inexpedient to resist it both on the ground of justice and statesmanship. He who fails to take timely note of it and raise a finger of warning against neglecting it is a traitor both to England and India; for he does thereby a great harm to the cause of both the countries." [In its next issue the paper says:—"The majority have recommended that approximately three-quarters of the number of posts in the superior branches of the Educational Service, both collegiate and administrative, should be recruited for in *Europe* and one-quarter in India. It is difficult to imagine whether it is the opinion of the majority that the superior branch of the Indian Educational Service should be filled by men selected not only in England, but in France, Germany, Spain and Turkey. In this land of miracles, so many strange things happen that we need not wonder if in the future the task of civilising the 'politically backward communities of India' is jointly shared by all the European *peoples* including of course our Turkish brethren who are as much European, if it denotes a geographical expression as the Portuguese or the Scandinavians. Presumably for this purpose, the Commission would have three-fourths of the number approximately, that means a little more again if you please, reserved for recruitment in Europe. But they are generous enough to recognize the Indian claim for more and more appointments and have, therefore, suggested that '*as new posts are created, recruitment in Europe and India should be so adjusted that the additional officers will be taken half from the one country and half from the other*'. Of course, the existing cadre is not to be disturbed and a half and half share is thinkable only as a new harvest begins to be gathered. For the time being, however, the granary will be closed against all non-Europeans, though they may pick up the scatterings round about."]

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 4th Feb., Eng. cols.

*3. "The report on the face of it has come as a serious disappointment to the country on the very morrow of her awakening.......... More than even the rejection of the proposal of simultaneous examinations the inglorious failure to 'make positive recommendations' and the attempt to baulk the clear issue on the functions of the judicial and executive branches will cause serious heart-burning. The keen dissatisfaction that the system arouses is admitted, yet administrative exigencies are relied upon 'to carry the process of separation further, stage by stage.' The public have little faith in such evolution. The bureaucracy is notorious for its tenacity for power and to the Indian it is difficult to conceive of the Anglo-Indian letting his hold go off that power. Nothing will go so much to discredit the report

as this failure to decide an issue on which the Commission had the clearest possible terms of reference and for a sensible solution of which the public had long looked......... We should think much of the now precious paper and ink would be saved if the Secretary of State and the Government of India immediately declared that in view of the change in the angle of vision and the obsoleteness of the report itself they did not propose to work upon its recommendations."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 4th Feb.

*4. "One of the weakest features of the Report is, indeed, the reckless zeal with which increases of salaries to officers already drawing high pay have been recommended. The Commissioners recommend that there should be no more recruiting for the Indian Finance Department in England (we cannot understand why they presistently use 'Europe' to designate the United Kingdom), but for the present they do not recommend the adoption of a similar course in respect of the Customs Department, 'owing to the large share in the trade of the seaports held by Europeans.' If this principle be sound, the appointment of Director of Agriculture must be held by a Koli, that of Veterinary Superintendent by a Mahar, that of Excise Commissioner by a Bhandari, of Comptroller of Currency by a Marwari, and the Inspector-General of Police by a Chapparband or a Ghantichor. Sometimes the inconsequential irrelevance of the Commissioners is such as to provoke ridicule."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 29th and 31st Jan.; *Hindusthán* (17), 29th and 31st Jan. and 2nd Feb.; *Navsári Patrika* (66), 28th Jan.

5. Referring to the Report of the Indian Public Service Commission, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the lines of progress that were thought sufficient for India before the war have grown obsolete now and adds that if the narrow principles of pre-war days are still adhered to it will give a great shock to the new aspirations that have grown up in the minds of the public. It observes that the Commission has failed to rise above the old condition of things for the improvement of which it was appointed and has kept unredeemed the promises made to the Indian public through royal proclamations and for the fulfilment of which they were looking forward through the results of the Commission. The paper deprecates the Commission's opposition to the demand made by the Indian public for simultaneous examinations and expresses the hope that this view of the Commission will not find favour with the higher authorities. It does not approve of the system of recruitment for the Civil Service recommended by the Commission and remarks that merit should be the only criterion for admission to the service. [In the subsequent issue the paper quotes from the Report of the Commission the percentage of Indians employed in State service in different grades and remarks that these figures will show that the principle embodied in the Queen's proclamation for observing no distinction of caste, colour or creed in the public service has not been translated into action. It objects to the principle of fixing proportions for Europeans and Indians and remarks that if high merits be not made the only test for entering the public services the Indians will scarcely prefer to have a larger share in them than at present at the sacrifice of the efficiency of those services. The *Hindusthán* refers to the Commission's recommendations fixing the proportion of Indians to be employed in different State departments and urging that recruitment should be made at present in England for particular departments but that ultimately it should take place in India, etc., and remarks that India will not now rest satisfied with such half-hearted measures and with recommendations loaded with such deceptive conditions. It observes that India has cried herself hoarse, but she has not been able to make herself heard. What is the alternative, inquires the paper, when those who have ears will not hear and those who have got eyes will not see? It is for this reason, it adds, that India has begun to make her demand for Home Rule. Continuing its comments upon the Report in its subsequent issue the paper remarks that the members of the Indian Civil Service are known in some quarters as the ruling class or clan for this reason that they have formed themselves into a body, a touch to one portion of which is known to vibrate the whole. It maintains that

[illegible] has opposed the proposal for holding simultaneous examinations [illegible] in India and England because its members were haunted by the [illegible] of the possible harm that would be done to vested interests if the proposal was acceded to. It also remarks that the reduction recommended by the Commission in the age limit for I. C. S. Examintion is likely to be interpreted as an attempt to debar the Indians entirely from the service. The paper hopes that the Secretary of State for India will not accept the perverse recommendations made by the Commission but will deal with the aspirations of the Indians in a liberal spirit. Commenting further upon the subject in its issue of the 2nd February the paper takes the opportunity to refer to the rumour that it was the disappointing recommendations contained in the ill-fated Report which plunged the late Mr. Gokhale in deep despair and hastened his death. The *Navsari Pátrika* remarks that the "precious" recommendations made by the Public Services Commission have spread great disappointment everywhere. It observes that if the Commission had devoted only a thousandth part of the trouble they have taken to sing the praises of the work done by Government, to gladdening the hearts of the Indian people the loyal Indian nation would have been highly pleased.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 29th, Eng. and ver. cols., and 31st Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 27th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 29th and 30th Jan.

6. Commenting upon the report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—"We do not imagine that there will be any great controversy on this report, which is so evidently conservative in its angle of vision and which is so out-of-date in its halting and half-hearted recommendations.......... When the report says that 'in many of our recommendations the spirit of his (the late Mr. Gokhale's) counsels will be found reflected', we feel that this is merely a self-compliment which the Commissioners need not have taken; the 'spirit of his counsels' is better reflected in the minute of Mr. Justice Abdul Rahim.......... No doubt a careful reading of the contents of the report shows the Commissioners' solicitude to be just and careful of the rights of Indians; but the requisite spirit of statesmanship is conspicuous in its absence.......... If the soul of India is to be satisfied, it wants more nourishing corn than is vouchsafed in the coldly critical and unimaginative pages of a report that abounds in details but lacks in statement of general principles. It pays too much attention to the retention of Englishmen in the various public services and this is a fundamental misconception which vitiates the whole report.... We really looked for something more definite; instead, we get a sort of mathematical puzzle, with proportions that are disproportionate and scales of salaries that are more like tempting bunches of grapes than substantial food. The Aitchison Commission on Public Services, appointed as far back as 1886, *i. e.*, more than thirty years ago—recommended the larger employment of Indians in the Public Services; but that was thirty years ago. Is the Islington Commission only a new edition of the Aitchison Commission; a few more openings here; a little more pay there; a new classification in this service and a new system of recruitment in another? Is that all? What India waited anxiously for was for a big jump forward; a new policy based on a just appreciation of the merits and claims of Indians, rather than a mere revision of antiquated policy founded on efficiency of administration and 'the necessity on various grounds, of retaining an adequate European element'. The result of all this need not be stated any further than in the well-known words which we have placed at the heading of this article 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.'" [In its Gujarati columns the paper remarks that in the face of the Commissioners' own declaration to the effect that Englishmen of first rate abilities refuse to come out to India, their advocacy of the principle of maintaining the British element in a large proportion in the higher grades of Government service will not be regarded as justifiable. It cannot comprehend how the employment of Indians in larger numbers would militate against British policy and principles when the latter have been all along breathing in British literature and are nurtured in the atmosphere of British traditions. In its issue of the 31st January the paper observes that it is only natural that the London *Times*

should praise the Commission's recommendations regard being had to Sir Valentine Chirol's connection with that paper and his relations with the *Round Table*. It, however, declares that the *Times* being now known to be a party organ, its lucubrations will not have any weight with the more thoughtful sections of the British public. The paper regrets that Reuter's agency has, while cabling in detail the opinion of the *Times*, avoided noticing the views of the Liberal and Labourite organs. The *Sánj Vartamán*, while appreciating some of the recommendations made by the Commission, remarks that the report, taken as a whole, will fail to create any impression on the minds of the public. It is of opinion that the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Government have committed a mistake in publishing such a report at the present juncture. The principle, they have enunciated, of fixing proportions for Englishmen and Indians, with regard to recruitment for the public services will increase, instead of diminishing, public discontent. While expressing gratification at the separate minute made by the Honourable Mr. Chaubal, it wishes that he had not signed the report at all because by signing it, he has endorsed the general principles laid down by the Commission. It observes that the Indian public are thankful to Mr. Chaubal for the honesty of purpose with which he has represented the case of India, in which connection the paper gives the palm to Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also does not approve of the recommendation of the Commission for the retension of a large proportion of Britishers in the superior grades of the State services in India. Referring to the Commission's refusal to favour the holding of simultaneous examinations for the I. C. S., the paper supports Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim in holding that the Commissioners are not right in their view that India does not afford adequate facilities for the study of the subjects prescribed for the I. C. S. examination. It, however, expresses its gratification at the recommendation for making nine appointments for the Civil Service directly from India. In its subsequent issue the paper refers to the *personnel* of the Commission and inquires how Indian interests could be expected to be safeguarded when the leader of the *Round Table*, Sir Valentine Chirol, was included in its composition with Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Theodore Morrison, Mr. Sly and others to support him. It then enumerates the suggestions the London *Times* threw out for the benefit of the Commission at the time of its appointment in 1912 and expresses the opinion that the present recommendations of the Commission are but a revised edition of those suggestions. The paper believes that the people will receive with sorrow the recommendation made for reducing the present age-limit for the I. C. S. Examination and declares that it would be no exaggeration to say that the proposal amounts to entirely closing the doors of the I. C. S. against the Indians. The paper then goes on to remark that the Indians are thankful to Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim for his services to India as a member of the Commission. It also compares the complaint raised by the Anglo-Indian press against the Commission's recommendations to the crocodile's tears shed by an old woman over the death of her young co-wife who monopolised the affection of the husband.

Gujaráti (13), 28th Jan.

7. India has advanced by leaps and bounds since the appointment of the Public Services Commission and its report which has recently been published is therefore fitly considered to be antiquated and out of date. Such a report can never be expected to meet with the approval of the Indian people; it might be preserved as a curiosity on the shelves of the India Office. India now wants to boycott civilians from the Executive Councils and it further wants *Swarájya* and not a rule according to the wishes of the Civilians. At such a juncture this Commission, as if it was crushing India under an Himalayan mountain-load of favours, recommends the allotment of 25 per cent. of the total number of posts to Indians! It does not favour simultaneous Civil Service Examinations even though the House of Commons had recommended such a step in 1893. It is highly surprising that the Commission has pronounced no opinion on the question of the separation of the judicial and executive functions. The solution of which has been repeatedly demanded by Indian opinion and the urgency of which is recognised by the

Government of India. The mountain in labour has brought forth a mouse! It is now high time a fresh Commission was appointed for conducting a new enquiry.

Sandesh (103), 1st Feb.; *Kesari* (95), 30th Jan.; *Dnydn Prakdsh* (34), 30th Jan. and 1st Feb.; *Prakdsh* (102), 31st Jan.

8. The Commission's Report gives us practically nothing, which was what we had expected from the very first. The Indian public wanted Government not to publish the Report in view of the high expectations raised by India's participation in the war, but they have disregarded the suggestion and have dared to give publicity to the utterly worthless recommendations of the Commission. As the country now wants Home Rule, nobody need take the trouble even to discuss the Report. We are not at all surprised at the utterly unsatisfactory character of the recommendations, but we are pained at the fact that the Honourable Mr. Chaubal should have dared to sign it. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim and the Honourable Mr. Chaubal are both sons of Ind, but it is most shameful that while the former should have had the good sense to discharge his debt to his mother-land, the latter should have been fatuous enough to deny that obligation. That the Honourable Mr. Chaubal could not go against the wishes of the nine European members indeed shows commendable moral courage! But what could Mr. Chaubal do when even Bhishma and Drona, the Puranic heroes, had to forsake the righteous cause for the sake of the salt they had eaten! Fortunately, however, for India, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, though similarly circumstanced, was not tempted to say ditto to the other Commissioners and has thus shown a spirit of sterling independence worthy of the utmost praise. The Report will serve to confirm the general opinion that these Commissions are appointed only to baulk the fulfilment of the people's aspirations. [The *Kesari* remarks:—Our benign Government might perhaps have thought that Indians were waiting on the tiptoe of expectation for the Report, but we beg to assure them that nobody cared for it as no good was expected therefrom. The Commission was, as a matter of fact, only an attempt to hypnotise the people for a time. A brave show was indeed made and hundreds of witnesses were examined and the final act closed with the retirement of the Commissioners to the cool breezes of England for drawing the necessary inspiration to write the Report; but all the while the people of India were simply laughing in their sleeves at the grand jugglery that was being gone through. [Here the paper refers briefly to the former Service Commissions and to the simultaneous examination resolution passed by Parliament to show how they all failed and goes on:—] Misfortune has been dogging the steps of India, and whatever recommendations have been made for its welfare have been put an end to by a stab in the dark before they could be acted upon. The present Commission's recommendations are not worth even the paper on which they are printed, and we wish it had not been appointed at all as that would have saved India an enormous waste of public money and time. We indeed feel shame, though Government may not do so, at the fact, that the rotten thing the Commission has brought forth does not furnish even a shred of evidence in proof of the sentiments of justice actuating Government. On the contrary, though the Commissioners have throughout the Report pompously proclaimed their intention to do away with the colour distinction in the public services, it may safely be said that they have by their own recommendations imprinted that distinction in flaming characters on the face of the British administration in India. The *Dnydn Prakdsh* also declares that the Report ought to have been shelved as its publication has only given rise to general discontent. It expresses surprise that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, Mr. Fisher and Sir Theodore Morison from whom much was expected by the Indian public should have in the main supported the Report of the majority. It goes on:—Though the Honourable Mr. Chaubal has signed the majority report, his minute of dissent shows that he disagrees in many of its retrograde recommendations. Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim's minute alone reflects the real public opinion of the country. The Commissioners talk about the necessity of maintaining the British tone in the administration in justification of their recommendation for having an overwhelming propor-

tion of Englishmen in the higher branches of the Services, but we doubt if that tone can be maintained by means of the men now recruited in England who show a great falling off from the old standard of merit. That is one of the reasons for the new demand for holding all the examinations in India alone. In a subsequent issue the *Dnyán Prakásh* expresses itself utterly dissatisfied with the recommendations of the Commission as regards the Civil Service Examination and says:—If there be any truth in the solemn pledges given over and over to India by our sovereigns, then the authorities must be prepared to carry them out even if the number of British officers in the administration be reduced to the vanishing point. The scheme proposed for recruiting one-fourth of the Civil Service men in India will never be accepted by Indians as they will permanently occupy a lower position. The wonder is that though Indians have all along been against having entrance into the Civil Service by the back-door and demand open competition, the Commission has thought it fit to recommend the former course for their acceptance. The reduction of the age-limit for the examination in England by three years as proposed by the Commission in open disregard of the opinions of the University authorities in England will practically close that avenue to Indian students in spite of certain concessions proposed to be granted in their case. The *Prakásh* also condemns the report as most unsatisfactory and calls upon the people to openly express their disapprobation of its recommendations, which it declares to be of an utterly retrograde character.]

Comments on the selections made to represent India on the Imperial War Conference.
Young India (11), 31st Jan.

9. Commenting upon the selections made to assist the Secretary of State on the Imperial War Confe rence, *Young India* remarks:—"Capable as are the gentlemen selected by the Governor-General in Council, none of them can be considered as the people's representative. The selection of Sir James Meston is distinctly unsatisfactory and unfortunate especially in view of the fact that he has been associated with a mischievous and ill-conceived political movement.......... It is no doubt true that one official is as good as another, and in ordinary circumstances it would not have mattered much whether this, that or any other official had been nominated. But having regard to the character of Mr. Curtis' political mission and Sir James Meston's part in it, we do not think that his selection reflects much credit on the political sagacity of the Government of India. It has been felt and will continue to be felt as a grave insult to public opinion, and it is extremely galling to the sense of Indian self-respect that a man who, without any compunction whatsoever countenanced a sinister political movement should be sent as one of India's representatives. With regard to the Maharaja of Bikaner, we do not wish to say much. The Maharaja is an able ruler and has proved himself to be a statesman of broad and liberal views. Personally, therefore, his selection is welcomed. What is not clear in his case is whether he goes to the Conference as the accredited representative of the Ruling Chiefs or merely at the pleasure of the Government of India, to speak for himself and nobody else. We cannot also regard with equanimity the fact that a great Indian Ruler may not have an honoured place at the Conference, but merely act as a 'companion'.......... We think we may safely assume that he (Sir S. P. Sinha) will not fail to impress on the Secretary of State the need for safeguarding adequately India's interests. The only fear is that because he has now reverted to the official line, he might not feel himself quite so free to plead the cause of his countrymen with a narrow-visioned Secretary of State......... Assuming, however, that he were the unqualified representative and chief spokesman of Indian officialdom, any idea that he is *ipso facto* the representative of Indian India must be repudiated. The scant attention which Mr. George has given to the subject of India is sorely disappointing."

Kesari (95), 30th Jan.

10. The *Kesari* congratulates His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner upon his being selected by Government, inasmuch as he deserves the honour for having distinguished himself by taking a prominent part at the recent Chiefs' Conference at Delhi and by rendering important services to the Empire on the battlefields of France and Egypt. The paper, however, accords a very qualified approval to the selection of Sir S. P. Sinha, as it doubts very much if his over-cautiousness and extreme moderation will allow him sufficiently to press India's claims at the Conference. As to Sir James Meston it takes strong objection to his selection, declaring that the people of India have now lost confidence in him on account of his association with the *Round Table* group of Colonial politicians who want to bring India under the yoke of the Colonies, and remarks that Sir Benjamin Robertson would have been a better selection. It then refers to the many other questions of grave importance that are likely to come before the war Conference for settlement and observes that it was absolutely necessary that a member who would have taken a resolute stand against the Colonies should have been selected. It, therefore, regards the selection of Sir James Meston who has espoused the cause of the Colonies as dangerous as the entrusting of the keys of one's safe to a thief would be.

Gujaráti (13), 28th Jan.

11. While India has secured representation on the Imperial War Conference, she is, unfortunately, not on the same footing as the self-governing colonies. The representatives of the colonies are responsible to their constituents while the Secretary of State is in no may responsible to India; neither are the people of India in a position to refuse to abide by any decision the Secretary of State might arrive at adverse to the interests of India. Thus the Indians have got King Stork instead of King Log. The Secretary of State will be more inclined to safeguard British interests than those of India, and so England may be said to have in him an additional representative on the Conference. The Indian representatives, whose selection has been recently announced, will merely advice the Secretary of State and he is naturally likely to be influenced solely by the representative of the bureaucracy in the person of Sir James Meston. The Maharaja of Bikaner knows very little of international politics and his presence on the Conference will not materially help India. It is said the Maharaja has been selected to *accompany* the Secretary of State. Does the Secretary of State mean to take him with himself to the Conference to add to his prestige? Is the representative of the Indian States, whose population makes up one-third of the whole of India, to be an ornamental appendage to this Secretary of State? Verily the native rulers of India are held in very high honour. The selection of Sir Satyandra Sinha is a somewhat desirable feature of the choice of Government, but he is merely to advise the Secretary of State! Under the circumstances we doubt whether the people of India will gladly accept any fresh responsibility which the Secretary of State may be instrumental in imposing on India.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 30th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 29th and 30th Jan., Eng. cols.

12. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while expressing gratification at the appointment of the three Indian representatives at the Imperial War Conference, asks Government to clear up certain misunderstandings that have arisen with regard to the position they will occupy at the Conference and to make a definite pronouncement on the question. [The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses hope that full justice will be done to the claims of India at the Conference by allowing her representatives to sit as the equals of those of the self-governing Colonies. In the subsequent issue the paper writes in its English columns:—" The allotment of a definite place to India in the Imperial Conference is a distinct gain.......... She will now have an accredited representative at the Conference. The questions before the previous meetings, though of great moment, did not involve the tremendous issues of vital consequence to the Empire which will be discussed by this Conference. It meets in a moment of crisis. It has quickened the sense of organic union between the various parts of the Empire. A sense of common danger has awakened them to that of common interests. In a word, it has welded them together, as no other circumstance could possibly have done. It has revealed the potentialities of India as an invaluable unit of the Empire.......... The Colonies have come to a better understanding of the position and importance of India in the scheme of Empire, and it is hoped

that it will go far to improve the relations between India and the Dominions. Out of the war will arise an Imperial Union, mighty and resourceful, and capable of meeting any possible combination, in the cause of humanity and civilization."]

All the powers are now at heart wishing for peace.
Shri Saydji Vijaya (105), 1st Feb.

13. Remarking that the peace talk has naturally slackened the ardour of the belligerent powers which have all been exhausted and maintaining that only one desire, *viz.*, that of peace now dominates the whole world, the *Shri Saydji Vijaya* observes:—Everybody realises that it is in the interests of all that peace should be concluded but the difficulty is, who is to break the ice! Thus, no other noteworthy news is forthcoming excepting that we advanced or retreated a few yards on the different fronts, that our condition is improving, that the condition of our enemies is getting worse, etc. Yet, if there is anything that has been attracting attention during the last few days it is with regard to the German submarine activity. A number of steamers are destroyed every week and yet it is apprehended that the Germans are making endeavours to build hundreds of new submarines. Their object in so doing is stated to be to impose a blockade upon England, and that is not unlikely. However, it is also difficult to understand how it is possible for them to build hundreds of submarines in the bustle of the present war. The nations of the whole world now wish that the present lull in the activities might develop into a lasting peace.

Comments on Germany's threat to the neutrals of unrestricted submarinism.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 3rd Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 3rd Feb.

14. Commenting upon Germany's threat to neutral countries of unrestricted submarinism, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We seem to be passing through the last phase of the war which is expected to terminate by the end of May next. Germany has become desperate and its threat to sink all neutral shipping is tantamount to declaring war against them. The threat has created a sensation in America and the attitude of Spain and Holland will greatly depend upon the stand America takes. The defiance which Germany has been hurling against America is partly due to the weakness of her military preparations, and even if America joins the war she will not be in a position to render material help to the Allies from the military point of view. We must be prepared to encounter German brutality of a still worse type than the existing one with the firm hope that the Allies will score a victory within a few months. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses its confidence in the ability of the Allied Navy to cope with the threatened submarine menace. It believes President Wilson will be driven to break diplomatic relations with Germany and hopes that the war will come to a speedy and victorious end.]

German schemes for undermining loyalty to the British Government in India.
Islámic Mail (4), 28th Jan., Eng. edition.

15. "The *Rheinisch-Westfolische Zeitung*, a daily newspaper owned by the Krupp firm at Essen, has written frankly on the subject of undermining British authority in India. It admits that 'to raise a great rebellion in India in these days is a very difficult undertaking.' The German missionaries have been abruptly removed from their spheres of usefulness, and the writer suggests the employment of other missionaries, 'not of German nationality, but of known German sympathies.' They will have to walk warily because the Government of India are 'more or less on the alert.' We fear that these good people will not have the freedom of the road very long, walk they ever so warily. But the German paper expects that 'a vigorous patriotism, coupled with an active brain and the will for freedom' will achieve anything; 'should these three attributes be wanting, religious and national fanaticism might offer a very good substitute. This should be sought first among the Muhammadans and afterwards among the Hindus. German agents will move among the people as neutrals, or even as Englishmen, and will work slowly and steadily.' A leading Berlin newspaper, the *Tagliche Rundschau*, says a German Indian Association should be established

before the end of the war, and it will deprive England of her remaining influence in India. Several other cunning devices are suggested......... India's reply to German intrigue will be found in the armed Indian hosts fighting for the Empire, and the enthusiasm with which the Princes and people of India have rallied round the British flag."

Reflections on the reorganisation of the Empire after the war.

Gujaráti (13), 28th Jan.

16. Writing at length on England and the Empire the *Gujaráti* says:—It is not necessary for England to be burdened with the anxiety of the administration of India. England should take steps to make Indians responsible for their own administration. The difficulties of England are in a measure due to her own neglect in this resppect. England does not bear the burden of the anxieties without receiving any recompense; she is amply compensated for her troubles. Had England allowed the Colonies, Egypt and India to have their own navies the German raiders would never have been able to cause so much destruction to commerce. Similarly if Indians had been given military training there would have been no lack of men to fight for England and if the free trade policy had not been followed to the advantage of Germany and other countries and to the detriment of indigenous industries, India would have supplied abundant munitions for the war. We do not think that the establishment of the Council of the Empire will be in any way conducive to the welfare or solidarity of its different constituents. The decisions of the Council will be carried by majority and under such an arrangement what would be the fate of India? It would be in the best interests of the Empire that England should have the power to decide questions of international politics. But if a Council of the Empire is established and it is allowed to deal direct with foreign countries all would have to abide by its action without demur, and trouble is sure to arise therefrom. In the proposed reorganisation each part of the Empire should be given freedom to develop its own resources on its own lines and to provide for its own Army and Navy. The Colonies enjoy this privilege, and it should now be extended to India and Egypt.

India's duty to help the Empire wholeheartedly in the present struggle.

Akhbár-e-Islám (52), 29th and 31st Jan.

17. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* publishes, in two instalments, what is presumably a translation of a letter addressed to it by Mawlana Pir Sayyed Gulam Hussain of Siyorcape, Bhopal State, for publication, wherein the writer, after describing how General Lake, on taking possession of Delhi in 1803, evolved order out of chaos, dwells upon the various benefits that have accrued to India as a result of the British rule, *e. g.*, the introduction of Education, Railways, the Postal System, Telegraphs, Police, Local self-Government, etc. He lays stress particularly upon the freedom of religion enjoyed by the Indian people and remarks that the public cannot feel sufficiently grateful for such a beneficent administration. He asks both Hindus and Muhammadans under what other rule so much happiness could be enjoyed. He reminds them that for all these boons they are indebted to the British crown. The Maulana then goes on to refer to the present war and exhorts the Indians wholeheartedly to help the Empire with men and money in the present struggle not only out of gratitude to the British administration but for the security of their own comforts and happiness. He maintains that if they fail in this duty of theirs they will be stigmatised as an ungrateful nation. The writer concludes by praying for a glorious victory to Great Britain in the war.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 2nd Feb.

18. Mr. Jahangirshah A. Taliarkhan of Surat writes to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* exhorting the people to subscribe to the War and Relief Funds and to help Government in all possible ways with a view to bringing the war to a successful termination. He dwells upon the benefits of British rule and the peace and prosperity enjoyed by India under British suzerainty and calls upon the people of India to discharge their obligations towards their rulers. He is of opinion that those who will contribute freely to the War

Fund will have helped to keep their own countrymen secure from slavery, oppression, treachery and assassination. He declares that for decades he has been proclaiming it as his firm conviction—a conviction to which he still adheres as strongly as ever—that India could not have got and will never get a Government better than British. The writer, further, expresses the opinion that his countrymen will have to rue it dearly if they will not now help Britain in stamping out the few "anarchists" that exist in the country by giving information against them. He dwells on the great love he bears to his country, and declares that it is that very love which impels him to the exhortation that none should harass the British Government in any way if the country is to be saved from calamities and its independence is to be preserved. He asks how the German "Hun" can be expected to respect the lives and independence of others when he has proved faithless to the Royal House of England to which he is related by ties of blood. The writer, accordingly, exhorts Indians to strengthen the hands of their just rulers in putting down their deadly foe.

The proposed Indian War Loan.
Praja Bandhu (27), 28th Jan.

19. Commenting upon the proposed Indian War Loan, the *Praja Bandhu* writes:—The Indian War Loan will be as attractive as the British War Loan. We wish, however, that the announcement had been made a little later or a little earlier. In the former case there would have arisen no necessity of raising the Indian loan if it was found that the British loan had been well supported by the Indian public. In the latter case Government would have been able to gauge the full extent of the support given by India to the Empire. The *communiqué* issued in connection with the Indian loan leaves us in doubt as to whether the amount subscribed is to be presented to England on behalf of India or is to be given as a loan. We would very much like the point to be cleared up at the time of the publication of the Indian Budget.

Sir James Meston's explanation about his participation in the *Round Table* consultation.
Message (6), 1st and 2nd Feb.

20. "Sir James has cut a very sorry figure in attempting to explain away his by no means happy alliance with Mr. Curtis. The explanation itself is no explanation at all; it is an attempt merely at glossing over things and evading the issues, which were raised in the Honourable Mr. Motilal Nehru's interpellations........... The point we have immediately to consider is whether the alliance of Sir James Meston and his indispensable *chela* the Honourable Mr. Marris was so simple a thing as is now represented by those two notabilities.......... Sir James has admitted that the Government of India is of opinion that *officers should not in future be members of the Round Table groups in India* (the italics are ours). But what about the past? Are the breakers of rule and discipline—not to use a stronger expression—are they to go scot-free?.......... For all one knows about Mr. Marris, he is a high Government servant drawing a fat salary and no more. He is in no sense an exponent of Indian ideas and hopes nor is he the spokesman of Indians.......... He is bound to accept without demur and follow the orders of Government whether right or wrong. If on the other hand, he wants to retain his individual rights, his only business is to resign the service. But he cannot retain the one and enjoy the other.......... The same remarks apply more or less to what his Honor Sir James Meston said.......... Sir James may be an old friend of Mr. Curtis for all that the public care and he might as well invite him to come to India, to stay at the United Provinces Government House for a few days, enjoy his hospitality, admire the princely magnificience and regal splendour in which a Lieutenant Governor lives and go back the way he came mightily well pleased. But beyond this, propriety forbade that either of them should go.......... Sir James says that he hoped that Englishmen and Indians brought together in friendly discussion in various parts of India might have hammered out a solution of *our* (?) more difficult problems. But where was the necessity of importing Mr. Curtis if that was the object? Were there not enough Englishmen in India who would have done better? Is Mr. Curtis such a superman as to help by his bewitching personality and [illegible] people, Englishmen and Indians, into hammering out a solution ?... .... The crowning part of the explanation is that where he speaks of what the Government of India think. The opinion is qualified by the words 'in view of the misunderstanding'. Misunderstanding on whose part? Is it on the part of the Government servants whose complicity in the movement has been discovered or on the part of the people? The point is made more vague still. The Government of India considers that *officials should not be members* of the Round Table groups *in India* (note the italics). So, it means that officials should not be members of the groups in India; but they can become or continue as members of groups outside India, and in India itself be associated with them, though not formally as members and not as the brains of the groups. The wording is indeed so dexterous that one would, on a cursory reading, come to the conclusion that something had been gained in the end. On the other hand, the new situation makes matters worse by driving beneath the surface the forces of reaction. Under the cloak of fairness, the explanation appears to us to be no better than a public condonation of those high officials who are publicly charged, without any contradiction, of having conspired with Mr. Curtis in a dangerous political propaganda." [In a subsequent issue the *Message* remarks:—"Instances are not wanting to show how strict is the supervision exercised by Government over its servants, whether high or low, especially where they happen to be Indians. We know of an Indian Government servant, holding a high position, who had to obtain the permission of the head of his department before he could attend a marriage at his own brother's house, because that brother was a politician, and not only that, he had to keep his superior officer informed of all that was taking place during the few days of his stay. When an up-country politician who had been invited, arrived, he had to inform him forthwith and tell him that he had come solely for the function and would be returning to his place that very evening. The guest who had travelled hundreds of miles in response to his friend's invitation had to be hustled along because of the safety of the Government servant's interests. In another case, a school master was dismissed and harassed because his brother-in-law was a nationalist and had been sent to jail for delivering a speech purporting to be 'seditious'. Yet in a third case, a judicial officer who had loyally served Government for a number of years was sent 'right about' because the C. I. D. had reported against him! Instances of this nature could be multiplied if need be; but we think those we have cited here are enough to show how strict is the censorship which Government imposes on the Indian servants both in the physical and astral planes. But in the present instance, active association in a political movement, fraught with the possibility of serious mischief, is openly professed and an attempt made to justify it."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 1st Feb.; **Mahrátta* (5), 4th Feb.

21. According to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* the statements made by Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris in the Legislative Council of the United Provinces in explanation of their association with Mr. L. Curtis of the *Round Table* are not satisfactory. In view of the task that body has set before itself, the paper is not prepared to admit the contention of Mr. Marris that the *Round Table* is a non-political association. Regard being had to the part Mr. Curtis has played in South Africa to the detriment of Indian interests the paper regrets that Sir James Meston should have attempted to demonstrate the utility of the work done by Mr. Curtis and his associates in South Africa. It dwells upon Mr. Curtis' views about the African and the Asiatic people including the Indians and feels surprised that neither Sir James Meston nor Mr. Marris has thought fit to dissociate himself from Mr. Curtis' views which they are represented by Mr. Curtis to share. The paper is of opinion that if Sir James does share the views of Mr. Curtis about India's position in the Empire after the war and if the Colonial representatives on the Imperial War Conference were to ascertain them by means of a cross-examination, they are likely to do much harm to the interests of India, even though they happen to be his personal views. It, accordingly, inquires if under those circumstances, His Honour will not, for the benefit of this country, show the public spirit of resigning the position, which he has been called upon to fill, of acting as an adviser to the Secretary of State for India at the War Conference. [The *Mahrdtta* remarks:—"The explanation is not satisfactory as it does not explain the cardinal but foolish idea of the Dominion Control of India. This was the offending part and though its discussion will now be suppressed for the time being it will continue its baneful influence till the reckless opinion is publicly withdrawn. Sir James Meston and his colleague haved studiously avoided this point, and such an evasion of it would fail to conciliate and satisfy the anxious minds of the people of India." [The paper then refers to Mr. Marris' contention that the *Round Table* was a non-political organisation and remarks:—] "Would that Government had seen in the same light the public movements in India! But we know that even innocent men imbued with perfectly loyal motives are being dogged by the C. I. D. which supposes them to be dangerous political organisers. If the *Round Table* propaganda is non-political, then why should the Home Rule League movements be imagined to savour of politics? Does Mr. Marris, who is himself an Inspector-Genepal of Police, consider the Home Rule movement a non-political one? The *Round Table* men collect and publish information, stimulate and elicit public opinion, move and seek public support, and so does the Home Rule League. Then why should the latter be not considered as non-political as the former?"]

Sandesh (103), 1st Feb.

22. There are no two opinions about the purity of the motives of Sir James Meston in inviting Mr. Curtis to visit India. It was apparently in the honest conviction that unless Mr. Curtis came into personal contact with Indians of every shade of opinion he would not be able to form any definite opinion. But the question arises why did not Mr. Curtis consult men like the Honourable Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Sapru and the Honourable Mr. Chintamani just as he sought the advice of Government officials like Sir James and Mr. Marris. We are very grateful to the Government of India for having taken steps to see that Government servants no longer catch the contagion of the *Round Table* group and offend public opinion. But what should poor Mr. Curtis do when on the one hand his connection with the Government servants has been severed and on the other he finds Indian leaders more than a match for him? We are of opinion that the sooner he renounces his present philanthropic mission and sails for England the better for himself and for this country. Indians will also gladly thank Government when they find themselves rid of this terrible nuisance.

Bombay Samdchdr (55), 3rd Feb.

23. The *Bombay Samdchdr* writes at length on the activities of the *Round Table* group and while admitting that Mr. Curtis is actuated by honest motives in his investigations into Indian politics, expresses a wish that Government officials had not associated themselves with the work of the *Round Table*. It expresses some satisfaction at the explanation given by Sir James Meston with regard to his connection with the *Round Table* and the announcement made to the effect that the Government of India are of opinion that their officials should not take part in the activities of that body. It, however, wishes that Sir James had given fuller explaination clearing his position with respect to the allegation that he held the same opinions as Mr. Curtis. It hopes such an explanation will be soon forthcoming. It asks Mr. Curtis to study Indian politics by direct contact with the leaders of public opinion in India.

Suggestion that some members of the Bombay Legislative Council should inquire if any high European officers of Government are members of political associations in this Presidency.

Message (6), 2nd Feb.

24 "At the last meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council, the Honourable Mr. Chintamani asked whether in these provinces some high officers of Government were not members of political associations such as the Anglo-Indian Association. The answer was of the usual type.......... We would strongly recommend the course adopted by Mr. Chintamani to our members in the local Council. There are, we believe, a number of high officials of Government both in the city and the Presidency who come under the category, and the Honourable members, we trust, will take up the matter in right earnest."

Sir Benjamin Robertson and the exclusion of Mrs. Besant from the Central Provinces and Berars.

Young India (11), 31st Jan.

25. Referring to the explanation given by Sir B. Robertson to the Deputation of the Amraoti Provincial Conference on the subject of Mrs. Besant's exclusion from the Central Provinces and Berars and the challenge sent by Mr. B. P. Wadia to him to prove that the address read by him at the Conference on behalf of Mrs. Besant was of a seditious character, *Young India* writes :—"We hope Sir Benjamin will proceed to prove the charge he has levelled against Mr. Wadia, a loyal subject of the Crown, and if he fails to do so, we trust a higher authority will impress upon him the necessity to make due amends for a statement from a responsible position, which is calculated to mar the reputation of a political leader.......... The reference of the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces and Berar, to his order against Mrs. Besant in his reply to the Provincial Conference Deputation appears to us to be a forcible illustration of the habit of lack of candour on the part of officials in this country. The justification of his act which he attempted last week contradicts the one that was vouchsafed by Mr. Slocock, his esteemed Chief Secretary some time ago.......... Our readers will perhaps remember that replying to an interpellation, Mr. Slocock on behalf of his Chief made a statement, in which it was stated that an important section of the Conference had gone to the Commissioner with urgent importunities to prohibit Mrs. Besant's visiting Amraoti lest the success of the Conference should be jeopardised. This time, the Chief Commissioner has himself come forward to justify his action and said that the order had nothing to do with the Conference. Inconsistency is the soul of bureaucratic politics and we are not at all surprised at this fresh instance of it. What strikes us, however, particularly is the language he has used to describe the emissary whom Mrs. Besant had sent to the Central Provinces. It shows the deep-seated prejudice ranking in an official mind against Mrs. Besant and the noble cause she represents. [The paper here quotes Sir Benjamin's remarks as to the dangerous character of the speech read out by Mr. Wadia on behalf of Mrs. Besant, and then continues :—] Yet, either at the time the speech was delivered by the 'emissary' or later on when the first pronouncement was made in the Legislative Council, no exception was taken to it and the 'emissary' was not brought to book either under the criminal laws of the land or the Defence Act. We don't know if the Chief Commissioner intended his explanation for the ears of the fortunate Deputation only, or for the general public. The Chief Commissioner is a person of some responsibility; but when he begins to talk like this, it is impossible for the public to accept his statements. It was perfectly right that he should have referred to the Conference resolution condemning outright his action, and having referred to it, if he had acknowledged the error of his judgment, there would have been some grace in it. Now, as it is, he has forced himself into an untenable position."

Message (6), 28th and 30th Jan.

26. "Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces has come out with a further instalment of justification for his order against Mrs. Besant. If the first justification which was put forward in the Council some time ago was bad enough, this is worse still and does not certainly help to clear the impression that for some reason or other the local Government lost its mental equilibrium at the prospect of Mrs. Besant's visit to Amraoti. [The paper then refers to the statement of the Chief Commissioner that Mr. Wadia, the emissary of Mrs. Besant, had delivered a speech at Amraoti which was calculated to arouse racial feeling, and remarks :—] Assuming that it was so, why did Government leave emissary unmolested? If the emissary had contravened the law in any respect, it was mere child's play to Government to bring to book the author of such a speech.......... If instead of indulging in vague generalisations and covert innuendos and implications, the Central Provinces Government had, following the commendable example of our local Government, wedded itself to a policy of silence, it would not have made itself the butt of public ridicule. Sir Benjamin also spoke something about the kind of loyalty of the people, in the old platitudinous style. Referring to Mr. Wadia's speech, he said : 'The speech also made a profession of loyalty. All I can say is that this type of loyalty is different from the loyalty and from the real anxiety for the maintenance of the British Government'. He seems obviously to have some extraordinary notions about 'loyalty'. We wish Sir Benjamin had schooled himself under His Excellency Lord Carmichael, before he ventured to let himself go on the subject. If he thinks that Mr. Wadia's layalty was not of that type which permits one to go to His Honour this or that official and declare 'your honor's humble and most obedient servant', we must say that Mr. Wadia is surely guilty of such a charge. If it was in respect of loyalty to the King-Emperor and the British connection, it is another matter and we venture to assert that he and his countrymen are unquestionably loyal. Sir Benjamin's notions seem to have become too much out of place by reason of his stay in the Central Provinces Government House. We trust he will revise those notions before he attempts to speak again on the subject." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"As had been expected, Mr. B. P. Wadia has sent a challenge to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to prove his charge against him. The Chief Commissioner, too, when he roundly made those vague allegations must have expected such a challenge. But we doubt whether he will chivalrously accept it and reply to it by prosecuting Mr. Wadia for sedition if his speech at Amraoti was really a 'vilification from the beginning to the end of the British Government'.......... This form of challenging the veracity of official pronouncements is new to official life in India and must have staggered many of them to wake up to the change after fifty years. Will the Chief Commissioner take up the challenge? Let us wait and see."]

Kesari (95), 30th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 30th Jan; **Mahrátta* (5), 4th Feb.

27. Just as a drowning man catches at a straw, Sir Benjamin Robertson failing to discover any substantial ground for the exclusion of Mrs. Besant, has tried to invest Mr. Wadia's speech with a terrible character. We all really pity him for his fruitless attempts to justify the serious blunder which he committed in passing the order against Mrs. Besant. Did he pass the order on the strength of some prevision as to the character of the speech which Mr. Wadia was to deliver? Moreover, if Mr. Wadia's speech was inflammatory, why was he not prosecuted? Sir Benjamin Robertson has thus punished the innocent and such mistakes on the part of the rulers are most indefensible. Manu says: A king who punishes the innocent and lets go the guilty suffers seriously in reputation and also goes to hell. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks that the challenge given by Mr. Wadia to Sir Benjamin Robertson is a straightforward one and hopes that it will be taken up in as straightforward a manner by the latter.] [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"The Commissioner asks us to decide the nature of this political demonstration by the speech of Mr. B. P. Wadia,—the emissary of Mrs. Besant—which was in his opinion 'a vilification of the British Government from beginning to end.' We cannot follow him at all. In the first place the speech of Mr. Wadia was not such as has been described by Sir Benjamin Robertson. Secondly, the indignant speech, unpalatable as it was to the authorities, was the *result* of the order and not the cause of it. If sufficient provocation is given, even an ordinary man uses very strong and condemnatory language and the courts of law absolve him partially from the blame for that reason. Mr. Wadia, as every one else, was provoked by the unjust and unnecessary order issued against Mrs. Besant and the strong language was the necessary result of that. So if at all anything is to be judged from his speech it is the degree of provocation given, and not the nature of political demonstration. The Commissioner labours under a confusion of the cause and effect and his reasoning is therefore perfectly unsound."]

Comments on Dr. Keith's proposals with regard to India in his work entitled "Imperial Unity and Dominions."

Young India (11), 31st Jan.

28. Continuing in *Young India* his review of Dr. Keith's book entitled "Imperial Unity and Dominions" [*Vide* paragraph No. 37 of Weekly Report No. 4 of 1917], Mr. S. Banker passes in review the Doctor's opinions with regard to various schemes proposed for giving the self-governing colonies a larger share in the government of the Empire. He then proceeds to consider the proposals contained in the book with regard to India and concludes as follows:—"All this has led Dr. Keith to the conclusion that 'the Dominions cannot expect to be allowed to determine the destinies of the Empire of India' and that 'from the point of view of the Imperial Government it is clear that in their general foreign policy they must expect to have in future to consider the views of India with as much care as they consider those of the self-governing Dominions'. He adds 'their duty in either case is identical, and must be carried out without favour to either'. This brings us back to the question of representation on the Imperial Conference and he puts forth our claims in terms, which entitle him to our gratitude. He says: 'It is inevitable, therefore, that India should be allowed a voice in the Imperial Conference just as any self-governing Dominion is allowed: it is indeed ludicrous to think that New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland are to be ranked as superior to the Empire of India: it is right, further, that that voice should be uttered by a representative of India, other than the Secretary of State for India, and preferably by a member of the Indian race'. If Britain still has statesmen and thinkers, so just and liberal as Dr. Keith, we can with reason hope to attain our goal without bloodshed."

What sort of system of administration the "progressive moderates" among the Muhammadans want.

Islámic Mail (4), 28th Jan.

29. "People—even officials—ask us what we 'progressive moderates' want. It is difficult to say all in a moment what our scheme of reform would be. But we can readily say what we do not want. We do not want a revival of Brahmanical rule—a 'lawyer Government'. A Government in which the landed classes do not take part can in no sense of the word be called a representative Government, and unless you educate the landed classes and make them fit for participating in your scheme of Home Rule or self administration it is no use to ask for it. India, unlike Europe, is an agricultural country and it would not do for a few westernised lawyers to sit in their studies and libraries and govern those who toil in the field. If it is to be governed by an outsider then the British officials are the best people. They are far better than our lawyers and every Indian, unless he is educated and aspires to govern his uneducated brethren, prefers them. Go to the artisan class or to the landed aristocracy and not one of them will be happy with the idea of being governed by them. On the contrary they entertain a dread—of 'Babu Government'. The lofty character of an English gentleman who, as the late Nizam—a shrewd judge of men—used to say, is the finest specimen of humanity, inspires confidence and esteem, which the Indian politician lacks. Create the character, educate the masses, not only the low classes but the great Zemindari classes, or as Lord Curzon said, fit the country for self-governmet, and it will come by itself. No power, whether bureaucracy or autocracy will be able to resist the natural forces. But so long as education is the privilege of a selected few, it is idle to expect them to join hands with you: and so long as they stand aloof you can never carry weight either with the British public or with the Govenment of India. The Congress professes to represent the whole of India, but shorn of its galaxy of lawyers, how many Zemindars, merchants and artisans are there? The Hindu points with gusto to the Raja of Mahmudabad and to the Maharaja of Kassimbazaar as the representatives of the landed classes. They are big Zemindars no doubt, but are they really the representatives of the millions of Zemindars in this country? There are about a thousand or more Talukdars in the United Provinces. Does the Raja of Mahmudabad represent their opinions and views? Will they be content to leave their interests in his keeping? Or go a step further. Does the Congress speak on behalf of even the majority of the people of India? Is it really a representative institution as is understood by the term in Europe? We want a real representative Government founded on parliamentary basis and not a lawyers' Government, and so long as the lawyers hold the monopoly of education we would not advise any delegation of administrative authority to them!"

Conflict between the views of the Congress and the Hindu Sabha on the subject of Muhammadan representation on public bodies.

Islámic Mail (4), 28th Jan., Eng. edition.

30. "As the Congress represents Hindu feelings and is largely composed of Hindu leaders there was no necessity for them to appoint a Hindu League separately. But not content with their control of the Congress they have established a separate Hindu League and this League composed of all the prominent Congressists says the views of the Congressists do not represent the opinions of the bulk of the Hindus. In their manifesto to the Congress on the question of separate representation of the Moslem community on the Councils they declared

'We do feel that the Hindus who happen to be there as members of the All-India Congress committee cannot fully represent the views and sentiments of the Hindu community.' What have our Congress friends to say to this?"

How the Hindu-Muhammadan *rapprochement* is harmful to the interests of the Muhammadans.
Islámic Mail (121), 29th Jan., Urdu edition.

31. In justification of its hostile attitude with regard to the understanding arrived at between the representatives of the Hindus and the Musalmans at Lucknow, the *Islámic Mail* asserts that the propriety of the appointment of a Moslem Member of the Madras Exective Council had been admitted by all including the organs of Hindu opinion, and ascribes the appointment of a Hindu thereto to the said *rapprochement*. It attributes the selection of two Hindus to the exclusion of a Muhammadan to assist the Secretary of State at the forthcoming Imperial War Conference to the same agreement, and it entirely disapproves of the arrangement which is so plainly detrimental to the interests of the Musalmans.

The Imperial Institute and the industries of India.
Mahrátta (5), 4th Feb.

***32.** Referring to the steps proposed to be taken by the Imperial Institute for the utilization of the raw products of India, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"The present Under Secretary of State, Lord Islington, is the chairman of the executive Council of the Institute. He was the president of the Royal Public Services Commission and in that capacity he has advocated to expand the industrial institutions of India to train up men of the right type. As such, one might expect that such a sincere and sympathetic Under Secretary would suggest that Indian raw materials should, for the benefit of Indian industries, be manufactured *in India* alone. .. .. But Lord Islington has belied such sanguine expectations. He says: 'India produced in large quantities hides from which the best leather was manufactured, and the whole of the organisation of that trade had been in German hands. A scheme was being prapared which he hoped would result in Indian hides being made into leather to a much greater extent than hitherto *in this country (England) and in the Dominions*.'......... The worst of it is that the Government of India is financing this Institute and is expected to contribute more than heretofore. The Institute, presided over by the Under Secretary of State for India and financed by our own Government, is manufacturing a scheme to favour more the industries of other parts of the Empire than our own! Sympathy indeed!"

Comments on the reported intention of Government to continue the system of indentured labour in Fiji for a futher period of five years.
Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 4th Feb., Eng. cols.

***33.** After remarking that the revelations made by Mr. Andrews with regard to the condition of the Indians in Fiji are astounding, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* continues:—"It can fill Indians only with a deep sense of humiliation. It ought to fill Englishmen with a deep sense of shame for their responsibility in creating a state of helotry, which one can more easily reconcile with the countrymen of Bismarck than with the countrymen of Wilberforce and Gladstone. That respectable Indian women, simply because they are poor, should be forced to allot themselves to different batches of male labourers is enough to make one's flesh creep with disgust. That this legalised prostitution be actually fostered by English officials is a thing too mean for words.......... It behoves every Indian who has a spark of respectability in him to protest most vigorously against this scandalous state of things. The time is past for taking into consideration either the feelings or the convenience of colonials and others. Their treatment of Indians has been such that they have forfeited every right to be considered gentlemen. We cordially support our esteemed contemporary the *Chronicle* in its suggestion that public meetings ought to be held all over India, and vigorous protests sent to the Government of India against any further continuance of a system so inhuman. The Government of India will be in honour bound to respect the unanimous wishes of India, or forego their claim to be the protectors of India."

The Hajis and the system of issuing return tickets only.

Muslim Herald (123), 2nd Feb.

34. With reference to the letter of the Honourable Mr. Wardlaw Milne published in the *Bombay Chronicle* on the subject of the suitability of return tickets for *Hajis* in which 98 per cent. of the latter are said to have returned to India within six months of their embarkation, the *Muslim Herald* states that it has received advices from Jeddah, which are confirmed by the oral testimony of many pilgrims passing on their way back through Bombay, to the effect that many Hajis lost their tickets or sold them. It declares that the Agent of Messrs. Turner Morrison & Co. notified the arrival of a certain ship on a certain date for taking back the *Hajis* which induced them to flock to Jeddah where, however, they were compelled to make an enforced stay of nearly a month before the ship sailed. The high prices ruling at Jeddah obliged many ticket holders to sell their tickets to pay their boarding charges; hence many thieves, *moallims* (priests), etc., were enabled to return to this country by means of those return tickets which the original holders had either sold or lost. It characterises the system of issuing return tickets as mischievous and troublesome, and it challenges the Honourable Mr. Milne to prove that all those persons who made up the alleged 98 per cent. were those who actually purchased the return tickets at Bombay. It concludes by inquiring if the statements made by Mr. Milne are endorsed by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, who is the President of the Haj Committee or by any member of the Committee or by the Protector of Pilgrims, and it draws the attention of the Government to this matter.

Comments on the resolution to be introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council regarding facilities for Muhammadans in law courts to recite their prayers.

Akhbár-e-Islám (52), 3rd Feb.

35. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to the resolution the Honourable Moulvi Abdul Kasum is going to bring before the Bengal Legislative Council urging that orders may be issued to give Muhammadan Barristers, pleaders, parties to suits, witnesses and others appearing before the Civil and Criminal Courts in the Presidency facilities for the offering of the *Jumma* and *Zohar* prayers and while admitting that such a concession will cause some inconvenience to the Courts and to those whose duty it is to dispense the law, it expresses its belief that if the resolution is passed it will be welcomed by the Muhammadans as a tribute of respect to their religious feelings. The paper expects that such a step on the part of the Bengal Governments is likely to be imitated by other provincial Governments and opines that in that event it will spread great joy among the Moslem community.

In the interests of the Muhammadan students in Sind the Matriculation should be declared as qualifying for Government service and the Sind Pleaders' Examination should be open to all.

Al-Haq (42), 27th Jan., Eng. cols.

36. Referring to the Government reply in the negative to the interpellation of the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Husein as to whether Matriculates can be employed in Government service, the *Al-Haq* complains that this decision will press hard upon the Muhammadan students. The paper dwells on the admitted fact of the general poverty of the Muhammadans of the province, and points out that the reason why the Muhammadan student prefers the Matriculation to the School Final, even though the latter qualifies for Government service, is that he hopes to secure a scholarship to enable him to go in for College education. The lot of those students who fail to obtain scholarships becomes pitiable. For not only are the doors of Government service closed against them, but owing to the overwhelming competition of the Hindus, they cannot get berths in private firms; and a further avenue hitherto open to them, *viz.*, the Sind Pleaders' Examination, has been closed to them by the recent change in the regulations. Under these circumstances the paper hopes that the authorities will reconsider their decision about the Matriculation examination and also open up Sind Pleaders' Examination to all, with some modifications, if necessary.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Bill to amend the Local Boards Act.

Mahrátta (5), 4th Feb.

***37.** "The Government Resolution on the Report of the Local Boards Committee had plainly declared that the amending Bill would 'apply to *all* District Local Boards in the Presidency including Sind.' But contrary to that, the Bill gives a discretionary power to the Governor in Council who *may* direct by notification that the amendment shall apply to *any* District Local Board. The words 'may' and 'any' instead of 'shall' and 'all' create an impression on one's mind that the Government are not willing to apply the provisions of the new Bill to all districts at the same time. The wording of the Resolution thus runs counter to such a provision in the Bill and we fail to see the reason of this nervousness on the part of the Government. When they issued the Resolution they appeared to be convinced that all the districts in the Presidency were ripe for the proposed majority of the elective members. But after six months they seem to be in a different frame of mind and their pace seems to be halting. We are unable to guess any reason for such a trepidation.......... The Committee had made another recommendation that the proportion of elected members should not be less than two-thirds of the whole. In their Resolution the Government of Bombay had promised that 'subject to due regard for local circumstances' they would be guided by the recommendations of the Committee. But this 'due regard for local circumstances' seems to have unduly influenced the mind of the Government and in the Bill we find no definite proportion but a vague provision that 'the majorty of the members of the whole board inclusive of the president shall be elective members.' The deceptive word 'majority' may in some cases cover a majority of one only and that would not certainly in any way mark a futher advance in the Local self-government of that district.......... Another great drawback in the Bill is the power reserved for the Governor in Council to frame *rules* for those matters which were formerly determined by statutory provisions. For instance section 7 of the Act 1 of 1884 has specifically provided for the constituencies which were to elect the members for the board. In the new Bill that power 'to prescribe the number and character of the constituencies and the number of members to be elected by each' is reserved for the Governor in Council. Why such a departure is made from the old Act has not been made clear. The Government in their Resolution have wisely decided against communal representation. They have reserved for themselves the power of nomination to make provision for important minorities and other vested interests. Then what difficulty was there to stick to the old Act? In fact the recommendations of the Committee with regard to territorial constituencies are almost identical with the provisions of the Act of 1884. In the statement of objects and reasons, the Honourable Mr. Curtis says that the Bill is intended to provide for the formation of *special* constituencies only. But in the Bill itself we find that the power is given to the Governor in Council to determine the character of not only the special but *all* the constituencies. The tendency that is noticed in framing the Bill is to make the provisions unnecessarily wide and vague without any sufficient reason. While the people are demanding that their rights should be determined by statute so that they may not depend upon the whims and caprices of the individual, the Government are trying in the reverse direction and wish to retain that power for themselves."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 1st Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 2nd Feb.

38. The *Bombay Samáchár* welcomes the publication of the Bombay Local Boards Bill as a further evidence of the solicitude felt by the Government for the welfare of India and of the keen desire they have for encouraging and fostering the utilization of local talent and public spirit in the administration of the country. It expresses its gratification at the clauses providing for the preponderance of the elective members over the nominated ones and the right vested in the Boards to elect their own Presidents. In conclusion it refers to the existing defects in the constitution of the Bombay Municipal Corporation and expresses the hope that Government will be pleased to effect reforms therein in the light of the suggestions made from time to time by the organs of public opinion in the Presidency. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* while welcoming the Bill asks Government to fix the proportion between the elected and nominated members of the Boards so that the proposed majority of elected members may be real and not merely nominal as it would very likely be in absence of definite rules.]

EDUCATION.

Comments on the proceedings of the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction at Delhi.

Hindusthán (17), 30th Jan. and 1st Feb.

39. The *Hindusthán* characterises His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction as a thoughtful, interesting and luminous pronouncement and one calculated to serve as a useful guide to the educational authorities in India. The paper strongly protests against the discussion by the Conference *in camera* of the recommendations contained in the Report of the Public Services Commission on the subject of education. It endorses the Viceroy's remarks on the desirability of giving scientific agricultural training, and referring to the establishment of the Sydenham College of Commerce in Bombay, suggests that instead of a solitary college, a number of schools should be established for imparting commercial education. It remarks that the responsibilities of the educational authorities in this country are daily increasing and opines that they cannot, therefore, afford to overlook His Excellency's advice to them to display unlimited enthusiasm, unfailing courtesy and unflinching resolution in the discharge of their duties. [In the subsequent issue the paper makes comments upon the proceedings at the Conference and remarking that persons of an arbitrary frame of mind can brook no control, regards as quite natural the opinion of the majority of the Directors against any arrangement which would compel provincial Governments to utilise the Imperial educational grants for the purposes of primary education only. It is not in favour of still further increasing the cost of education and dwelling upon the miserable condition in which many poor students have to pass their lives in this country, remarks that instead of making education dearer, the authorities should see their way to provide for an increase in the educational expenditure by curtailing the expenditure on other departments of doubtful utility.]

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 2nd Feb.; *Kesari* (95), 30th Jan.

40. The discussion at the Directors' Conference was both interesting and instructive and, therefore, we think that Government did well in throwing it open to the public. We hope that in view of the opinions expressed at the Conference, the old rule making the amounts of grants to schools dependent on the number of students passing will be restored by Government inasmuch as the present rule which regulates the grants according to the expenditure benefits missionary and European schools alone to the detriment of the interest of schools under Indian management. We also wish that the idea of allowing local bodies to levy a school cess which found general support at the Conference will soon be acted upon. Another important subject discussed at the Conference was the training of high school teachers and the necessity of our Universities providing for a degrees in pedagogy. We very much regret that our Presidency is very backward in both these respects. As the future of secondary education here depends on the satisfactory solution of the question of securing a sufficient supply of well-trained teachers, we hope it will be taken up in earnest by the authorities. [The *Kesari* trusts that the severe condemnation passed by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford on the present system of imparting education through a foreign tongue will soon bring about an end of the system. It also hopes that His Excellency's pledge for bettering the position of teachers will also be carried out and suggests the establishment of a Provident Fund for them. While it expresses full satisfaction at the attitude taken up by the Viceroy as regards important questions such as scientific education, it characterises the discussion that followed as most inconclusive and wonders why the Honourable Sir Shankaran Nair who presided failed to express any definite opinion on the subjects discussed.]

MUNICIPALITIES.

Alleged jobbery by the Sukkur (Sind) Municipality in a case of sale of land.

Sind Advocate (8), 18th Jan.; *Hitechhu* (61), 21st Jan.; *Praja Mitra* (67), 24th Jan.

41. **"The great sensation of today at Sukkur—or the greatest we have ever had—is the astounding conduct of a majority of the General Board of Sukkur Municipality in confirming the sale of 15,601 square feet of land to Mr. Bhojsingh, an influential Municipal Councillor and ex-president, as so called frontage at a price of** annas 4 a square foot without the necessary procedure of a public auction and in spite of much higher offers before the Municipality; in spite too of the fact that the alignment rate in the quarter in question was annas eight. We have said that the people of Sukkur stand amazed and astounded at this piece of jobbery which may very rightly be called a robbery of the ratepayers' money. But the public need not be uneasy, for by the very unreasonableness, excessive unreasonableness which the friends of Mr. Bhojsingh have shown in this matter they have sounded the death-knell not only of their own reputation for honesty and integrity, but the death-knell of the transaction which they have so brazen-facedly sanctioned at the cost of the public interest. The authorities, we feel perfectly sure, will take the earliest opportunity to set aside this plainly iniquitous and faction-and-favouritism inspired transaction not to speak of the secret intrigues with which this result has been compassed. The broad and salient facts of the case are enough to bring upon the action of the party-maddened councillors reprobation and condemnation from the officials that will not at all be less severe than that which the public are now pouring out." [The *Hitechhu* observes that, if the facts alleged be true, the abovementioned transaction constitutes a stigma upon the conductors of local self-government in Sukkur. It condemns the action of the Municipality and dwells upon the necessity of an explanation being issued in justification of it. The paper hopes that in the absence of any such explanation the Commissioner in Sind will, in the exercise of the authority vested in him, refuse to sanction the sale in question. The *Praja Mitra* also writes in a similar strain. It feels certain that the Commissioner in Sind will not only withhold his sanction but will severely deal with those who are responsible for this, what it terms hateful transaction.]

NATIVE STATES.

Appeal to Government to deal justly with the petition submitted by the Rani of Jobat.

Rást Goftár (28), 28th Jan.

42. The *Rást Goftár* narrates the unfortunate circumstances under which the Chief of Jabat has resigned his claim to the *gadi* and expresses hope that the Government of India will be pleased to give careful consideration to the petition submitted to them by the Rani for the recognition of her son as the heir to the *gadi*. The paper points out how influential papers like the *Madras Mail*, the *Bengali*, the *Madras Times* and the *Indian Patriot* have espoused the cause of this unfortunate lady and declares that it is the wish of every one that Government should decide this sad case in a spirit of fairness and justice.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 9th February 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 6 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 10th February 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:
- Comments on the Madras Government's prohibition of the publication of Mr. Wadia's Amraoti speech by Madras papers . . . . . 8—12
- Comments on the statements made by Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris in the United Provinces Legislative Council with regard to their connection with the *Round Table* . . . . 13—15
- Comments on Sir Benjamin's definition of loyalty 16
- Complaint that non-officials working for the extension of co-operative credit societies are looked upon with suspicion by the officials in the Bombay Presidency 19
- India should now be released from the scourge of that ruling caste the bureaucracy 7
- India should resolve never to submit to the tyranny of the Colonies through a reconstitution of the Empire on federal lines . . . 17
- Intelligent and patriotic young men cannot help being extremists . 6
- Lord Sydenham's second article on "Danger in India" in the *Nineteenth Century and After* 18

His Excellency the Governor: Appreciation of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's great sympathy for the poor 32

Imperial Legislative Council: Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the last meeting of the — . . . . 1—5

Indians abroad:
- Comments on the passing of the Asiatic Immigration Bill by the United States Senate 34
- Comments on the recent extension of the period of prohibition against the landing of artisans in British Columbia 33

Sind: The reply of the Collector to the shoemakers of Hyderabad (—), who protested against the income-tax assessment, that they should exercise their right of appeal is nothing short of a mockery . . . 35

War:
- A Japanese writer on the future relations of England with Japan and Russia 22
- Cannot Government do something to prevent the criminal waste of money by Europeans in India on their pleasures at this critical juncture? 25
- Comments on the European Registration Ordinance . . . . 23 & 24
- Comments on the severing of diplomatic relations by the United States with Germany 20

B 520—a CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded*.

War—concld.

Comments on the speeches of the Indian Princes at the banquet in honour of the Maharaja of Bikaner . . . . 26—28
Complaint that no Muhammadan was selected to represent India at the Imperial — Conference 30
It would not be sensible on the part of England to carry out the English Channel Tunnel Scheme 21
Protest against the giving of a public reception in honour of India's representatives at the Imperial — Conference. 29
Suggestion that the increasing number of beggars in Bombay might be enlisted for — service 31

EDUCATION—

Strictures on the existing educational policy of Government in India . . 36 & 37

RAILWAYS—

Importance of direct railway connection between Bombay and Karáchi . 38

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's resolution in the Bombay Municipality about the abolition of the Bombay Improvement Trust . . . . 39 & 40

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged hardships of the people of Sávantwádi owing to the post of Chief Judge having remained vacant for the last four months 41

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the last meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Message (6), 9th and 10th Feb.; **Indian Social Reformer* (3), 11th Feb.

1. " We think we have to confess to a deep sense of disappointment and indignation at the speech which the Viceroy delivered yesterday in the Legislative Council at Delhi.......... With reference to the avoidance of controversial subjects in the debates of the Legislative Council, His Excellency complacently thinks, or pretends to think, that 'new members are unaware of the understanding which obtained in the last Council' and gives them a gentle hint that if they raise disagreeable discussion or ask inconvenient questions, the Viceroy would 'exercise with extreme reluctance the powers of disallowance in regard to both resolutions and questions' vested in him.......... A Patna Bill might be concocted in the clouds of Simla; a Sir Valentine Chirol might be entertained at Government House at the expense of people who do not want to entertain him; he might be helped actively by Government in carrying on a private case against a leader beloved of the people; a Wadia might be damned *ex cathedra* as a seditionist by a Commissioner; the abominable indenture system might be allowed to continue for an indefinite period in spite of the protests of Indians; all these acts, His Excellency, as a lover of the motto 'deeds, not words', would tolerate; but when it comes to debate in the Council, he would suavely remind Honourable Members that his silken glove conceals a mailed fist under it!......... Lord Chelmsford talks of the impossibility of abolishing the present indenture system by 'a stroke of the pen or by the simple *fiat* of a statutory enactment.' We humbly ask His Excellency, was it after all impossible during all these long years for the Government of India to bring in legislation modifying sections 39 and 40 of the Indenture Act, the latter of which makes it lawful for any parent or guardian of a child under the age of 16 but above 10 to make a contract with another binding the child to serve in foreign colonies and under admittedly unfair and degrading terms, and the former of which makes it lawful for any person above 16—not 18—years to enter into such an emigration contract? The modifying of these sections so as to bring the law in a line with what elementary principles of justice demands, was not surely above the capacities of a Government which could forge the Press Act or the Seditious Meetings Act or the Defence of India Act.......... The Indian Government is unduly suspicious in its heart of hearts, and that is why, in spite of its proclamation of Indian loyalty from the house tops, it refused to avail itself of Indian man-power to the full. We are glad to see that Lord Chelmsford has perceived the mistake and taken a step, though half-hearted and halting, to mend it. It is now announced that while Europeans will be compulsorily trained and employed for military service, if necessary, Indians who will volunteer their services, will be enrolled *in their own units for general military service in India for the duration of the war.* The reticence of the Viceroy in regard to the conditions of service and treatment—whether they will be simliar to those of Europeans or not—is rather, we cannot help saying, suspicious. However, we may hope that they will not be such as to damp the enthusiasm and ardour which will characterise the response to the call. Again, why is the enrolment of Indians to be operative 'for the duration of the war' only?" [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—" To speak of mitigating the seriousness of the evil by increasing the sex-ratio is wantonly adding insult to injury and nothing more. Whether he meant it or not, Lord Chelmsford has betrayed himself into an utter disregard—we do not want to say callousness—of all fundamental moral considerations which govern civilised humanity, when from his high place in the Imperial Council he made the proposal. Beneficent as may have been His Excellency's intentions, we cannot help remarking that the proposal is too infamous to be countenanced and is certainly unworthy of the Government of India." The *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—" Why this excessive tenderness for absentee shareholders in

soulless financial corporations? Government must clearly understand that the country will not tolerate this monstrous system a moment longer than it takes to promulgate prohibitive legislation."]

Mahrátta (5), 11th Feb.

***2.** Referring to His Excellency's announcement that the Government of India's despatch on post-war reforms had already been sent to the Secretary of State, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"Why he took so long to let us officially know what he calls the open secret of the reforms despatch is not very easy to understand. What he told us now could have been told by him some six months before. Much energy, trouble and agitation could have been saved thereby. This inveterate slackness of Government was evidenced also in connection with some paltry measures about the indenture system. The Viceroy said that Government were not sleeping over their pledges.......... All these attempts, feeble though they are, were made by them without the knowledge of the public and this ignorance of the latter is at the root of much discontent. It is not that the Viceroy can only speak in the Legislative Council on this matter. He has got his *Gazette* or he can issue press notes to infrom the public from time to time and show that Government are taking a keen interest in all these problems. Instead of doing this the authorities keep their mouth sealed and when the public begin to be seriously convulsed about it then and then only they give out what by that time remains no longer a secret. This attitude of grim silence takes away from their actions what little grace they can lay claim to. Such a procedure stiffens the attitude of the public and both the parties view each other with suspicion and remain always in a state of tension. This is much to be deplored and we earnestly hope this habitual slackness would yield in future to continuous efforts to enlighten the public on matters affecting them.......... The Viceroy has promised a speedy solution of the indentured labour question in May next and India will believe in his assurance of its fulfilment without unnecessary delay. But what they cannot and will not tolerate are the new indentures...... The compulsory service of the Europeans and voluntary service of the Indians are measures which will be received with unstinted praise by the public. The Viceroy has, however, failed to enlighten the people on one important point. He has not told us whether the commissioned ranks are open to the Indians. The crux is there and the galling sense of inferiority created by denying the ranks to the sons of the soil has, we think, obstructed the flow of man power in that direction. If merit does not count when even life is at stake, none on earth would be tempted to risk it. We have been told that this question would be solved after the end of the war. Commonsense revolts against this argument. If the war is to be won, the means of winning it must be undertaken *during*, and not after, the war.......... Commissions follow enrolment and the Government of India should have seen their necessity. But hesitation and procrastination have been our enemies as fatal as the German guns and we are sorry to say that our Government are still in their grip."

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 11th Feb., Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár* (28), 11th Feb, Eng. cols.

***3.** "The speech which His Excellency the Viceroy delivered before the Imperial Legislative Council must be received with mingled feelings of disappointment and regret on the one hand and of satisfaction, hope, resolve and confidence on the other. It has fallen short of that masterly statesmanship with which the official utterances of Lord Chelmsford's illustrious predecessor were marked. The appeal to avoid controversy would surely meet with that prompt response which was accorded to Lord Hardinge's similar appeal two years ago. But while referring to feelings of impatience and discontent, His Excellency might well have remembered how far Government themselves were responsible for these feelings being 'not unnaturally generated'. It is the Government of Lord Chelmsford who have broken the unwritten understanding and the Viceroy cannot now complain that it does not obtain at present. Without a reference to such and many other matters like the question of indentured labour which is agitating all India and the report of the Public Services Commission and the Reforms Memorandum, the

Viceroy had enough material to make his speech acceptable to the country. The successful prosecution of the war is the one subject before the civilised world and if the Viceroy had confined himself to it he would have spared the country many an offensive remark.......... The puerile attempt to avoid a clear answer to the Reforms Memorandum will shake public confidence in the Viceroy's sympathy with the country's aspirations.......... So far as is in India's power Lord Chelmsford's appeal to assist Government in making the war loan a real success will not go in vain. But the fact of India's limited wealth cannot be unknown to those who are responsible for its government. The country should feel thankful to the Viceroy for presenting in its true colours our position on the frontiers, in Persia and in Mesopotamia. The situation is by no means easy and while we depend upon British diplomacy for success in these regions there is no knowing when German intrigue may turn the tables. The need for the Defence of India Force therefore is all the greater. The compulsory enrolment of Europeans presents to us in an unmistakable manner the gravity of the situation. We are confident India realises it and the desire of Indians to serve the Empire in this hour of its greatest peril will be practically established by a great and ready response to the Viceroy's appeal for enrolment, a response that by its magnitude alone shall stun the Hun." [The *Rást Goftár* observes:—"The Viceroy's speech in the Council at Delhi is replete with momentous issues announced with that firm yet sympathetic mode of expression which characterises His Excellency's utterances. We are thankful so far to His Excellency for his regard for Indian aspirations; and reading between the lines his reference to the Reforms Memorandum which was lately presented to him by the non-official members of his Council, we feel we are not wide of the mark when we anticipate such action from his Government in the near future as will substantially gratify the Indian needs embodied in that memorial."]

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 9th Feb.; *Sandesh* (103), 9th Feb.

4. The *Dnyán Prakásh* is utterly dissatisfied with His Excellency's speech which it characterises as one deliberately intended to clip the wings of India's high aspirations and declares that no one should hereafter indulge in the delusion that Lord Chelmsford will, like Lord Hardinge, assist in their fulfilment. It observes that His Excellency's duty, at the present juncture, lay not in putting a damper on the political aspirations of Indians, but in taking the lead in sympathetically placing them before the Imperial Government, and it regrets that India is unfortunate in not finding such statesmanship in Lord Chelmsford. As regards His Excellency's complaint that the understanding about refraining from bringing forward controversial matters has not been properly observed by non-official members, the paper asserts that it can be clearly shown by an overwhelming number of instances that it was not the popular party but Government itself that was guilty of a breach of the compact, Government having only screemed itself behind it on several occasions to evade the solution of questions inconvenient to itself. His Excellency's references to the reported continuance of the indentured labour system are regarded by the paper as most disappointing and it calls upon Government to publish the whole of the correspondence it had with the Colonies about the matter to reassure the puplic that no final promises have been made for its continuance. His Excellency's statement about the recommendations of the Public Services Commission being taken into consideration at an early date is regarded by the paper as possessing no importance in view of their retrograde character, and referring to the announcement of His Excellency that the Government of India's despatch on administrative reforms had preceded the memorandum of the non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, the paper takes it to mean that not much should be expected in the direction of the fulfilment of popular aspirations under the present regime. [The *Sandesh* also expresses its disappointment at the speech and declares that when His Excellency wants the people calmly to wait further for the abolition of the indentured labour system, it only means that he does not at all feel for the sufferings of the labourers. It fails to understand why the Viceroy should choose to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Colonists instead of on behalf of the coolies who are

his own subjects. It welcomes the announcement that Indians will be allowed to enlist in their own units for military service and expresses the hope that many Indians will take advantage of the concession and help Government. It, however, wants to know why the concession is only for the period of the war. It also remarks that if compulsory service could be introduced among the British-born Europeans in India by 'a stroke of the pen' it would have been equally easy to declare Indians eligible for higher military posts, and it concludes by observing that though Indians will feel grateful for the concession now made, His Excellency's speech leaves the impression on the mind that Government only looks to the removal of its own difficulties and not to the rights of its subjects.]

Sánj Vartamán (29), 8th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 8th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 8th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (55), 10th Feb.

5. Referring to the speech recently delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the session of the Imperial Legislative Council the *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its high sense of gratification at the readiness on the part of Government to enrol Indians for general military service in India during the continuance of the war and wishes that Indians will come forward in large numbers to avail themselves of this valuable right though conceded only temporarily. It hopes that the announcement made by His Excellency about the measures that have been taken to check the lawless activities of the Mahsuds and Mohmands will set at rest the rumours that have been afloat for some time past about conditions on the North-Western frontier. The paper wishes that the new Indian War Loan may be taken up by the people on such a large scale as would be in keeping with the prestige of India and it feels confident that the Indian princes will not fail to contribute to it very liberally. It remarks that while India will remain satisfied at present with the arrangement which will allow the Indian representatives merely to express their views in the War Conference without having any right to vote, she hopes that it might be so arranged that, in future, the Indian representative on the Conference will be a person selected by the Indian people themselves and having a position in the Conference equal to that of the various Colonial representatives. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* commends the feeling of sympathy with Indian aspirations which permeates the whole of the Viceroy's speech at the Council. It also hopes that His Excellency's appeal to contribute largely to the new Indian War Loan will not fail to find a whole-hearted response from the Indian people. It is of opinion that the popular leaders should bring this appeal of the Viceroy to the notice of the people residing in their respective districts. While not demurring to the continuance of the present system of indentured Indian labour for the time being and recognising the desirability on the part of India to adopt a just and liberal policy towards the Colonies in order to enable them to adjust their labour problem, the paper inquires what right these Colonies have to expect such a liberal attitude on the part of India when India's own sons are contemptuously treated in those self-same Colonies. It expresses the opinion that Indians will not accept any system, improved or otherwise, of indentured labour unless their brethren residing in the Colonies are allowed to enjoy the rights of British citizenship. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also makes appreciative mention of the Viceroy's announcement about throwing open, though temporarily, the military service to the Indians and hopes that this policy of trust in the Indians in this manner will prove productive of good results. It also maintains that under existing circumstances there could not be a more felicitous arrangement than the present one which permits the Indian representatives to express their views freely in the forthcoming Imperial War Conference. The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the Viceroy's admonition to the members of the Council to exercise the necessary patience at the postponement of matters in which they may be taking very keen interest, in times like the present. It wishes that the minimum contribution to the proposed new Indian War Loan may be made as small as possible to enable all sections of the public to contribute their mite towards it.]

Intelligent and patriotic young men cannot help being extremists.

Kesari (95), 6th Feb.

6. In the course of a laudatory article on the career of the late Dr. Patwardhan who recently died at Poona, the *Kesari* observes :—The deceased after coming to Poona started a political paper. Extremism in politics is not the distinguishing feature of the present generation alone as imagined by some. Intelligent and patriotic young men can never help being extremists. This rule was exemplified in the case of the late Mr. Justice Ranade by the outspoken and severe language he used in the course of his paper on the Indian mutiny which he wrote while still a student. Similarly Dr. Patwardhan in the very first issue of his paper surprised his contemporary moderates by declaring "History shows that the tree of liberty was ever watered by the blood of despots".

India should now be released from the scourge of that ruling caste the bureaucracy.

Sind Advocate (8), 25th Jan.

7. "The war has now made it clear that India is a valuable asset in the Empire. The Congress has hammered continuously during the last thirty-one years for a larger share in the government of the country and the time is now mature that the scourge of the ruling caste the bureaucracy be removed and India regain her position as a self-governing unit in the Federal Empire after the war, and not remain a thrall to the bureaucracy coupled with the domination of the colonies that the conspirators of the *Round Table* are thinking of imposing upon India. 'British statesmanship', in the words of Dr. Gour, 'has in the past enthusiastically supported the cause of liberty, unsheathing its valient sword for the freedom of the weak and smaller nations and it will now appreciate the aspirations of the people of India and meet them in no ungrudging spirit henceforth treating her as a trusted partner and not merely as an humble dependent'."

Comments on the Madras Government's prohibition of Mr. Wadia's Amroati speech by Madras papers.

Message (6), 4th Feb.

8. Referring to the order issued by the Madras Government prohibiting the publication of Mr. Wadia's Amroati speech by newspapers, the *Message* remarks :—"The action of the Madras Government is only the logical outcome of the *ex cathedra* remarks indulged in by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces before the 'loyal' body of the Provincial deputation. But we wonder why if the matter is, as they want the public to believe, 'prejudical to public safety,' they should resort to tortuous methods. .... The C. I. D. is ready at hand and what the local Governments have to do is simply to press a button in the Secretariat and the whole array of criminal law officers from the snow-clad Himalayas to the scorching plains of Cape Comorin can be set in motion. Instead of a simple procedure like this, the speech is delivered in the Central Provinces; three months are allowed to elapse; one local Government wakes up and scratches its head to find out if Mr. Wadia delivered a speech and then puts it forward to justify its action against another person. There is a challenge and instead of the Government that is directly concerned coming forward to take up the challenge, another local Government, hundreds of miles away, resorts to the application of a break to newspapers there. Is this not a very clumsy procedure? Mr. Wadia had not yet repeated his speech; he only intended to do so and instead of sending half a dozen or a dozen notices round to various newspaper offices in Madras and wasting so much valuable stationery—one single notice sent down to Mr. Wadia's office directing him under the bludgeon rule 3 of the Defence of India Consolidation Rules to abstain from repeating the speech in any form as he had intended, would have put an end to the whole matter."

Kesari (95), 6th Feb.

9. The indiscreet come to grief in a hundred ways: we are reminded of this Sanskrit adage when we see the bureaucrats vying with each other in the adoption of impolitic measures. The Bombay Government was the first to set the ball rolling against Mrs. Besant and the Central Provinces followed suit. But poor Sir Benjamin Robertson in his attempt to justify

the thoughtless prohibition issued against Mrs. Besant by his high-handed subordinates fell foul of Mr. Wadia and came completely to grief in the process. Mr. Wadia, to prove the groundlessness of the accusation against him, proclaimed his determination to publish his speeches in Madras and challenged Government to proceed against him. Sir Benjamin's brother bureaucrats of Madras, therefore, went to his rescue and prohibited the Madras Press from publishing his speeches. This act on the part of the Madras Government may be said to be the crowning portion of the whole edifice of injustice, for they have robbed Mr. Wadia of the only means available to put his case before the public. This is like gagging a man while belabouring him with blows. Highhandedness, we think, cannot go further. In issuing their queer order the Madras authorities seem to have paid no heed to its impracticability, for they have given no idea as to the contents of the speeches which they want the Press not to publish. What will the authorities do if the speeches are published elsewhere outside Madras? In short, every attempt the bureaucrats will make to uphold the injustice of the action of the Central Provinces Government will only add to its repulsiveness. Government have, therefore, no other alternative but to admit their error and withdraw the prohibitory order.

Young India (11), 7th Feb.

10. "It seems that it takes three provincial Governments to complete and justify the repressive action against Mrs. Besant and her propaganda. The Bombay Government started off with a Prohibitory order against her. The public expressed its protest in unmistakable terms. What was there peculiar to the Bombay Province, they asked, that made this order necessary, when no other provincial Government had thought such exclusion necessary for the peace and safety of the territories under its rule? The answer came from the Central Provinces and Berar Government: 'Oh no, we also think Mrs. Besant dangerous: we shall also exclude her from our province.' But this step seemed to need an explanation—the first had not—. And so the public had an explanation, a double dose of it. The effort, however, inculpated not only Mrs. Besant, but her 'emissary' Mr. B. P. Wadia, and Mr. Wadia came out with a candid exposition of his loyalty and a challenge to the Central Provinces and Berar Government to prove his 'disloyalty'. The most troublesome part of the whole business was that Mr. Wadia's loyalty is the loyalty of the vast mass of thoughtful Indians. And then there was the challenge; so the Madras Govenment had to come to the rescue. It prohibited Mr. Wadia from carrying out his challenge. The Madras Government probably regards its present action as the logical continuation of its own former action against the *New India*. Any way three Governments have supported each other by actions, which in their estimation, jointly serve as the justification of the repressive measures against Mrs. Besant. May we point out that Government has, in this matter of repression, driven itself into the position of the man, described by Gladstone, who 'knowing that medicine may be the means of his restoration to health, endeavours to live upon medicine'? and Gladstone has also pointed out that 'Nations (we add, Governments), no more than individual, can find a subsistance in what was meant to be a cure. But has it been a cure'?"

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (24), 7th Feb., Eng. cols.; *Hindusthân* (17), 6th Feb.

11. "Even in normal times, we should expect a Government to be occupied with more serious and useful business than serving orders upon and aginst Mr. B. P. Wadia. Who is Mr. B. P. Wadia? Who cares what he says and what he writes? Does the Government of Madras seriously believe that the Defence of India Act was intended to give advertisement to, and enhance the consequence of, people like these? The psychology of the official mind is at times amazingly obscure. Instances like these make it clear, that with certain officials in India, sedition and disaffection are an obsession which will not be removed even by the hardest and clearest facts. It is a pity that occasionally in consequence of this obsession Governments are found which are weak enough to allow themselves to be betrayed into puerile and ridiculous situations. Can anybody to whom the notion of a seditious and disaffected India is not a perfect and oppressive nightmare seriously believe that the speech over which all this fuss is made, or for matter of that any speech that even an 'emissary of Mrs. Besant' could make, makes any impression, undesirable or otherwise, upon the public?......... The emissary made a speech which we do not remember made any very great stir in India when it was made. We had absolutely forgotten it, until the Chief Commissioner chose to unearth it by attacking it as breathing the spirit of disaffection 'from beginning to end'. Assuming it was such, who has been disaffected? In what part of the country has the standard of rebellion been raised in consequence of Mr. B. P. Wadia's speech, or for the matter of that any speech even of his *guru* Mrs. Besant?.......... It is amazing how some officials will not see that the best way to kill undesirable agitation is to ignore it. To take notice of it in the shape of solemn Government orders is the surest way to keep it alive and enhance its influence.......... We hope the infection will not spread beyond Madras, and that no other Government will be so ill-advised as to give importance to a matter sufficiently insignificant." [The *Hindusthán* writes:—These orders afford a fresh example of the strange uses to which the Defence of India Act is put. Mr. Wadia delivered his lecture at Amraoti, Guntur and Madura and it is believed that at none of these places the lecturer created any emotion or enthusiasm amongst his hearers. Now after three months the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces condemns the speech on the ground that it was vilification of Government from beginning to the end. If the Government of the Central Provinces found the speech objectionable they should have prosecuted Mr. Wadia in a court of law and proved the serious allegations they have brought against him. [The paper then refers to Mr. Wadia's challenge to Sir B. Robertson and the order of the Madras Government prohibiting him from repeating his speech in Madras, and continues:—] In passing the order the Government of Madras have made certain allegations against the Press at Madras which they should have refrained from doing. We do not think the Government of Madras have acted very wisely in not allowing Mr. Wadia a chance of letting the people judge the nature of his speech and thus restricting the liberty of speech. We do not think that the Defence of India Act was ever intended to be put to such a use. A very bad impression has been created on the mind of the public by the misuse of the Act and it will be very difficult to remove it.

* *Mahrátta* (5), 11th Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 6th Feb.

12. "The position of the Madras Government is pitiable. Whilst trying to save the prestige of Sir Benjamin Robertson they have sacrificed their own. For, they were obliged to prohibit the publication of the same speech of Mr. B. P. Wadia which they themselves had allowed him to deliver twice in their own province, once in Guntur before Amraoti and once in Madura after Amraoti! What they did not then consider as prejudicial to public safety was considered by them as such after Sir Benjamin's earnest requests. We cannot imagine that the C. I. D. of the Central Provinces cares more for the 'public safety' than the C. I. D. of Lord Pentland's Government. Both are charged with the same duties and both are certified as efficient by their superiors. Lord Pentland also is as much anxious to save his public as the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. Then why should he prohibit what he himself has allowed not only once but twice? We thought that he would judge every action, whosesoever it may be, on its own merits. When the sensitive Bombay and Central Provinces Governments prohibited Mrs. Besant from entering their Provinces Lord Pentland did not follow them by interning Mrs. Besant in a corner of Madras and he yet allows her to go freely wherever she likes. We therefore thought that what he himself once considered as innocent would not be judged by him as offensive simply because some one said that it was so. But the prestige of the colleague blinded him so much that whilst trying to save him he has betrayed his own inconsistency." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* also condemns the action taken by the Madras Government and declares that it is bound to lower it in the estimation of the public.]

Comments on the statements made by Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris in the United Provinces Legislative Council with regard to their connection with the *Round Table.*

Young India (11), 7th Feb.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 11th Feb., Eng. cols.

13. *Young India* declares that the explanation given by Sir James Meston in the United Provinces Legislative Council on the subject of his connection with the *Round Table* was "an altogether futile affair," affecting as it did "a certain profuseness of information and candour" about trivial and irrelevant matters. It then continues:—"As regards those things about which the public were and are particularly anxious to have personal and authentic explanations from the officials concerned, there was a significant economy of exposition. The statement, therefore, leaves matters exactly where they stood and the public must now be strengthened in the impressions which it had already formed. Sir James Meston was at least courteous and accommodating to a certain extent: Mr. Marris, as befitted a Police Officer in India, was both brusque and contemptuous. He seemed to have a grievance against the Indian public. What can the Indian public have to do with the doings of a high official of Government? What right have they to scrutinise his actions? Is it not enough for them that he has come to this land of regrets and graciously undertaken to train them in the arts of self-government? And that great and noble institution, the *Round Table*, how presumptuous of them to criticise it and how foolish of them to regard it as a political association? The Indian public, however, has the support of the Government of India in this matter—at least it may be so presumed from the fact that they have expressed an opinion that officials should not be members of that body. Sir James Meston agrees with that opinion—on second thoughts. Mr. Marris apparently does not, but must unfortunately submit." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"His elaborate attempt to justify his unjustifiable participation in the *Round Table* propaganda will not deceive the Indian public. What is especially noteworthy is the thinly disguised fact that the Government of India very rightly disapproved of his taking part in the political endeavours of Mr. Curtis, and that Sir James Meston has been publicly forced to acknowledge the justice of the position taken up by the Government of India. After all this it was inevitable that Mr. Marris should follow in the wake of his superior. But he might have done so more gracefully and desisted from such a ridiculous statement as that the *Round Table* organisation 'is not conducting and never has conducted a political propaganda.' Is this audacity or stupidity?......... It is some consolation that in future at least Mr. Curtis and his like will not dare to parade their unjust opinions on Indian politics under the cover of official names and official patronage."]

Kesari (95), 6th Feb.

14. We are surprised at the boldness of Sir James Meston when he calls the *Round Table* group a non-political body. In that way the Indian National Congress also would be non-political. Why then did Sir James and other officials show so much hesitation in allowing Government servants to attend its sessions? Or perhaps it lies entirely in the hands of the C. I. D. to determine the character of particular institutions, for they have in the past declared that institutions like the Shivaji festival, the Ganpati festival, the Swadeshi movement and even the Paisa Fund were political, and there have been instances in which Government servants have been dismissed from service for writing articles on educational reform, for sending their sons to the Samarth Vidyalaya and for similar other heinous offences. We may safely say that if some day hereafter some official contributor to the *Round Table*, convinced of the justice of the demand for Home Rule, writes in favour of its grant to India, his white skin will not save him, and he will have to bid good-bye to India at once. We know how the Bishop of Madras came into trouble for siding with the South African Indians and the coolies in Fiji in their troubles.

Gujaráti (13), 4th Feb.

15. The *Gujaráti* takes exception to the statement made by Mr. Marris in the United Provinces Legislative Council to the effect that the *Round Table* 'is not conducting

and never has conducted a political propaganda and that it is a non-political association' and writes:—It is really ridiculous on the part of Mr. Marris to have made such a statement after having served in the police and after having known the manner in which the Press Act is put into operation in this country. What is the meaning of a non-political association? What is meant by political propaganda? If the *Round Table* group is not a political association why should the National Congress be considered a political body? Why should the members of the C. I. D. be deputed to report its proceedings? Are those who take part in the Congress dishonest? Why should Mr. Marris look with displeasure on the objects which the Congress means to achieve in future? Mr. Marris declares that he has every right to take part in discussions over imperial questions. If that is the case, where was the need of any explanation on his part? And why should the Government of India then have asked their servants not to take part in the deliberations of the *Round Table*? If Mr. Marris has a right to discuss Imperial questions, Indian officials have *a fortiori* a right to discuss matters pertaining to the welfare of India. At the Council meeting it was not made clear as to why the *Round Table* circulars were published at the Government Press and whether it was true that Mr. Curtis had framed his opinions after consulting Sir James and Mr. Marris. Nor was any explanation given as to what information was supplied to Mr. Curtis by Sir James and Mr. Marris.

Comments on Sir Benjamin's definition of loyalty.
Young India (11), 7th Feb.

16. In the course of a lengthy article contributed to *Young India*, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas writes:—"The *Bombay Chronicle* has done well to sound a prompt note of alarm in regard to the new danger that faces the Indian patriot. If Sir Benjamin Robertson's precedent is accepted,—and we have no doubt that such a useful precedent will be promptly catalogued in the armoury of repressive weapons belonging to the bureaucracy,—it will be no difficult, in fact, a very easy, matter for any one in authority in this country, who has an awkward position to defend, to suppress and bring to political ruin outspoken and inconvenient critics of the administration. [The writer here describes the action taken by the Central Provinces Government against Mrs. Besant, the explanation in defence of it given in the Central Provinces Legislative Council and the further explanation given by Sir B. Robertson to the Provincial Conference deputation. He then continues:—] It is difficult to characterise in moderate language the impropriety and the injustice of this procedure. It is absolutely lacking in everything that justice or ordinary fairness demands,—even of an official armed with the provisions of the Defence of India Act. The Bombay Government has used the Defence of India Act against Mrs. Besant, but, at least, it has the fairness and decency to preserve silence as to its reasons and to refrain from assailing her with charges which she has no opportunity to answer. In the first place, Sir Benjamin Robertson makes use of an utterance of another party to justify his action after the event. In the second place, he constitutes himself the Court to decide an issue which it is for the Courts alone to decide and, which is notoriously intricate even for Judges to do. Having done so, he proceeds to pronounce a public judgment on a man whom he has not heard in his defence and without producing a tittle of evidence in justification of his pronouncement.......... The author of the speech takes the only course open to a honourable man. He declares the charge against him to be utterly false and challenges Sir Benjamin Robertson to prosecute him, and he immediately takes steps to justify himself by repeating the speech in order that the public may judge for themselves. Then the Government of Madras steps in to assist Sir Benjamin Robertson out of his difficulty. Mr. Wadia is prohibited under the Defence Act from delivering his speech, the newspapers are forbidden to publish it, and thus everybody having been effectually gagged, the gentleman upon whom this atrocious slur has been cast is absolutely deprived of the opportunity of defending himself against a charge, which, if it were sustainable, would unfit him to take part in legitimate constitutional political propaganda. All that can be said is, that, if this procedure is condoned by the Government of India, those taking part in political work in this country must make up their minds that the protection of the Courts does not exist for them and that they are liable to be condemned publicly and officially as seditionists without being allowed to say a word in their own defence. The matter becomes all the more grave, when we remember that there are two standards of loyalty by which men are thus to be judged. There is, first, the standard laid down by the law, as interpreted and upheld by the Courts, against executive attempts to go outside it; and, second, the standard of the bureaucracy. And if the procedure adopted in the case of Mr. Wadia is to be a precedent, the bureaucracy will be at liberty to enforce their own standards against that of statute law as interpreted by the highest judicial authority....... The true loyalist in India is he who not merely respects and obeys the Government established by law,—mere obedience is the lot of slaves and animals,—but who intelligently and honestly endeavours to be loyal as well to his own country......... The bureaucracy in this country persistently attempt to set up a position which goes far beyond this. Their standard, as shown in their attempt for instance to secure the conviction of Mr. Tilak and in other instances, is one of loyalty or rather subservience to themselves. .... Such a position, as clearly held by the High Court, is unsustainable... But the bureaucracy will still try to stick to the claim which has been disallowed by the highest judicial authority. Now we do not know what Mr. Wadia actually said in his speech on Home Rule at Amraoti. But Sir Benjamin Robertson and the Madras Government, by suppressing the evidence, leave us no alternative but to make assumptions, which we are entitled to do. And our first assumption is that the speech was not seditious within the meaning of the law, or the Central Provinces Government would not have failed in its duty to prosecute the author. It must, therefore, have been seditious or disloyal,—the same thing,—according to a standard of loyalty arbitrarily set up by Sir Benjamin Robertson and accepted without question by the Government of Madras. That is the new danger. The Indian politician may keep within the bounds of the law and be perfectly honest and loyal in intention, in word and in deed......... But it is not enough. He must conform to the standard of loyalty arbitrarily laid down by Sir Benjamin Robertson,—and his like—who takes upon himself to distinguish between one kind of loyalty and another without condescending to offer even a tittle of the evidence on which he bases his decision. This is indeed bureaucracy *in excelsis*—bureaucracy with a vengence! It suggests a tyranny from which there is no escape. The new danger which thus faces us is more grave than any that has previously arisen through the arbitrary assumption and use of unheard-of powers by the Executive, and it is essential for all to combine in concerted action to secure our deliverance from it."

India should resolve never to submit to the tyranny of the Colonies through a reconstitution of the Empire on federal lines.

Young India (11), 7th Feb.

17. Mr. I. K. Yajnik, writing in *Young India*, thus concludes a review of Mr. Worstold's work entitled "The Empire on the Anvil", "which advocates wholeheartedly the establishment of a Federal Parliament and Executive with the representatives of all the component parts of the Empire on them":—"It is thus clear that whatever the merits of the proposed federal constitution, so far as England and the Colonies are concerned, it would spell signal disaster to India's political and economic condition. With an irresponsible executive within and the prospect of an Imperial Federation without, India would be reduced to a state of utter humiliation and helplessness, beyond anything hitherto conceived by us. While the whole Indian Nation is looking forward to a substantial elevation of its political status after the war, strong fetters are being forged for it elsewhere. This we hope would awaken us from our rosy dreams to a realization of the dreadful reality. Fortunately the clang of the heavy fetters has sounded in our ears and, if we are true sons of the Mother, whom we love and adore above everything else, we shall resolve never to submit to the tyranny of the five nations."

Lord Sydenham's second article on "The Danger in India" in the *Nineteenth Century and After*.
Message (6), 6th Feb.

18. Referring to Lord Sydenham's second article in the *Nineteenth Cenutry and After* on "The Danger in India," the *Message* remarks :—"Ill informed and prejudiced writings of mean and perverted minds will not help the cause of the Empire; they only add to the bitterness of disappointment and discontent and it is the sacred duty of every one who is interested in the preservation of the British Empire intact to see that mischievous writings such as the one we have referred to are nipped in the bud. 'It is an ill wind that blows no good to any body.' Writings of Lord Sydenham and the schemes of hare-brained empire builders are of that character, and let it not be said some day that through the indifference or apathy of her statesmen, England lost her noble heritage. Her glory rests in construction and consolidation and not certainly in destruction or disintegration. But neither construction nor consolidation has ever been perfected by the infamous paths which the advocates of the new Utopia have chosen to tread."

Complant that non-officials working for the extension of co-operative credit societies are looked upon with suspicion by the officials in the Bombay Presidency.
Message (6), 10th Feb.

19. The *Message*, in paying a compliment to the Governor of Bengal on the spread of the co-operative credit movement in that Presidency, observes :—"By saying this we do not wish it to be inferred that co-operative workers in this Presidency have not received any encouragement from Government. But such encouragement has been extremely small and in serveral areas the non-official workers, instead of receiving assistance, have been mistrusted and their movements have been closely and obtrusively watched. In many a district, one of our esteemed friends, who is himself an active and anxious worker in the cause, wrote to us sometime ago, Government officials looked upon these honorary workers as political suspects. This is one of the principal reasons which has induced non-official workers to withdraw, or rather not enter the field at all, in as large a number as could be desired. It is no doubt true that in the head of the Local Government we have a representative of the English landed aristocracy, who takes a keen interest in agriculture and agricultural prosperity, and Radical though he once was in English politics, he seems to have easily succumbed to the reactionary bureaucratism which rules the roost in the local Secretariat. H. E. Lord Willingdon has, therefore, been unable to do for the masses of this presidency what Lord Carmichael has been able to do in his own. Under the strong influence of men imbued with a cynical disregard almost of public opinion, Lord Willingdon has not been able to avail himself of the excellent opportunity which his position offered to do good to the people."

Comments on the severing of diplomatic relations with Germany by the United States.
Sánj Vartamán (29), 5th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 5th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 5th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (17), 6th Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 5th and 6th Feb.

20. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the bold step taken by President Wilson in breaking diplomatic relations with Germany and congratulates him on having thus upheld the honour of America. It, however, warns its readers against the news published by some of its contemporaries to the effect that America has declared war. It expresses hope that America will soon join the war and help the Allies to defeat Germany. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* hails with delight the firm stand taken by President Wilson in protesting against the ruthless submarine policy of Germany. The headline over the telegram column of the paper is to the effect that America has declared war against Germany. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, while approving of the self-respecting attitude taken by President Wilson, considers that the repeated defiance hurled by Germany against America was solely due to the fact that America is not in a position to spare military help in a sufficiently large measure to be able to render effective help to the Allies. It, however, believes that if America joins the war its navy will help the Allies to destroy German submarines and to bring the war to a speedy and successful issue. The *Hindusthán* considers the step taken by America as a

vindication of the principles for which the Allies have been fighting German militarism. It is not very sanguine of America joining the war but feels sure that its navy will be of great use to the Allies if it is forced to declare war against Germany. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses its confidence in the strength of British navy to crush German submarinism. It expresses joy at what it considers as the declaration of war by America against Germany. In the subsequent issue the paper gives "At last America joins the war" as the heading of its article but in the course of it explains that America has merely severed diplomatic relations and that it may not declare hostilities for a long time as Italy had done. It does not think that the American army would be of much use to the Allies though it would render substantial help in other directions by joining the Allies.]

It would not be sensible on the part of England to carry out the English Channel Tunnel scheme.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 11th Feb., Eng. cols.

*21. "For a number of years a good many people both in England and France have desired to connect the two countries with a tunnel. Hitherto the robust commonsense of English people has resisted the economic temptations of a measure which is fraught with great political dangers. But now that the two countries are fighting in a common cause the tunnel idea has been revived and may meet with a more cordial support than it has hitherto done. To judge from the tone of the Anglo-French press, to-day it would appear as if they would be eternally fighting the Germans and as if they would be eternal allies! War, however, is so intoxicating, and it is so easy to forget that barely a hundred years ago Englishmen and Germans fought side by side against the French. Whatever the present political conditions in Europe may be, it would be rash to do anything on the basis of their perpetuation. However advantageous the Channel Tunnel may prove in a war with Germany, it will forever weaken the great impregnable sea-girdled position of England. It is to be seen if this commonsense view of the Tunnel will still be cherished by the commonsense of England."

A Japanese writer on the future relations of England with Japan and Russia.

Message (6), 9th Feb; *Sandesh* (103), 9th Feb.

22. The *Message* reproduces an article from the *Modern Review* of Calcutta by "A Japanese friend of India" in the course of which the following passages occur:—"The people of India should not sleep in the belief that Japan is going to preserve peace in India in case of emergency during any future war.......... Every thoughtful observer who has any opportunity of studying Japan in recent years will testify with me that the Japanese people to-day regard Great Britain as their first rival in Asia. Hundreds of articles have been published in Japan during the present war by responsible persons expressing the opinion that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance should not be continued after its expiry, and some of them have gone so far as to demand its abrogation during this war. Many Japanese think that the Russo-Japanese Alliance is more suited to their interest; they are inclined to think that with Russia's support they will also be able to eliminate Great Britain's influence in China and in the Pacific! It is beyond doubt that during this war Russia will stand by Great Britain. But where is the guarantee that after this European War Russia will remain so friendly to Great Britain? Russia entered into this war to acquire some territory in the Balkans and also expected that she might get Constantinople through the British aid. So far as we can see the latter proposition is out of the question. If Constantinople be taken Great Britain will be extremely foolish if she allows Russia to occupy it because what guarantee is there that Russia will not use it against Suez, if she becomes opposed to Great Britain as she was in the past? Russia cannot get any warm water port in the China Sea unless she can destroy Japan, and that is beyond any possibility for some decades to come. Russia must have a warm water port as that is very vital for her future. So far as it is known to us according to the published texts of the secret agreement between Russia and Japan (*vide* "Peking Gazette"), Japan is bound to help Russia in her attempt to get an outlet in the Persian Gulf, and in case Russia attacks India, Japan is bound to help Russia. Now Germany

regards Great Britain as her worst enemy, and whatever may be the result of this war she will not be willing to shake hands with Great Britain as a friend. And the other day we heard from Professor Munsterberg of Harvard that after this war is over there will be a German, Russian and Japanese Alliance. Let us hope that this will never come about; but it is absolutely desirable for the people of India to prepare for the worst......... In this case would India be safe? Then, are the Indian people ready to defend their country by warding off the marches of such enemy? Then Great Britain's hands will be tied in Europe, and Australian and Canadian aid will be neutralized for obvious reasons, and we all know that the Turco-German combination had a special programme against Egypt. If ever that calamity comes, what will be the position of India?......... That Great Britain will not, in the aforesaid contingency, be able to help India much is beyond doubt. Then the immediate need for Great Britain, for her sake and for the sake of the preservation of the British Empire, is to take the people of India into equal confidence and have a thorough-going programme of preparedness for them." [The *Sandesh* also publishes a Marathi translation of the article.]

Comments on the European Registration Ordinance.

Message (6), 7th Feb.

23. "Is India a country in military occupation by the Europeans? We mean, is it after all a truth that Indians, except Eurasians, are to be recognised and treated as possible enemies in their own country? We do not know. But the proposal to compulsorily train every European and Eurasian in India, leaving Indians not only untrained but unarmed, makes us rub our eyes and wonder whether we are not after all a 'foreign element' in our own country! Judging from the writings in the *Englishman* and the *Pioneer*, which, whether inspired or not, prove many a time to be remarkable anticipations of official policy and views, and judging also from the Registration Ordinance published two days ago, we believe that compulsory military training for Europeans and Eurasians is not very distant. And we ask: what about the arming of Indians and admitting them to volunteer and commissioned ranks? 'Not yet', replies Anglo-India. Indians have perhaps no business to desire arms—no, not even to save themselves from tigers and lions or thieves or robbers or other nefarious human beings. Indians, again, have no business to be over-scrupulous in matters of self-respect, or honour, except of course, when the liberties and honour of 'small' nations in Europe are concerned. Self-sacrifice is the highest virtue and Indians should cultivate it so as to willingly sacrifice not only the lower self but also the higher self. Otherwise their loyalty would not be 'unconditional' as Sir James Meston would have it to be, nor perhaps like that loyalty which Sir Benjamin Robertson recently told he wanted to see cultivated among Indians."

Sind Observer (10), 20th Jan.

24. "The subject of compulsory service, which is to supersede the present volunteer system in India, is attracting much attention just now, as it is rumoured that the orders of Government are shortly to issue. It is universally acknowledged that volunteering as it exists under the Indian Volunteer Act is a mere costly farce and of no utility whatever to Government. There is no means of obliging attendance at drills or enforcing discipline, and the men cannot be called out for actual military service beyond a very restricted area. There are numbers of men who will not join a volunteer corps because the matter is not being taken seriously, and for the same reason the military advisers of Government will not recommend the expenditure of more money on the volunteer forces till a system is evolved which will promise a good return for the increased cost. The project now on the carpet is to enlist every able-bodied European and Anglo-Indian and, under a law sufficiently strong, to enforce discipline, oblige him to put in a certain period of military training every year. The recent English Volunteer Bill requires a man to put in 40 drills of an hour each in three months and thereafter ten drills a month. With such training we should possess in India an auxiliary force worth the money which must be expended on it if the men and officers are to be turned out efficient soldiers. The present system of selection of officers and non-commissioned officers will have

to be drastically dealt with. The number of inepts who receive commissions and stripes nowadays is a matter of grave complaint among keen volunteers. Men are pitchforked into the commissioned and non-commissioned grades without any regard to their qualifications, and others who by attention to their duties deserve promotion are systematically overlooked. Universal training will fall heaviest on the poorly paid and hard worked class of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, and it is to be hoped that Government will take this into consideration when distributing the loaves and fishes. It is quite conceivable that the heads of some mercantile houses and even Government offices will not look with much approval at their subordinates having to absent themselves from office to attend drills, and will endeavour to get their pound of flesh by refusing holiday leave when it has been earned. Government must be prepared to protect those whom they are going to summon to compulsory training. One advantage of the system will be that slackers will not be tolerated under it. No loafing about while others are doing their bit. Every man will have to shoulder a gun and make himself efficient or take the consequences of his slackness. This is as it should be, and we trust Government will not delay any longer in introducing a measure necessary in the vital interests of the State."

25. "The burdens of the war seem to have fallen comparatively lightly on the European community in India. Two years and a half after the commencement of a ruinous war we get here the British European Registration Ordinance, making it obligatory on all Europeans resident in India to register within a month after the issue of the Ordinance. At a time when Englishmen in England are sacrificing not only their time and money but their very lives for the defence of their liberties we find here day after day restaurants and the big clubs full of Europeans intent on pleasure, wasting thousands daily on intoxicating drinks and other luxuries. Cannot the Government do something to prevent all this criminal waste? The few thousands thus saved daily may not help in winning the war: they may, however, materially help in relieving the sufferings of the wounded by providing the comforts of which they stand so much in need."

Cannot Government do something to prevent the criminal waste of money by Europeans in India on their pleasures at this critical juncture?

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 9th Feb., Eng. cols.

***26.** "The speeches made by the Indian princes on the occasion mark an important stage in the growth of the idea of Indian unity and nationality. Till now a veil of mutual distrust impeded the free flow of sympathy between British India and the States. It was torn down at the banquet, and the rulers of some of the most ancient and historic States of India publicly accepted the position which every one will gladly concede to them of leaders of our people in all that leads to India's unity and national greatness. We congratulate Their Highnesses and we congratulate the people both of their own States and British India on this happy consummation." [Sir Narayan Chandavarkar writing in the paper says:—"Every Prince breathed the spirit of awakened India; every Prince spoke the heart and the language, the hopes, the aspirations of the country at large. The charge that is so often levelled against educated Indians and that has been so cheaply and so irresponsibly given utterance to in unfortunate language by Lord Sydenham in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century and After* and in the columns of the London *Times* recently, that those Indians are a class and a cry by themselves, not reflecting the voice of the country, found its cogent answer in the speech of every Prince who spoke at the gathering."]

Comments on the speeches of the Indian princes at the banquet in honour of the Maharaja of Bikaner.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 11th Feb.

***27.** The *Mahrátta*, in the course of an appreciative review of the speeches delivered at the banquet, specially refers to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's appeal to the British nation to allow India "to work out her destiny under Britain's guiding hand and protection" and remarks:—

Mahrátta (5), 11th Feb.

"In the last sentence the Maharaja has simply paraphrased the Indian demand for self-government within the Empire. His Highness' wise words have found a distinct echo in the Maharaja of Alwar's speech and Indian minds which have been highly strung on this just claim will be relieved of the most disheartening suspicion of being forsaken by the rulers of one-third of India. Indians in British India will, therefore, feel highly gratified at the thought that their interests are entrusted into the safe hands of one who feels himself to be proud to call them as his brethren and sympathises with their aspirations. The occasion was thus unique in the annals of British India. There was always a *rapprochement* between the Princes and the Government of the land, but there were very few occasions on which it was evinced between the Princes and the people of British India. A wave of joy will pass over all the land when the sentiments expressed by their Highnesses will be found to be in unison with those of the people. War cemented the union between the Hindus and Muhammedans and it has also knit together the Princes and the people of British India. These happy omens for the future loom large on the horizon and augur well for the bright future of India."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 10th Feb.

28. The *Bombay Samáchár* pays an appreciative tribute to the services rendered by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner to the Empire during the present war and considers him eminently fitted to represent India at the forthcoming Imperial War Conference. It refers to the speech made by His Highness at the farewell banquet given to him at the Taj Mahal Hotel, Bombay, in the course of which he promised to render all possible help towards advancing the interests of India at the Conference and expressed a hope that British statesmen would do justice to the claims of India by placing her on a satisfactory footing in the Empire and considers these sentiments as conclusive proofs of His Highness' solicitude for the welfare of India.

Protest against the giving of a public reception in honour of India's representatives at the Imperial War Conference, *Message* (6), 8th, 10th and *11th Feb.; *Sandesh* (103), 8th Feb.

29. "We referred some days back to a new movement which is afoot in London to give a fitting reception to the overseas representatives to the War Conference. Apropos of this a suggestion has lately been made by an anonymous writer that before the representatives selected by the Government of India leave these shores, the citizens of Bombay should accord them a hearty send-off. We should have rather assented to the suggestion that the Government House should do so and that the Secretariat should turn up *en bloc* at the Apollo Bunder or Alexandra Dock or wherever else these distinguished representatives of the Government of India embark to wish them a *bon voyage*. The suggestion that the citizens should give a public reception ought to be firmly discountenanced. Because, those who are selected by the Government of India are in no sense the people's representatives, even if as Sir S. P. Sinha said the other day, he and his distinguished colleague His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner would put forward before the Secretary of State for India the Indian point of view, and because it is clear that they are not going to the Conference as India's representatives. If the people want to show their appreciation personally of these two gentlemen, we have nothing to say against it. Both Sir Satyendra and the Maharaja Bahadur are estimable men and are, after all is said and done, our own countrymen. And we should not hesitate to honour them in their individual capacity, much as we may differ from their views. But there would be absolutely no propriety whatever—indeed it would be extremely derogatory to the sense of India's national self-respect—if after the way in which Sir James Meston has colluded with the two 'Wandering Ministrels' to hand over India to the domination of the Colonies, he is to be publicly honoured by the people. We have held and we still hold that it was a grave mistake on the part of the Government of India to have selected him as one of their representatives, after all the demonstration of public feeling. If they made the mistake, the people should not certainly repeat it and thereby justify it. However sorry we may feel in saying this, our sense of public duty and also our sense of proportion compel us to protest in advance against any movement which will tend to lessen our self-respect." [In its issue of the 10th the paper writes:—"Only the other day, we scouted the idea of giving a public reception to these 'representatives' before they leave these shores. The idea was too ludicrous and in our opinion none but people utterly lost to all sense of decency and proportion would have ever countenanced it. It is, therefore, with an extreme degree of pain that we have learnt of the 'Afternoon Party' which the Chairman and the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau is going to give this evening at 'Shanti Bhuvan'—the place of our esteemed citizen Mr. Narottam Morarjee Gokuldas—in honor of His Honor Sir James Meston, Sir S. P. Sinha and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. In view of what we have previously stated, it is difficult to conceive what special interest 'the Chairman and Committee' of the Chamber had in arranging for this party. We have made enquiries and learn that several of the members were opposed to any such thing being done in the name of the Chamber......... Many of the members knew nothing of what was taking place in the inner councils of the Chamber, until the most uninviting invitation cards, bearing in every line the imprint of the nation's shame, were hurled at their unfortunate and amazed heads......... Hardly a week has elapsed since the Council of the Presidency Association indignantly and with burning shame rejected the proposal to give a fitting reception to 'India's representatives.'......... We ask what special motives 'the Chairman and the Committee' had in flouting public opinion in this manner." In its issue of the 11th the paper says:—"The party ostensibly given in the name of the Chamber at the residence of Sheth Narottam does not seem to have met with any considerable success. His Excellency the Governor was there, Lady Willingdon was there and their retinue was there. Among the rest were to be seen a number of sycophants, whose favourite occupation it is to dance attendance on 'his honor this' and 'your worship that'......... The most interesting fact about it is that Mr. Narottam himself, at whose residence the party was being held, was present at the protest meeting at the Excelsior Theatre and not at the party. It would have been more befitting on his part if he had flatly refused to lend his residence for such a party being held there, as unworthy of the cause to which he in common with his countrymen stands committed." The *Sandesh* makes similar remarks and adds that when the Congress Committee of his own Province has publicly condemned Sir James Meston's selection there appears to be no reason for the people of Bombay to do honour to him. Let him, the paper adds, prove his sympathies for India by giving proper advice to the Secretary of State, and then a grand procession will be held in his honour in Bombay on his return.]

Complant that no Muhammadan was selected to represent India in the Imperial War Conference.

Islámic Mail (4), 4th Feb., Eng. edition.; *Al-Haq* (42), 3rd Feb., Eng. cols.

30. Referring to the selections made to represent India on the Imperial War Conference, the *Islámic Mail* remarks:—"The gentlemen who have been selected by the Government to advise the Secretary of State are very able and statesmanlike people; but why should there not have been a Muhammadan there? It cannot be said that in the whole length and breadth of India there is not one Muhammadan who could be selected by Government. Nawab Malik Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, Colonel Sir Afsarul Mulk, Sir Ali Imam or Justice Abdur Rahim would have been very good selections......... Government should no doubt select the fittest for such important task as the one now before it. What we urge, however, is that when a capable and qualified Muhammadan may be available, preference should be given to him. .... The bitterness noticeable in the Moslem feeling is mainly due to the neglect shown to them during Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty. When Lord Chelmsford came to India Muhammadan hopes revived and they began to think that their evil days had ended. But unfortunately they do not find themselves so far in any better position. The seat in the Madras Executive Council which was regarded as almost settled on a Muhammadan went to a Hindu, and so is this opportunity lost to the Muhammadans. Our friends of the Raja (of Mahmudabad) League can have no ground for complaints on this score for they are nationalist and do not care whether preferments go to a Hindu or a Muhammadan, but the Muhammadans feel it." [The *Al-Haq* also regrets that no Muhammadan should have been selected as a representative. It declares that a community numbering 70 millions should not have been so ignored. It dwells on the deep loyalty of the Muhammadans, the courage and spirit of self-sacrifice with which they have fought for the Empire, the large contribution they are making to the revenues of the country and the enthusiasm with which they have helped the war and Relief Funds. It points out that none of the people of India can claim to have a greater interest in the questions that will be discussed by the Conference than the Muhammadans and asks if a "real Council of the Empire" will be complete without a Muhammadan on it. It concludes as follows:—"We have expressed these views as we know what the opinion of the Muammadans of this province is in this connection and we trust it is not too late for our Benign Government to consider the question of the *Muhammadan* representation on the War Council and select a Muhammadan representative from India, which selection will prove beneficial to both the Government and the Indian Muhammadans."]

Suggestion that the increasing number of beggars in Bombay might be enlisted for war service.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (122), 11th Feb.

*31. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* declares that the number of beggars in Bombay is steadily on the increase and that they are particularly noticeable on Thursdays. It affirms that they are generally strong men and capable of doing any sort of hard work. It urges Government to enlist them as soldiers or at least as camp followers, thus killing two birds with one stone.

Appreciation of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's great sympathy for the poor.

Islámic Mail (4), 4th Feb., Eng. edition, and (121), 5th Feb., Urdu edition.

32. "Lord Willingdon is a friend of the poor and we all know it. He is never so happy as when he is conveying comfort and consolation to the hearts of those poverty-stricken people who are not fortune's favourites. Whenever there is any distress, whenever there is any trouble, our noble-hearted Governor is there among the poorest of the poor carrying consolation and sympathy. His popularity with the mill-hands is too well-known to need any repetition here.......... At a meeting of the citizens of Bombay held the other day to concert measures for the protection of children, Lord Willingdon who presided expressed his keenest sympathy for the movement.......... His Excellency spoke from his personal knowledge that the mass of the working population of the city was living in a condition of squalor and wretchedness. He assured the meeting that Government would do all that it was able to do by passing remedial measures and urged joint efforts of Government and the public to give the children of the working classes satisfactory educational opportunities securing them healthy homes and surroundings." [In its Urdu edition also the paper pays a tribute to the sympathetic attitude of His Excellency Lord Willingdon towards the poor, and adds:—The conditions surrounding the poor can only be improved when His Excellency carries the Government with him. The officers of the Municipal Corporation and others have paid greater attention to the improvement of the environments of the rich than to those of the poor. In spite of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah's protests, the Improvement Trust has earmarked millions of rupees for expenditure on the Parel Road Scheme though there was absolutely no necessity for it. On the contrary, the provision of sanitary homes for the poor was more urgently required. It is to be hoped that His Excellency's regard for the poor will be reflected in the doings of the officers of Government and that the poor will not be left uncared for.]

Comments on the recent extension of the period of prohibition against the landing of artisans in British Columbia.

Mahrdtta (5), 11th Feb.

*33. Referring to the statement that the Government of Canada has extended the period of prohibition against the landing of artisans and skilled or unskilled labourers at ports of entry in British Columbia to the 31st March 1917, the *Mahrdtta* remarks:—"Proof positive of the favourable change in the angle of vision! Whilst we are trying to embrace the colonies as our 'sister' dominions—so said the Maharajas the other day—our 'sisters' are trying to prohibit us from their own homes! We pity ourselves but hope that they would change their attitude after the Imperial War Conference. The prohibition order, however, is not a good omen."

Comments on the passing of the Asiatic Immigration Bill by the United States Senate.

Dnydn Prakdsh (34), 7th Feb.

34. Referring to the passing of the Asiatic Immigration Bill by the United States Senate, the *Dnydn Prakdsh* attributes the measure to the agitation carried on by the labouring classes in America and urges that on no account should Indians treat with indifference that agitation. It maintains that the India Office which professes to safeguard the Indian interests ought to have at once entered its emphatic protest against the measure and declares that it was most disgraceful that it should have slept over the matter. It exhorts Indians to declare by every possible means that they would never put up with this fresh insult and to take the necessary steps for retaliation.

The reply of the Collector to the shoemakers of Hyderabad (Sind) who protested against the income-tax assessment that they should exercise their right of appeal is nothing short of a mockery.

Sind Advocate (8), 25th Jan.; *Phœnix* (7), 24th Jan.

35. "With regard to the income-tax assessment at Hyderabad, about which another great meeting of protest organised by cantonment people (largely Muhammadans) has been held, it is reported that some shoemakers who after closing their shops in protest went to the Collector at Tando Mohamed Khan and represented their grievances, were told that they had the right of appeal in each individual case and this should be exercised as usual. This reply is a mockery and nothing less! Here is a case of gross public injustice—a case of scandalous burdening of any number of undoubtedly poor people (shoemakers as a rule cannot possibly earn Rs. 83 a month, and *many* of them are taxed!) and our officers play the joke of referring them to the appellate authority which usually as we know regards rejection of appeals as a matter of course. The Mukhtiarkar has done the excessive assessment because he feels that he will thereby please his superiors. The appellate authority will also, as experience shows, be moved by similar considerations, if perhaps to a less degree. This is a matter in which for the good name of the administration the Government of Bombay and the Government of India must interfere. The outlook of the local officials is generally narrow in these matters. The commotion at Hyderabad, which refuses to be quieted by farcical reference to the right of appeal, calls for attention from above." [The *Phœnix* writes:—"If it be a fact, as we presume it is, that the labouring classes have been assessed against all precedent, the situation calls for a dispassionate and calm reflection and consideration at the hands of the Collector and the Commissioner with a view to give redress wherever due. We have no faith in the decision of ordinary appeals in which we know full well, none but those who can produce unimpeachable documentary evidence like true accounts can succeed. And it goes without saying that men of the type we have mentioned above, who are said to have been assessed cannot in the nature of things be expected to keep any account. Nor is it possible that, in except a few instances, could the yearly incomes have quadrupled. There have been several such public protests against income-tax assessment in Karáchi and other places in the past, and we think Government owe it to the people to protect them against the overzealous discharge of duty by their subordinates. One feasible remedy suggests itself to us and this is to direct

the new special income-tax officer who has been recently deputed to Hyderabad to make independent enquiries, not taking a cue from Mr. Ojha's assessment."]

EDUCATION.

Strictures on the existing educational policy of the Government in India.

Young India (11), 7th Feb.

36. Mr. L. G. Khare, writing in *Young India* about the Conference of Directors of Public Instruction, remarks:—"Educated India thinks that 'the present policy if pursued' will lead not to better results but to disastrous ones. Because what has been the effect of the Indian Educational Service system of education in India? We may say that the present policy was stereo-typed in the early seventies of the last century, and an effort was made to systematise education in all provinces in one uniform manner. It has dulled the intelligence, it has limited the outlook of the average Indian boy. Gradually the connection between an Arts degree and a clerkship in any one of the Government offices came to be so obvious, that the tendency to load the memory and ruin the intelligence so as to pass the all-important examination, became universal and an ineradicable curse. Did not the men in the super-posts of the Indian Educational Service in those days see it?......... Perhaps they may have replied that they had no control over educational policy then, as the Universities of those days were run by Indian lawyers 'fellows who are hopeless and declare everything *ultra vires*'. Well, why not stop the mischief now?—now, when Lord Curzon came to help them and turned the Universities into unofficial Government departments? .... There is neither the capacity, nor the volition. If educational policy had been wisely directed from the early beginnings, if the Indian demand for real technical education, for an education which will make the average student in India look out on life with a wider and more courageous gaze, had been instituated, the present chaos, the present sense of hopelessness, so noticeable in Indian youth, would not have come into being.... ..... The Viceroy lamented, 'On the commercial side of education, I am surprised to find how little has been done in spite of India's large and growing commerce, and I am puzzled as to its cause.' The Viceroy may be puzzled, but we wonder whether any single educated Indian is. Was it not the idea amongst some at least of early European mentors of Indian youth that it was all very well for 'these fellows to learn Mill and Kant' but it would never do for them to 'learn something by which they can cut at our commerce'? So it is natural that the discussion at the Directors' Conference gravely ran in the traditional channels. We hope the Directors were fortified in their deliberations by the announcement that the Royal Commission on the Public Services had proposed the creation of 50 super-posts in the Education Department at a cost of Rs. 5,00,000 to the Indian ryot. This to them must be a cheerful prospect; we would rather like a discussion, as to the possibility of delegating *all* teaching in India to Indian agency, reserving special posts only for those foreigners who are to train Indians in research work. We would like less to be spent on inspection and direction, utilising the amount thus saved on the pay of primary school teachers. And is it quite so necessary that children should sit on expensive 'Dudley' desks and learn Sloyd by the costliest methods imaginable?......... When the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye roundly declared before the Royal Commission three years ago that we can manage *all* our education ourselves, some of us shared the look of staggered surprise on Lord Islington's face, but since then Indian opinion has practically unanimously come to agree that the education of a nation's children must be in the hands of the children of the soil. We want European experience, we want European experts, but we want men to come over who know, unbiased by the caste influence of a service, how to teach, who are able to understand the *mentality* of those whom they teach, and finally we want them to be responsible to us if they do not show good work."

Gujaráti (13), 4th Feb.

37. Commenting upon the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction recently held at Delhi the *Gujaráti* does not agree with the view of His Excellency that the

subject of education should not be discussed from a political standpoint, declaring that such jealous exclusion of politics from education is due to the eye of suspicion with which the authorities view Indians generally. Quoting the Viceroy's words "We must remove the idea that we have any ulterior motives behind our educational policy" it asks: If that be the aim of Government why should apprehension be entertained against the subject of education being viewed from a political standpoint? It further asks how it is that not a single Indian has been appointed Director of Public Instruction. If "education is not a subject to be wrapped up in mystery", inquires the paper, is it not surprising that it should be discussed by a body which contains no representatives of the people whose education is the subject-matter of discussion? It then proceeds:—How will the public enthusiasm for education increase if its expansion is not to be brought about and if the educational policy embodied in the Government of India Resolution of 1913 is going to be continued? It is clear that popular representatives have not been included in the Conference for fear they may advocate such an expansion. India does not want any continuance of the educational policy of 1913, but she wants that sort of education which would enable every Indian student and every Indian youth to take part in the national advancement. [The paper here refers to the Viceroy's recommendation to the Directors to take such steps as might lead to an improvement in the prospects of teachers, the elevation of their status, etc., and also to the solicitude shown by him for the expansion of industrial, commercial and female education, and then proceeds:—] How will these foreigners, ignorant of the condition, habits and sentiments of the Indian people, be in a position to consider these matters satisfactorily? We do not expect these alien Directors to do good in any direction in the matter of education. It is necessary that the work of education should in its entirety be handed over to the people. In England education is in the hands of the people whereas in India it is in the hands of the officials. The cobwebs of political distrust should be swept away from the domain of education. It is necessary for the State to be ready to encourage independent enterprise in the matter of public instruction, and this cannot be done without tabooing from the Educational Department miserable translations of English books written in a slipshod manner by people of Mr. Marsden's type and encouraging people to write school books on independent lines.

RAILWAYS.

Importance of direct railway connection between Bombay and Karáchi.

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 9th Feb.

38. Dwelling upon the desirability of constructing a railway line running through the desert of Cutch to connect Karáchi with Bombay, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—It is unfortunate that the construction of such an important railway line should be deferred out of regard for the revenue of a single Native State. Such a line will greatly reduce the present uncomfortable distance between Bombay and Karáchi. How long will the gulf between these two commercial centres remain unbridged? Will not early steps be taken to bring the Baluchistan frontier border closer to Bombay—a consummation so desirable in the present war crisis? The apathy that is being shown towards this matter since the termination of Lord Curzon's *régime* is really regrettable.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's resolution in the Bombay Municipal Corporation about the abolition of the Improvement Trust.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 5th and 8th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 7th Feb.

39. Referring to the speech made by the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla at a recent meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporation in support of his resolution on the subject of requesting Government to dissolve the Board of the Bombay City Improvement Trust and hand over its work to the Corporation, the *Bombay Samáchár* observes that in the face of the admitted failure of the Trust to carry out satisfactorily the work for which it was brought into being, *viz.*, improving the slums of the city, and providing sanitary chawls for the poorer classes, it is natural that the public should be so keen in their desire to see that the Trust Board either ceases to exist or that its constitution is substantially altered. The paper dwells on the usual accusations brought against the Trust and observes that the public are convinced of the futility of maintaining such an expensive institution. It also supports Sir Ibrahim's scheme about the creation of a Municipal Improvement Committee, on the lines of the Standing Committee, to supplant the present Trust Board. [In its subsequent issue the paper expresses its satisfaction at the Corporation passing Sir Ibrahim's resolution, though in an amended form. It remarks that the plea of the Honourable Mr. Orr in support of the continuance of the Trust Board, *viz.*, that there are reasons to apprehend that plague might reappear at any time in future with all its previous severity, strengthens the case of his opponents instead of justifying the existence of the Trust. It does not agree with the Chairman of the City Improvement Trust in laying the guilt of the present unsatisfactory condition of things at the door of the Bombay Municipality and in finding fault with the building bye-laws of the municipality. The paper remarks that the congestion of the localities in the neighbourhood of the areas improved by the Trust was not the result of faulty municipal bye-laws, but was the outcome of the Trust's shortsighted policy of demolishing insanitary houses on a wholesale scale without making any provision for the accommodation of those dishoused. The paper winds up with asking the Trust Board to submit to the public demand for an improvement in its policy and constitution or to be prepared to hand over its work to the Corporation. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the arbitrary policy alleged to be adopted by the Trust since the time of Lord Sydenham and, in view of that policy, advocates the total abolition of the Trust Board. It maintains that the Honourable Mr. Orr treats with contempt the demand of the Corporation for preference being given to the duty of improving insanitary slum areas because he commands the majority on the Trust Board. It is of opinion that the rate-paying public should demonstrate to Mr. Orr and his majority that they will not tolerate such humbug on their part any longer. The paper also regards as puerile the defence set up by the Trust against the charge of neglect in mitigating congestion by attributing it to defective municipal bye-laws, contending that if the improvement of the bye-laws had been thought sufficient to relieve congestion, the Trust would not have been brought into existence. The paper concludes with wishing that Sir Ibrahim had remained firm and not accepted the amendment to his original resolution.]

Rást Goftár (28), 11th Feb., Eng. cols

*40. Commenting upon the discussion in the Bombay Municipal Corporation over the suggested abolition of the Bombay Improvement Trust, the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"We believe firmly that if the Corporation were placed in sole charge of the duties which are by law vested in the Trust, the Corporation would give a better answer to the public and yield a much better return for the money spent on improvement. By replacing the routine methods of the Trust with a scheme for bold and extensive treatment of the slums, it would show a much more satisfactory account than the Trust has been able to render during all these years of its existence. By dissociating the Corporation from the work to which the Trust attends, Government have displayed a lack of confidence in that body which is not justified; and this policy of distrust is nowise in keeping with Government's avowed intention to associate people in ever so increasing a measure as possible with the administration of their local affairs.......... The interests of the city demand that the improvement of slums should be urgently taken into hand to prevent a recrudescence of those conditions which existed when plague made its unwelcome advent in the city. The Trust has pinned its faith on a different policy, and a return to any other is past praying for, considering the reception which that body has given to the Corporation's repeated protests against the prolonged and studied neglect of slum-improvements. The time is, therefore, reached for its dissolution; and failing a resolution to that effect Government must give effective representation to the Corporation on the Trust's board and substantial power wherewith to influence and shape its future policy."

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged hardships of the people of Sávantvadi owing to the post of Chief Judge having remained vacant for the last four months.

Chikitsak (87), 31st Jan.

51. A Sávantvadi correspondent of the *Chikitsak* complains that the post of the Chief Judge of Sávantvadi having remained vacant during the last four months since the appointment of Mr. Rane, the Chief Judge, as Administrator, the people have been very much inconvenienced as there is nobody to hear suits of over fifty rupees and appeals also cannot be heard. The correspondent remarks that the present arrangement may effect some saving to the State, but that is no excuse for disregarding the great inconvenience and loss which the people are at present undergoing owing to no chief judge having yet been appointed.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 16th February 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 7 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 17th February 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged unfairness of the Muhammadan demand for separate representation 22
Comments on the order of the Punjáb Government prohibiting Mr. Tilak from entering the Punjáb 17
Comments on the reply of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to Mr. B. P. Wadia's request for information as to the portions of his speech which were regarded as objectionable . 18
England has drawn her sword for the protection of weak nations, but has failed to fulfil her own pledges to India 19
Reflections on the separatist movement started in South India by the non-Brahmins against the Brahmins 21
The new passport regulations should not come in the way of the Congress deputation 20
Excise: The Viramgaon Customs scandal proves that statesmanship has become bankrupt in India 37

Imperial Legislative Council:

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the last session of the —. . . . . 1—8
Comments on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution regarding more frequent meetings of the — 9
Comments on the defeat of the Honourable Mr. Sarma's resolution in the — regarding local option 10
Indians abroad: Comments on the passing of the Asiatic Immigration Bill by the United States Senate 16
Indians in the Colonies: The question of indentured labour to Fiji . . . 11—15
Madras Legislative Council: An incident in the — 40
Medical matters: Comments on the refusal to admit the victim of a motor-car accident in the Gokuldas Tejpal Hospital, Bombay . . . . . 41 & 42

Police:

A complaint against the Poona — 39
Alleged harassment by the — of people joining the Home Rule League 38
Public Services Commission: Comments on the — Report . . . . 34—36
Revenue matters: Complaint that both the instalments of land assessment are being recovered in February in the Islampur Taluka (Sátára) . 43
Sind: Comments on the proposed joint conference of Hindus and Muhammadans of — to settle the question of separate representation . . 44

H 527—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War:

An estimate of Germany's present desperate plight 32
Complaint that Government give out information on important matters in such a way as to damp the enthusiasm of the people . . . 27
Comments on the article by a Japanese in the *Modern Review* on the necessity of military preparedness of India 25
Comments on the party given by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to the Indian representatives for the Imperial — Conference . . . . 23 & 24
Comments on the taking over by Government of the stocks of rice in Burmah 29
Government should intervene to save the public from the rapacity of landlords and tradesmen who unduly raise rents and prices . . 28
If Germany is crushed in this — will that guarantee the future peace of the world? 31
Suggestions with regard to a suitable site for the new — Hospital at Karáchi 30
The United States are not likely to join the — 33
The widest possible publicity should be given to the Indian — Loan . 26

EDUCATION—

Complaint about the permission given to Messrs. Macmillan and Company to raise the prices of Sindhi School Text-books 45

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay:

Complaint about the filthy condition of public baths in — 48
Reflections on the question of compulsory primary education in — . 47
Strictures on the Honourable Mr. Orr's attitude with regard to the Samson Case 46
Junnar: Suggestion that triennial municipal election at — (Poona) may be postponed owing to the prevalence of plague there at present . . 49

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the administration report of the Khairpur State (Sind) for the year 1915-16 51
Comments on the closure of three hundred primary schools in the Baroda State 50

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Gujarâti (13), 11th Feb.; *Hindusthân* (17), 12th Feb.

1. Referring to the remark made by the Viceroy during the course of his speech at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council reminding the members of the appeal made by Lord Hardinge to his Council to abstain from any action which might provoke controversy during the present crisis, the *Gujarâti* expresses surprise that the Viceroy should have felt the necessity for any such reminder. It points out that the amendment of the Civil Service Regulations, the Patna University Bill, the Report of the Indian Public Services Commission, etc., are measures which all emanated from Government. Are these and kindred questions, such as educational reform, development of industries, military service, the Arms Act, the public demand for constitutional reforms, etc., of so insignificant a character, inquires the paper, that they can be postponed for the present without the Indian public expressing their opinion on them? It observes that discussion on these subjects should cease only if action is to be taken on them regardless of the public voice. It also inquires if the object of the Viceroy, in quoting the resolution passed [illegible] the Council in September 1914, expressing a desire on the part of the Indian people to share in the financial burden imposed by the present war upon the United Kingdom, is to give the amount raised by the proposed Indian War Loan as a present to His Majesty's Government. Will the military expenditure, asks the paper, incurred in Mesopotamia and elsewhere be saddled on India or will England pay back the money so spent to India in due course at her convenience? It then goes on to refer to His Excellency's declaration of the intention of Government to enrol Indians for military service as a part of the proposed Defence of India Force, and proceeds thus:—The announcement is one calculated to please the Indians, but the latter do not want to serve merely as soldiers. They want high positions in the army. It is certain that if the distinction between the white and the black is maintained in the Force the Indians will not come out in large numbers. Officers commanding Indian units should be Indians. The objects aimed at will not be accomplished if there is a difference between them and others in the matter of salary etc., and the Indians in that case should not be blamed for the result. The Indian's sense of self-respect refuses to recognise any distinction among citizens of the British Empire. Indians will not refuse to come forward in defence of their country and will not lag behind in serving the Empire if they are invited to join the army in a spirit of equality and liberality. [The *Hindusthân* expresses its sense of great jubilation at the new right granted to the Indians of volunteering during the continuance of the war. It believes that the iron doors leading to India's golden future have now commenced to open. It declares that volunteering will regenerate Indian manhood and feels confident that if the principle of volunteering is developed, it will enable India to demonstrate her unflinching and unshakable devotion to the Empire. The paper hopes that the Viceroy's appeal to the Indians to join the new Force in large numbers will receive a hearty response. It also wishes that the Indians may be treated on a footing of equality with others composing the Force.]

Young India (11), 14th Feb.

2. Commenting upon the statement made by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in the Imperial Legislative Council on the subject of indentured labour, *Young India* remarks:—"But is it possible for anyone who is not an Indian to feel what an Indian feels on this question,—the shame that haunts us by day and by night, the reproach that is always before us, that we should have allowed the dishonour of Indian men and women to be sold for all these years under a legalised system of semi-slavery and never have raised our voice in protest or even realised in the smallest degree the iniquity that was being perpetrated in our name and by the law of our own land?........

All that we can ask Lord Chelmsford and others in whose hands this matter lies to do is to try and put themselves in the same situation in thought and to ask themselves what would happen in England if such a system of the sale and treatment of English men and women existed. Would any economic or material interest be allowed to stand for one moment in the way of the ending of it? Indignation would sweep the Government that attempted to palter with such an issue off its feet. When we remember the wave of indignation and protest that swept over England against the bringing of Chinese indentured labourers to South Africa under similar conditions ten or twelve years ago, can we believe for a moment that the British electorate would not endorse the action of a Government that abolished Indian indentured labour in the Colonies by a stroke of the pen? Lord Chelmsford accused Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who desired to introduce a Bill into the Imperial Council for immediate abolition, of impatience. How can His Excellency justify such a charge? He tells us that Lord Hardinge when he promised abolition of the system warned the country that time would be required to work out the new conditions and until the Colonies should have had time to adjust themselves to the change. Has there not been time enough? Lord Hardinge's pledge was that the 'badge of helotry was soon to be removed for ever.' Did any one who heard or read his words conceive that a year later his successor would be asking us to be patient and to await the discussion of measures for abolition, which had not yet begun?......... Now we are asked to wait for a conference that is to begin its deliberations three months hence; and that in the knowledge that an attempt is being made to secure an extension of the system for another five years. This cannot be. We must see to it that Lord Chelmsford, Mr. Chamberlain and the British public do appreciate Indian sentiment.......... We have been over-patient.......... To satisfy India all that Lord Chelmsford has to do is to back up and work for the demands contained in the resolutions passed at the two meetings in Bombay. If the Home Government will not stand by him, it is open to him, as Mr. Gandhi suggested, to resign and the people of India will know then how to back *him* up......... India's earnest desire at the present moment is to stand behind beside Great Britain in the great struggle that is being waged for freedom and honour and to render all the aid, material and moral, that it is in her power to do. But she cannot be asked in the meanwhile to forget and sacrifice her own honour."

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 13th Feb.; *Sandesh* (103), 11th and 15th Feb.

3. The *Dnyán Prakásh* draws a contrast between His Excellency the Viceroy's statement with regard to the abolition of the indentured labour system and the firm attitude taken up by Lord Hardinge on the question, and declares that looking to the tenderness for the interests of the Colonists shown by His Excellency, it entertains grave doubts as to how far the assurances given by him for an early abolition of the system will be carried out. It appeals to the Viceroy to look at the question from the Indian point of view instead of from that of the colonial capitalists, and to put an end to the system at once as it has reduced Indians to a state of utter moral degradation. Referring to the Committee which is to meet in London by the middle of May to consider the subject, it declares that India would refuse to wait till the deliberations of the Committee, on which it advocates a full representation of non-official Indians, are concluded, and urges that pending the decision of the Committee, Government should at least immediately suspend the emigration of labourers to Fiji and other places. The paper then refers to the gratification felt by the public at His Excellency's announcement about the enrolment of Indians in the Defence of India Force and hopes that due consideration will be given to the suggestions made in the Press as regards appointing Indians to the higher posts in the force and the adequate payment of the men enrolled. [The *Sandesh* writes:—This concession for the enrolment of Indians, will, we are sure, make Indians forget the past unpopular acts of His Excellency. The people must now prepare themselves to enlist in the force, but at the same time we must warn Government that their attitude towards the Indians that so enrol themselves should be such as not to give the least ground for suspicion. Why are the Indians to

be taken into service only up to the end of the war? Will they not be required afterwards? Why this distrust of Indians? Suppose peace is declared the very day after Indians enrol themselves as volunteers; are they to lay down their arms at once? Why should Indians be called upon to enter the army only when they have to sacrifice their lives? We, therefore, appeal to Government to convert the force proposed to be raised into a "territorial" force and to place it on a permanent footing. No sooner this is done than all the members on the Home Rule League Registers will promptly join the force. [The paper then refers to the agitation in the country against the indentured coolie system and says:—] It is strange that notwithstanding the holding of so many meetings, His Excellency the Viceroy should not yet take courage to abolish the system at once. Measures like the Press Act and the Defence of India Act came into existence at a stroke of the pen, as soon as anarchist crimes began to be committed in Bengal. Are the outrages committed in the Fiji Islands against Indian women less heinous than the anarchist outrages in Bengal? Such a policy can no longer be tolerated. The paper also publishes a number of verses which after describing the outrages which Indian female labourers in Fiji are reported to have been subjected to, make an appeal to Indians to move energetically in the matter with a view to induce His Majesty the King-Emperor to intervene personally and abolish the hateful indentured labour system.]

Mahrátta (5), 18th Feb.

*4. Referring to the Viceroy's announcement regarding enrolment of Indians in the Defence of India force, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"Better late than never; and they have, after two years and a half, taken a step which the whole country wished them to take much earlier. We are grateful to the Viceroy for this bold measure and we hope it will leave a permanent impress upon the future policy of our Government.......... But bold though the policy is, the expression given to it is as faint-hearted as anything. Contrasted with the declaration of the French Governor the enunciation of the policy of our Viceroy pales into insignificance. It guarantees no equality of status with the Britishers, there is no mention in it of the commissions and other matters so urgently insisted upon by the people of India, and there is not the faintest expression about the permanancy of the policy so generously undertaken. The appeal of the Viceroy sadly lacks all these necessary elements, and unless he makes himself clear about these, the response, we are afraid, will not be so splendid as he expects. It is not that better prospects alone have any allurement for the Indians. They want that the colour bar, in the matter of promotions and privileges, so detested by every Indian, should be removed and equality of opportunity should be guaranteed to Indians and Europeans alike. [Here the paper quotes the proclamation issued by the Governor of Pondicherry in 1916 and His Excellency the Viceroy's announcement and goes on:—] None can fail to realise the vast difference between the two. If Lord Chelmsford meant to be serious in his declaration and if he wished that Indians should heartily respond to the call of the Motherland and the Empire he should have been as explicit as his French colleague. But unfortunately he was not. Hesitation begets hesitation, and it would be no fault of the Indians if they remain wavering for some time. Let the Government of India imitate the French Government in outlining the policy of equal treatment and we are sure the response of India will then be as grand as it is expected.......... Indians must remember that readiness and ability to defend their home and the Empire are always presupposed when they demand Home Rule; and if those Home Rulers who are qualified to do this duty miss this opportunity, no greater blunder will be committed by them. The doors are flung open for them to show their loyalty and defend their hearths and homes."

Sánj Vartamán (29), 16th Feb.

5. The *Sánj Vartamán* thanks Government for the announcement that Indians will be enlisted as volunteers in the Defence of India Force and expresses a hope that the Force will be officered by Indians. It wishes Government had long ago abandoned their attitude of distrust towards Indians by giving

them the right of bearing arms as volunteers. It feels sure that a large number of Indians would have come forward to fight the Germans if they had the necessary military training. It asks Government not to limit the privilege till the duration of the war but to confer it permanently upon the Indians. The paper exhorts the Parsis to raise a Parsi Volunteer Corps in Bombay.

Gujaráti (13), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.

*6. Referring to His Excellency the Viceroy's complaint that there was a tendency to press discussion on controversial questions, the *Gujaráti* remarks :—"We are sorry His Excellency has not been as fair and impartial as we expect him in making such a complaint.......... What has His Excellency's own Government done? A more senseless and reactionary piece of educational legislation than the Patna University Bill has not been placed on the anvil of the Supreme Legislative Council in recent years.......... If the Government of India and the Provincial Administrations choose to be unfair to themselves and do not practise the high principles they preach to the Indian public, surely it is not the critics who are to blame. As regards indentured labour, His Excellency has failed to appreciate the nature of the issue that is before the public and the standpoint of the Indian people. .... His Excellency has put in a good word for the Colonies who, we are told, have shown the utmost readiness to co-operate in removing the features of the system which are regarded as objectionable....... The Viceroy may have confidence in the good faith of the Colonies, but we confess we have hardly any. Their hands have not been clean and they deserve no sympathy whatsoever. .... The issue is not contentious, so far as the people of India are concerned, but if it is made to assume such a complexion in defiance of the universal feeling in the country, His Excellency will hardly be justified in complaining of controversial discussions for which the Indian public is not at all responsible. [The paper then refers to His Excellency's statement that steps would be taken to expedite the consideration of the recommendations of the Public Service Commission's Report and says :—] The people will not be satisfied with the crumbs that have been provided for them with such unexampled generosity. His Excellency has been saying a good deal about *festina lente*, 'circumspection' and 'well-considered lines'. These stale phrases have no longer any charm or value in the eyes of the Indian public who have waited long enough. His Excellency is at liberty to think that the waiting period ought to be longer. All that we can say is that these oft-repeated exhortations run the risk of being looked upon as being of an interested character in view of what has happened during the last thirty or forty years. Experience is the best teacher and not mere viceregal exhortations. We are sorry to say so. But those who say so are not to blame for their convictions. [The paper next refers to the announcement regarding enrolling Indians in the Defence of India force, and remarks :—] We feel satisfied that temporary and half-hearted arrangements of the kind foreshadowed by His Excellency are not calculated to inspire the country with feelings of profound gratitude. Indians want the privilege of enlisting as Volunteers, and genuine facilities for obtaining military training and education and commissions in the army. We do not think the Viceroy's pronouncement goes to this length or holds out genuine hopes in that direction. *Festina lente* may still have a charm of its own at Delhi or Simla, but it has exhausted all its efficacy and potentialities during the last forty years."

Kesari (95), 13th Feb.

7. The Viceroy complained about ill informed public criticism against the selection of Indian representatives to assist the Secretary of State at the War Conference. But even after he has given explanations, there remain certain points about which the public are not satisfied. For instance, if the Colonies are to have additional representatives at the Conference over and above the Secretary for the Colonies, who would be able to vote, why should not India have been accorded similar treatment? Moreover, if officials alone were to be selected, why were not the names of officials like Sir Benjamin Robertson and Lord Carmichael placed before the Imperial Legislative Council for selection? The Colonies would certainly not have taken objection to such a procedure. As regards His Excellency's complaint about introducing controversial matters for

discussion, we can only say that the outcry raised by Government on this matter is utterly groundless as they themselves and not the non-official members have been guilty of the transgression on numerous occasions. The only encouraging item in His Excellency's speech is the announcement that Indians will be allowed to enrol themselves as volunteers. A period of six months is to be allowed to see how far Indians respond to this new concession, and if during that period a sufficient number is not enrolled and if the war does not end by that time then compulsion will have to be resorted to just as has been done in England (*sic*). That such an occasion should not arise will depend upon the number of men who will offer themselves as volunteers. This new right should, therefore, be availed of by as many people as possible.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 18th Feb.

*8. "Rambler" writes in the *Indian Social Reformer*:—"We cannot help confessing that we have looked through His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in the hope of finding in it marks of real statesmanship, but in vain.......... We expected from His Excellency a genuine touch with the people's feeling; but this is wanting throughout. The case of indentured labour has been discussed threadbare. The case of post-war reforms is no better. To stigmatise the attitude of Indian members as one of 'impatience and discontent' and to insist upon their observance of 'unwritten understandings' when Government have at the time been busy in the secrecy of their offices dealing quietly with all manner of vital and controversial questions, is a patently unfair proceeding.......... The most charitable construction can only lead one to imagine that His Lordship has permitted himself to be misled both as to the direction as well as the sphere of his work."

Comments on Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution regarding more frequent meetings of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Young India (11), 14th Feb; *Sandesh* (103), 14th Feb.

9. After quoting the views of various Honourable Members on the resolution introduced by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Imperial Legislative Council for more frequent meetings of the Council, *Young India* remarks:—"The question, however, is as to which of these honourable gentlemen is right—whether Mr. Dadabhoy the Barrister-*cum*-businessman or his commercial friend Mr. Milne. The former says that the professional lawyer will suffer by Mr. Malaviya's proposal. Mr. Milne says that the Council will pass into the hands of the lawyer-politician. Both cannot be right at the same time. To us it seems that the apprehensions of both are unfounded. Those who are really in earnest about their work on the Council, will welcome more frequent and more regular meetings, to whatever class they belong. And as for the passing of the Council into the hands of any class, that is impossible under the present rules, under which the official class must exclusively posses the field. And the resolution failed mainly because it would have disturbed the discretion and the convenience of this class." [The *Sandesh* also supports the Honourable Mr. Malaviya's resolution and remarks that it was shameful on the part of an Indian member like the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy to have opposed it.]

Comments on the defeat of the Honourable Mr. Sarma's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding local option.

Kesari (95), 13th Feb.

10. The Honourable Mr. Sarma's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council advocating local option was defeated with the help of the usual official majority, but Government were unable to put forward anything more substantial than the usual fallacious arguments. The local authorities, it was stated, were the best judges about the location of liquor-shops. But we maintain that the people of the locality where a shop is to be opened and not the officials are the better judges. What have the officials to lose if such shops are located near other people's houses? Will they allow them to be opened in their own neighbourhood? It was also argued that there are no means wherewith to sound public opinion in such matters. This, we think, is the height of falsehood. The fact is that

Government neither try to sound public opinion themselves, nor do they recognise any efforts that may be made to ascertain it. How then can public opinion assert itself in the face of such a deliberately blind policy as that?

The question of indentured labour to Fiji.

Gujarâti (13), 11th Feb.; *Bombay Samâchâr* (55), 13th Feb.; *Sânj Vartamân* (29), 12th Feb.; *Jâm-e-Jamshed* (20), 10th Feb.; *Navsâri Patrika* (66), 11th Feb.

11. The audience cried 'shame' when they listened to the tale of the woeful misery of indentured labourers at the public meeting recently held in Bombay; but it is really disgraceful on the part of Indians themselves that they should have tolerated the system which has tended to the violation of the chastity of their mothers and sisters for the last half a century! Should not India now exert itself to bring this shameful practice to an end? The situation would not in any way be improved by increasing the percentage of indentured women as suggested by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, for it will merely result in the prostitution by force of fifty per cent. of women instead of thirty! Lord Hardinge gave his emphatic opinion on the question in the year 1915; but the Secretary of State seems to be indifferent to it as he is influenced by the rich colonials to set at naught the feelings of Indians in this matter. Pounds, shillings and pence seem to have such a predominating influence on the opinion of the Secretary of State as to over-weigh the degradation and disgrace that come to India by the continuance of the system. Will England, that has been fighting for the rights of smaller States and has truth and righteousness as her mottos, tolerate for a moment a system which brings disgrace to India? As suggested at the public meeting at Bombay, the system of indentured labour should be put at end to by the 31st May 1917. We hope the strong opinion that India has been expressing on this subject will have some influence on the Conference that will shortly meet in London to consider the question of indentured labour in the Colonies. [The *Bombay Samâchâr* endorses the views expressed by various European and Indian speakers at the meeting and expresses a hope that Government will be moved to put an end to the system of indentured labour. The *Sânj Vartamân* also asks Government to put an end to the system by the end of May 1917. The *Jâm-e-Jamshed* is in full sympathy with the opposition to indentured labour. It is of opinion that the position of indentured labourers would in no way improve by increasing the percentage of women and asks Government to immediately put a stop to women being indentured for export to the Colonies. The *Navsâri Patrika* expresses hope that Government will put an end to the system at an early date as it has given rise to an outburst of unanimous opposition from the public at large.]

Kesari (95), 13th Feb.

12. Though, in view of the public meetings that are being held all over the country, Government will not have the boldness to say that the condemnation of the proposed continuance of the indentured coolie system is not backed by public opinion, we are not very hopeful that Government will show much regard for the public opinion so expressed, for it appears from the Viceroy's speech that the determination of Government to continue the system is unalterable and there is no power in India that will unfailingly bring about a change in the decision of Government. Really we never felt so keenly the powerlessness of public opinion in India as on the present occasion. But what is it that is objectionable in our demand for the abolition of indentured labour that Government should be loath to grant it? By granting it their prestige will in no way suffer, nor will the British Empire come into trouble. This stolid indifference of Government to public opinion only brings out in strong relief the true character of the relations between the rulers and the ruled in India. Whenever Government want to follow a particular line of policy they resort to some excuse or other to flout public opinion. But even that is not possible in the present matter. The only class of people in the country whom Government can rally round their banner are the greedy and *badmash* agents supplying indentured labour. The root cause of all this helplessness of public opinion is that Government is not '*our*' Government. It is only a mercenary agent of an alien master. It does not possess any

authority of its own. It is merely an appendage of the Secretary of State who in his turn is completely at the mercy of the Cabinet which is always trying to please the Colonial Secretary. The Viceroy himself must have been feeling this mortifying position. All the same, Indians have to suffer the consequences of the faulty system of Indian administration. Had the Viceroy been '*ours*' he would not have cared for the interests of the Colonials, for whom Indians have no sympathy and who do not deserve it. But why should the British Government at all care if the people of India have to grovel in slavery? Had the aggrieved party been Englishmen they would not have tolerated this wrong for a single moment. If in spite of all these facts Government think that there is nothing objectionable in this system of labour, why do they not afford facilities to the labouring class in England as well as the helpless Belgians to enjoy its sweet fruits? But it is the love of the British Government that comes in the way of these people being made to taste the sweet nectareous fruits growing in the paradise of Fiji.

Rást Goftar (28), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.

***13.** "A Conference is going to be held before long in London when the question of labour for the colonies will be threshed out in all its aspects. The Indian Government will put in its case there doubtless with a vigour all its own; but it is none the less essential that there should be non-official Indian representatives on the Conference to give expression to the popular sentiment of this country and to strengthen the hands of Government out here in its opposition to those vested interests that are likely to prevail strongly on the Council. Such representation of Indians is only too obviously required after the late announcement of Lord Chelmsford in favour of an alternative system on the lines of the *kangani* of Ceylon which is replete with such flaws and defects as to place it on a level with helotry pure and simple. The knell of the indentured system must therefore be tolled now and for ever. In Fiji, it has given rise to a state of terrible depravity. The figures revealed by the criminal statistics of the settlement tell their own grim tale.......... Shall enforced prostitution of women, which forms an inseparable condition of the system in vogue, receive the connivance of the Empire with its great and honourable traditions? We hope not. If the system has endured so long it is only because of the general public ignorance in respect of its indescribable atrociousness. Now that enough facts have been brought to light, we trust that no time will be lost in consigning the system to its grave." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"We would most respectfully refer the Viceroy to the meaning—the correct meaning—put by Mr. Polak upon His Excellency's assurance that he would see to the amendment of the sex ratio prevailing among the emigrants. It meant, said Mr. Polak, that more women were to be condemned to prostitution. The Government of India should know that no half-measures can work in this matter. It is no concern of India to help Colonial vested interests. If the obligation to suggest a better system be not fulfilled, let the evil be eradicated in one movement by one stroke of the pen for the simple reason that the honour and the good name of the Empire are at stake."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 16th Feb., Eng. cols.

14. "The Indian public has evidently determined to let Government know, that war or no war, they will agitate the matter till it is decided to abolish the system entirely and immediately. It is apparent that the people mean business. It is not merely that a popular cry is being taken up successively by different groups of people. It is a definite demand. A time limit has been fixed. The cry is 'stop indentured labour by the 31st of May'. And if the voice of a whole people has the power to demand effectively that a hideous evil shall be removed, it is difficult to see how any Government, much less the British which even at the present moment is fighting the war of liberty and righteousness, can resist that demand.......... The people are not convinced that the evils could not be abolished by a stroke of the pen.......... Apparently Government had not realised the strength of the sentiment that exists on the subject. We hope it will be realised now. It does not appear as if the public are going to rest until it is fully recognised and effect given to it. No half measures will serve the purpose or satisfy the public conscience......... It is hardly fair to expect people to cease their clamour against a system, so rightly detested, merely because the country gave a pledge to abstain from controversy during the war.......... To continue an abuse which could be put a stop to by a little courageous statesmanship, is to invite agitation and provoke controversy. The people of India are patient and loyal but they are human. The agitation is to be deplored, but there is no help for it."

Message (6), 15th Feb.

15. "It is understood that the Government of India are now in receipt of the replies of Local Governments in regard to indentured labour........ As the replies relate to the future system of emigration to Fiji and the West India Islands, and have been obviously obtained by the Government of India to enable them to make representations to the Secretary of State in connection with the inter-departmental conference to be held in May, will the Indian public be given an opportunity of knowing in advance the nature of these replies? We doubt if the sympathy of the Government of India will extend so far. Perhaps, if any honourable member is venturesome enough to raise a question at the next meeting of the Imperial Council, he might be told that Government do not consider it advisable to do so. Even were it merely to elicit that much information, we trust some honourable member will interpellate Government on the matter."

Comments on the passing of the Asiatic Immigration Bill by the United States Senate.
Mahrātta (5), 18th Feb.

***16.** Referring to the passing of the Asiatic Immigration Bill by the United States Senate, the *Mahrātta* remarks:—"President Wilson had for a time warded off the danger by vetoing the measure, but it was again passed by the Senate and has thus become a law. The U. S. A. has every right to restrict immigration from any country, but had the British Ambassador or our Government taken a threatening attitude of passing retaliatory measures, the States would have considered our case from a different standpoint altogether. Instead of doing this the British Ambassador has, as the correspondent of a Calcutta paper says, made the public believe that India is not at all interested in the question. Fine example of representing our interests!"

Comments on the order of the Punjab Government prohibiting Mr. Tilak from entering the Province.
Mahrātta (5), 18th Feb.

***17.** Referring to the order issued by the Punjab Government prohibiting Mr. Tilak from entering the Province, the *Mahrātta* remarks:—"Not only Mr. Tilak but even his friends were surprised at this wild order of the Punjab Government. For as a matter of fact Mr. Tilak had, till now, not even dreamt of visiting the Punjab, nor had he received any invitation from that province. What the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to call 'reasonable grounds' for his belief that Mr. Tilak would not only visit the Punjab but there act in a manner prejudical to the public safety is, therefore, either a hoax played upon him by his subordinates or a nightmare created by the diseased imagination of some Government authority. It is really ridiculous to see a mighty Government frightened by such nightmares, and using the strongest weapon in its armoury to crush an imaginary danger. Mr. Tilak lately visited the United Provinces and the Central Provinces and no danger to the Empire or any other evil effects of his visits to those provinces have resulted therefrom. It was on the morning of his 61st birthday celebration that Mr. Tilak received a notice from the Poona Magistrate asking him why he should not be prosecuted under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code. Now Mr. Tilak is taking an active part in supporting the Defence of India Force movement announced by the Viceroy in his last speech at Delhi, and exhorting the people of the Maharashtra to whole-heartedly respond to this call of Government; and as the fates would have it, the Punjab Government has served him with a notice under the Defence of India Act against entering that province on the frontier, where alone, if at all, the Defence of India Force will, in all

likelihood, have to act! From this, one can easily judge how far our Local Governments have grown over sensitive to danger—so over sensitive as to abuse the power placed in their hands for the real defence of the country. Madness can hardly go further!"

Comments on the reply of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to Mr. B. P. Wadia's request for information as to the portions of his speech which were regarded as objectionable.
Young India (11), 14th Feb.

18. Commenting upon the reply of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to Mr. B. P. Wadia's request for information as to the portions of his speech which were regarded as objectionable, *Young India* remarks:—"The ways of the Indian bureaucracy have always been strange and are growing stranger: but for strangeness and unfairness this present action of the bureaucrats of the Central Provinces cannot be beaten. Sir Benjamin Robertson does not obviously consider that fair dealing is as much required of him as of any private individual, who tries to take away the character of another man because he does not like him or his ways. In the case of the private individual there is this consolation at least, that you can bring him to book by moving the courts. But in this case there is hardly any chance of doing so, under your Defence Acts, Seditious Meetings Acts and Press Acts. Any bureaucrat can play ducks and drakes with other people's reputations and yet go scot-free!"

England has drawn her sword for the protection of weak nations, but has failed to fulfil her own pledges to India.
Shetkari (38), 11th Feb.

19. Writing about the war, the *Shetkari* observes that while it is true that England has laid the whole world under a deep debt of unforgettable obligation by drawing her sword for the protection of weak nations, she has failed to act up to her own adage, 'Charity begins at home,' with regard to India and Ireland. It goes on:—Everybody of course wishes that Germany may be made to disgorge the territories she has gulped down. But that does not lie solely in England's hands as it will depend upon the final outcome of the war. The same, however, cannot be said with regard to India, which great statesmen have declared to be held in trust by England, till such time as its people begin to administer it themselves. The Proclamation of 1858 has also given pledges of equality of treatment for all, irrespective of race or creed. But are these pledges being carried out? How long is the day of equality of treatment to be postponed? Home rulers are only asking for the fulfilment of those pledges and not for any favours.

The new passport regulations should not come in the way of the Congress deputation.
Message (6), 15th Feb.

20. Referring to the statement of the Allahabad correspondent of the *Times of India* that the passport arrangements relating to India are to be more rigid, the *Message* remarks:—"Are we to understand from this that the Congress deputation will be debarred, among other persons, from leaving India by sea? We hope not. .... If the fears we have expressed have any foundation, it is the duty of United India to so agitate that the Congress deputation will also be included in the exceptions. Again, will Mr. Tilak be allowed to go to England to prosecute the case against Sir Valentine Chirol? If not, the latter will have to thank Government not only for its hospitality and active help but also for this regulation, which though issued in the interest of the Empire and not in the interests of any individual in particular, accidentally stood him in good stead."

Reflections on the separatist movement started in South India by the non-Brahmins against the Brahmins.
Young India (11), 14th Feb.

21. Commenting upon the separatist movement started by the non-Brahmins against the Brahmins in South India, in the course of a contributed article in *Young India*, "Ayngar" writes:—"What is it that the Brahmins have done all these years to deserve such condemnation? And even if they had been selfish, how does that affect the larger national question of Self-government? Have not there been Brahmins who have worked for all classes, for the whole nation? And if more non-Bramins are not in the services, is it the fault of the Brahmans? Who is responsible for the appointments? Is it the Brahmin or Government? Is it not also the declared policy of Government to 'prefer' non-Brahmins in all departments? If, as the *Times of India* pointed out some time ago, even this impartial British Government, with its strict neutrality and unconcealed sympathy for the non-Brahmins, cannot appoint a larger number of them, is it the Brahmin's fault?......... And as regards their ill-considered opposition to Home Rule, may we ask them (the non-Brahmins) a question, to whose interest would self-government be when it is achieved? In modern democracies, as in the old, it is numbers that count. And when they are forty millions, who stand to gain by the result? Is not the Brahmin committing political suicide by advocating Home Rule? Yet he would do it........ The Congress so far as Madras is concerned at least is said to be Brahmin-ridden. Is this an honour to the great political workers, who do their work at the risk of much obloquy and suspicions at the hands of Government, or does it speak only of an ignoble spirit? I shall not dwell much on this point beyond directing their attention to the fact that it is the Brahmin that has been always in the forefront of social reform and all other progressive and nationalistic movements that our country has been witnessing in our own times. He has always shown a spirit of compromise, ready to adjust himself to changing moods and times, and ready to co-operate with all. No doubt the condition of the non-Brahmins is not what it should be, considering their number and importance. But the remedy is not hatred of the Brahmin, but improvement of their own condition. Spread of education, opening of more schools, more of help to poor students—this is the only real remedy.......... We would appeal therefore to those that have not been thrown off their balance already irrevocably, not to work for success by means of hatred, not to outdo in selfishness the selfish Brahmins, not to sour public life and private intercourse by lack of social charity, not to be aggressive and abusive."

Alleged unfairness of the Muhammadan demand for separate representation.

Sind Advocate (8), 1st Feb.

22. "We think most Muhammadans themselves will agree that we made the utmost possible concession (for higher national solidarity) in the matter of separate Muhammadan representation on municipalities, when we wrote that a few seats might be allotted, than through special electorates but it is absurd to claim more than that; certainly it is preposterous to claim that whatever the population and whatever the voting strength, they should have as large a share (and even larger) as the Hindus who surpass them in population as well as voting qualifications. We only wonder how a statesman like Lord Willingdon, our present Governor, could raise hopes which even a Sydenham Clarke who was a past master in diplomacy and in the practice of *Divide et impera* refused most strenuously to encourage. We propose to put before our Mahomedan compatriots some considerations which will show them the unfairness (from the country's as well as communal points of view, whatever it be from the standpoints of Commissioners and Governors hailing from across the seas) of their demands. The principle most in vogue as the basis of representation is taxation. The Muhammadans will not hear of that, but they want to substitute the population basis even in Government service! Well, population basis may be allowed as regards representation on Councils and Local Boards though owing to the backwardness of the Muhammadan community, seats on Councils go literally a-begging for want of suitable and worthy Muhammadans. But even with the population principle they are not satisfied. That principle is all right with them so long as and where they are in the majority as in the population of Sind; but when they are in a minority as in the country at large, or in most municipal areas, they add another principle that of *special historic* and *dynamic importance*. The Hindus are simply shut off from taking advantage either of their numerical strength or their *larger* interests or of their greater *actual* importance in many respects.......... In this the Muhammadan is taking advantage first of the inclinations and policy of certain Government officials, and of the anxiety of educated Hindus to have a *United*

India. Is this fair and right, we ask?......... Let the Muhammadans consider the beauty of united elections in which Hindus may vote for Muhammadans and Muhammadans for Hindus......... If in some places there is sectarianism on the part even of Hindus it is wearing away under the influence of the growing *national* sentiment. It shows in any case not only want of fairness but of grace to even dream of asking that in municipal areas where religious questions do not arise and where the Muhammadan population and still more Muhammadan communal interests are smaller, and to ask that in these areas the Muhammadans shall have by election alone as much as if not more than the Hindus."

Comments on the party given by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to India's representatives at the Imperial War Conference.

Message (6), 13th Feb.

23. Commenting on the party given by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to India's representatives at the Imperial War Conference, the *Message* writes:—"The Honourable Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, the worthy Chairman of the Committee, read an address, in which he gave expression to certain stale platitudes regarding the nature and character of the occasion 'which your Excellency so felicitously decided as being historic and one of unique interest.' It is not surprising that Mr. Lallubhai has selected no less a personage than His Excellency Lord Willingdon for his 'friend, philosopher and guide,' in approaching the subject of India's representation at the War Conference. It has come to be regarded among some of our countrymen that it is their proud privilege to echo the opinions of high officials on public questions. Such a course, we may state incidentally, is always attended with happy results—happy not for the country but for those who necessarily loyally tread in the footsteps of high European officials. It is an open secret for some time in the city that the Honourable Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas is in the run for the vacancy to be shortly created by the retirement of the Honourable Mr. M. B. Chaubal, and we sincerely hope his deserving claims will be finally rewarded with his elevation to the Governor's Executive Council. As the Executive Councils are at present constituted, there cannot be a better or more suitable selection than that of our amiable citizen merchant. He has in him the greatest merit of being too philosophically disposed to offer any resistance and of being least inconvenient to his colleagues and to the Government. He is also very obliging and that is only an added qualification for his selection.......... In the report of the function, the names of some prominent members who were not present, have been given, perhaps with a view to give one the impression that the function was the outcome of the whole-hearted support given by the Chamber. It does not appear that Mr. Lallubhai told the guests that he had received some letters protesting againt the party and declining to attend it. May be, he looked upon these letters as the skeleton at the feast and quietly dismissed them from his thoughts for the time being."

Young India (11), 14th Feb.

24. "That the function was an inspired affair, there can be no manner of doubt. It is an irony of fate, though by no means strange in this land of wonders, that a section of the people should attempt to overbear the universal feeling in matters of vital importance, because to do so falls in with their personal interest.......... We are not very much concerned that the Committee should have entertained the Maharaja Sahib and Sir S. P. Sinha. But that they should have included Sir James Meston so prominently was highly censurable. Sir James Meston, both the Chairman and the Committee were aware we dare say, has been openly condemned for his part and lot in the *Round Table* affair and for his association with Mr. Curtis in an attempt to secure India's submission to the Colonies. The more reprehensible becomes the conduct of those on whom the responsibility primarily rests for having attempted, though unsuccessfully, a diversion from the object of the public meeting that was held the same evening at the Excelsior Theatre to protest against the ill-treatment of Indians by the Colonials."

Comments on the article by a Japanese in the *Modern Review* on the necessity of military preparedness of India.
Message (6), 13th Feb.

25. A correspondent of the *Message*, writing to the paper, gives quotations from the article by a Japanese in the *Modern Review* (*vide* paragraph 22 of Weekly Report No. 6 of 1917) and remarks :—"This should commend itself to the sanity of our rulers. But one cannot say how far the rulers will countenance our genuine demands and whether they would give us the opportunity of self-preparedness for self-defence. Our rulers have idiosyncracies peculiar to themselves. We have nothing to say but submit to their fiat at times, however meaningless and detrimental to national self-respect it may be. The Japanese friend of India in his concluding remarks makes one fervent appeal to look to the immediate needs of Great Britain herself and to take the people of India into equal confidence for the safety of the British Empire as a whole. The writer then suggests the repeal of the Arms Act, the creation of a Navy and laying open the commissioned ranks for Indians. To quote the writer's words, 'Imperial interests demand that the Indian leaders and the British Indian Government should wake up to the necessity of a thorough-going preparedness for the future, so that the people of India may not have to repent and say, "Ah! it is too late.'" If ever it be too late to carry out this programme by taking the Indians into equal confidence, as it has been done in Canada, Australia and South Africa, then the fate of the Indian people may be as disastrous as of the changing of the yoke, and the fate of the glorious British Empire may be its disintegration. May Heaven forbid it and may we hope that the people and rulers of India will pay heed to this timely warning and do their best to inaugurate an adequate programme of preparedness for the safety of India and the British Empire.' I do not know if any heed will be paid to this warning until a real shock of the nature described in the last few lines of the above quotation is experienced."

The widest possible publicity should be given to the Indian War Loan.
Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 14th Feb.

26. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* welcomes the proposal for the floating of a war loan in India and expresses hope that the Indian public will give a hearty response by subscribing to it largely and thus giving an additional proof of their loyalty. It asks Government to give the widest possible publicity to the loan and to divide it into two parts; one part bearing interest at the rate of five per cent. and the other at the rate of four per cent., but the latter should have the attraction of a few prizes of high value to make it more popular.

Complaint that Government give out information on important matters in such a way as to damp the enthusiasm of the people.
Gujaráti (13), 11th Feb.

27. Expressing its dissatisfaction at the alleged policy of Government of giving information to the public piecemeal, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—Why is not information published in such a manner as to fill the people with enthusiasm? When the colonies were invited to take part in the Imperial War Conference, no mention was made of India, and this caused a stir. Then came the story of India being invited with two Indian representatives to act as advisers. Afterwards an official, a Prince and a citizen came to be selected. People then understood that these three persons would act merely as personal advisers to the Secretary of State for India. His Excellency the Viceroy's statement in the Imperial Legislative Council, however, shows that these Indian advisers will not only advise the State Secretary in private but will also openly give out their views on Indian affairs in the War Conference. After the Indians declared that the Secretary of State not being India's representative the people of India will not recognise what he said as their own opinion, it is now stated that the Indian advisers will be allowed to speak in the Conference. Since matters have taken this turn, where would have been the harm if Indians had been allowed to select an exponent of their own views as their representative? Was there any harm in declaring that Sir Satya Prasanna Sinha had not been selected by Government as an official? It is not yet too late to do so.

Government should intervene to save the public from the rapacity of landlords and tradesmen who unduly raise rents and prices.

Sind Observer (10), 7th Feb.

28. The *Sind Observer* dwells on the house accommodation difficulties in Karáchi, which, it fears, are likely to be accentuated if Government take over buildings for War Hospitals and other war purposes. It remarks:—"While admitting that the needs of the sick and wounded troops and the *personnel* detailed to attend to them have undoubtedly a prior claim to all and any building in this or any other city in the Empire, we would ask the military authorities to approach the subject with due regard for the needs of the civil population. There are for instance several large and suitable houses at Clifton where people never reside out of necessity. There are also some commodious club-houses, the Napier barracks, and large offices which would suit admirably as hospitals or quarters for medical staff. Another aspect of the house accommodation question is the tendency of landlords to put up rents without any justification. Government possess the power to restrict the prices of foodstuffs, but decline to curb the greed of dealers who seize the opportunity of reaping a golden harvest from the public at a time of stress due to the war, and it is perhaps too much to expect Government to take the landlords in hand on the lines suggested by the Bombay Presidency Trades Association at their last annual meeting. We feel very strongly that if any money is to be obtained from the people it should go to Government, and not into the already well-filled pockets of men who have not, because of the war, spent more on the articles they retail. Houses were built at a time when land, material and labour was cheap, and not at war-rates: why should the owners be permitted to increase the rents during the war? Goods were imported either prior to the war or prior to the present heavy freight charges: why should the public be made to pay enhanced prices for such articles? If the public want the goods and are prepared to pay the prices which merchants demand, the difference in the price should go to Government. This is in accordance with the principles of equity, and with the needs of the Empire in this great war.......... It is for Government to step in and save the public from the avarice of capitalists, and to control the balance between demand and supply. Germany took the matter in hand long ago: why do the authorities in this country hesitate?"

Comments on the taking over by Government of the stocks of rice in Burmah.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 12th Feb.

29. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses hope that orders issued by Government announcing their intention of holding the stocks of rice in Burmah at their own disposal will operate as favourably in the interests of the public as did the similar orders issued in respect of wheat. It assures the public that Government order the stocks of particular commodities to be placed at their own disposal to safeguard the public from the high prices that would result from the speculations of selfish merchants and gives the instances of the satisfactory results achieved in the matter of coal and wheat. It asks Government to take special precautions to safeguard public interest in the matter of rice as this grain forms the staple food of a large majority of Indians.

Suggestions with regard to a suitable site for the new War Hospital at Karáchi.

Sind Observer (10), 27th Jan.

30. The *Sind Observer* publishes a letter, over the signature of 'So Ruc' on the proposed transformation of the sheds in the old Import Yard at Karáchi into a new War Hospital. The correspondent objects to the proposal on the ground that the site is dusty, noisy and devoid of proper ventilation. The writer regards the installation of electric fans to mitigate the heat caused by the absence of sea-breezes, owing to the sheds facing north and south, as being out of the question as the necessary electric power will not be available. He, therefore, suggests that the new Import Yard, the Rustomjee Buildings, the Commissariat Yard, the Parsee Institute, the Zoroastrian Club, the Parsi School, the Wajsier Barracks, Nazareth's Hospital, the building adjoining the Hospital known as Preedy Castle

may be utilised for the purpose. If more accommodation is needed, the N. J. High School and Saint Patrick's and Grammar Schools might be taken up. He does not claim that his suggestions cannot be improved upon, but he makes them because the buildings named above can be had easily and without any cost.

If Germany is crushed in this war will that guarantee the future peace of the world?

Gujarâti, (13), 11th Feb.

31. It has now become an undisputed fact that neither the Russians, the French nor the Italians would have been able to grapple with the Germans without the co-operation of Great Britain and if Britain had not entered the lists against Germany, the latter would have become all-powerful in Europe and would have endangered the safety of the British flag. The present tussle is a trial of strength between Britain and Germany, because France, Italy and Russia have already done their best. Russia may do a little more by means of her man power, but it is Britain that has to do everything now. When the whole of Europe was turning itself into a big camp of elaborately armed nations it was only Britain, among all the other European nations, that had fixed her attention exclusively upon trade. She committed a grave blunder in not fully equipping herself with arms. Instead of strengthening the different members, the countries and nationalities composing the Empire, the sole objective of the British people was to enrich England, the centre of the Empire. Britain only thought of the safety of the heart of the Empire but did not develop the strength of the other limbs, and that is the source of her difficulties to-day. Two courses are now open to her. One is to bring the present war to a close in a manner consistent with her prestige and then to make strenuous efforts to develop the whole of the Empire as fully as possible. If such efforts are made, the resources of the Empire are so vast that there will be no necessity for demanding from Germany or any other Power guarantees for the peace of the world. That guarantee of peace which lies in one's own hand and in one's own strength is more precious than any that could be taken from Germany or anybody else. It is, therefore, better to save the present waste of blood and treasure and utilise it in increasing the Empire's strength. The other course that is open to England is to make the fullest effort to crush Germany when she is fixed in a hole as she is at present. But by doing this to hope for a guarantee of permanent peace in future is chimerical. If Germany is crushed, will no other aspirant arise in her place? Will it not be necessary to fight with him also? Many people are in favour of crushing Germany at present as, according to them, such an opportunity will not arise again. They say that the future will take care of itself, and that if we do not crush her now we shall have to devote our attention solely to the preparations necessary for a future war and hence we shall not be able to do anything else. It is, however, an important question whether this object will be realised. Both Powers are put on their trial in this year.

An estimate of Germany's present desperate plight.

Râst Goftâr (28), 11th Feb.

32. Reviewing the present situation of Germany in the war and anticipating her collapse in the near future, the *Râst Goftâr* writes :—Germany wants to bring her enemies to sore straits by letting loose her fleet of one thousand new submarines. She intends to make Holland share the fate of Belgium. She has collected vast troops on the Swiss frontier to try once more to shake England and France; but it will be for the last time. The Allies are prepared for all this. This murderous Hun has not succeeded in Roumania. He has not been able to save his brother-in-law, the King of Greece, from disgrace by sending him the necessary help. He has not been able to gain ascendancy over France by achieving a victory at Verdun and on the Somme. He has ruined himself in his craze for making an inroad upon England by way of Zeebrugge. He has become a fit object for the curses of his scapegoats, Bulgaria and Turkey, whom he has ruined. He has not been able to secure Egypt for Turkey and Salonika for Bulgaria. He is being beaten on the Western front and he cannot stand Russia's attack in the East. He has no friends except Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria. He has lost the friendship even of America, and is likely very soon to prove a curse to Holland and Switzerland. He has warned them and neutrals like Sweden, Spain and Denmark to beware of his fangs—the submarines—and he wants to place England and France in his own present miserable plight and thus wreak his revenge upon them by stopping goods from going to them from these neutral powers. His doom is however sealed.

The United States are not likely to join the war.
Gujarâti (13), 11th Feb.

33. Speculating upon the possibility of America joining the war, the *Gujarâti* remarks that the interest of America lies in remaining neutral because it is her neutrality that has rendered possible the present continuous flow of money to her from both the contending parties, and it is this superabundance of money which will give her unprecedented advantages in trade when the war comes to a close. It also observes that if America were to join the war her fleet will not be capable of doing anything more than the British fleet. The paper then proceeds:—Moreover, America does not possess any large army in readiness which can produce any effect upon Germany. Besides, she would take from five to seven months to get ready a big army, to say nothing of the time she would take to transport it to Europe. Her army now consists of one and a half lakh of men of which she can hardly spare more than half for service in Europe at the present juncture. Moreover, the fact that one-fourth of her population consists of Germans should not be lost sight of. Taking everything into consideration, America will not enter the war but will stop short at severing diplomatic relations with Germany.

Comments on the Public Service Commission Report.
Indian Social Reformer (3), 18th Feb.

***34.** "The Islington Commission divide the Services for which recruitment is at present made in whole or in part in England, into three classes. In the first class they place the Indian Civil Service and the Police Department, 'in both of which the nature of British responsibility for the good governance of India requires the employment in the higher ranks of a preponderating proportion of British officers.' In other words, so long as British rule exists in this country, the Civil Service and the higher ranks of the Police Department must be filled to a preponderating extent by Englishmen. This is a new and revolutionary doctrine which, if it is endorsed by Government, cannot but have the effect of giving a powerful impetus to revolutionary political movements. To tell the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor that they must be content permanently to occupy an insignificant proportion of the higher appointments in the Civil Service and in the Police is not merely to trample on the Queen's Proclamation and Acts of Parliament, but it is also to instigate the more violent spirits among our political reformers to persevere in their campaign of discrediting the constitutional party in Indian politics. We are surprised that the Honourable Mr. Chaubal, in his minute with much of which we are in agreement, expresses his approval of the Commission's classification of the Services.......... The Commissioners who sign the report have, in fact, taken it upon themselves to reverse the policy of British rule in this country.......... The Indian people will be giving away the birthright of unborn generations of India's children, if they do not promptly, emphatically and unanimously protest against this doctrine so entirely subversive of the basic principles of British rule as we have understood them all these years. [Referring to the Commission's recommendations about recruitment for the Civil Service the paper says:—] The Commissioners profess to keep the English door open to Indians, but they have adopted a device which very effectually shuts it on them. This is the lowering of the age limit to 19. No Indian can hope to appear for the London examination, unless he is sent to England at the age of ten or eleven. We have said repeatedly in these columns that the consensus of experience shows that Indian boys sent at that age to England are almost invariably ruined in character.......... If any Indian parent sends his boy to England with the view of competing at the London examination after the change in the age limit, he will do so at the risk of having his son come back, whether he succeeds in the examination or not, a confirmed rake and a drunkard. This is the price which Indians will most certainly have to pay in order to enjoy the benefit of the Commission's open door. Then, as regards the Indian examination, we protest against the nomination of candidates as recommended by the Commission. Every candidate should be admitted, provided he has taken the Honours B. A. or the M. A. degree, and there should be no need for him to hang at any body's doors for a nomination. We agree with Mr. Chaubal's able and emphatic plea that the 25 per cent. should be calculated on the total number of appointments, and not on the higher ones only. If these objectionable features are eliminated, the Commission's rocommendation will prove a valuable stimulus to the development of University education, besides doing justice to the claims of Indians to enter the Civil Service without undertaking a long sea voyage and sojourn in a foreign country which they may not afford."

Young India (11), 14th Feb.

35. In the course of a lengthy contribution in *Young India*, Mr. L. G. Khare writes :—"The educated Indian wants a fair field and no favour in securing an entry in the higher services of his country. The majority report of the Islington Commission would rather favour selection than competition. Competition, so that the best men can be secured, is the Indian cry, selection is the motto of the British official in India so that the servile only may enter. So we are not to have any simultaneous examinations. Instead of that, we may have King's cadets, carefully selected. The age limit for the examination in London is to be reduced to 19 as the maximum, the the result being that not one Indian youth out of a million can have a chance of appearing at the examination in London.......... Our idea is that the Cadets will generally be the third sons of minor chiefts, persons, who may have received the kind of culture which the bridge-table, the billiard-room, and the polo-ground appear to impart. No doubt they may have also learnt to imbibe, along with whisky, some of those qualities about which the British race is so proud, namely a senseless idiotic devotion to its Aristocracy, and a sense of never knowing when it is beaten. Even now we notice that there is a lesser standard of culture noticeable among the Engligh civilians who come to rule in India, the reason being partly that the men with the best brains refuse to come out; when we shall be adding to them our King's Cadets, we shall not be far wrong in predicting an intellectual debacle in the services."

Young India (11), 14th Feb.

36. In the course of an article on the Public Service Commission's Report, *Young India* quotes the following sentence from Mr. Chaubal's minute of dissent :—"At present every Indian officer feels that *he is not serving himself or his country, but is an individual hired to labour for some body else.*" The paper then continues :—"This is the progress, so much boasted of in the opening pages of the majority report, which educated Indians have made in being entrusted in a substantial degree with the carrying on of the government of the country! The conclusion is obvious, that no such consummation can be ever reached until India has worked out her own destiny for herself, until she has achieved Home Rule. We do not think that the better mind of Britain has spoken to us in these recommendations. We are inclined to believe it is the mind of those committed to an 'irrational Imperialism,' of those full of morbid egotism for the material achievements of the British race, of those who have allowed their sentiment for domination to revolt against the British instinct for liberty, of those who have forgotten the once famous British capacity of adopting oneself to one's milieu. On no other supposition can we attempt to understand this exhibition of contempt for the educated classes of India. But we do hope that in the re-adjustment, which will take place after the war, it will be the better mind of Britain that will speak for India, not the mind of super-journalists and prejudiced bureaucrats."

The Viramgam Customs scandal proves that statesmanship has become bankrupt in India.

Young India (11), 14th Feb.

37. Mr. C. Tejpal writes to *Young India* :—" It seems that statesmanship in India has become nearly bankrupt ! Otherwise how can one account for the continuance of the most disgraceful Viramgam Customs duties and annoyances, which have been denounced, times out of number, as a blot on the Indian administration, by journalists of all description, Indian politicians, British officers, trading communities, and by all those who have had the misfortune to pass through the Viramgam ordeal even once? It is a standing shame that because the two Governments cannot come to a satisfactory adjustment, thousands of passengers, including those of the non-Maritime States and British India should be constantly put to an inconceivable amount of inconvenience and annoyance, at the hands of the Khaki regiment of Viramgam.......... We are overwhelmed, in season and out of season, with all sorts of loyalist sermons with regard to our duties to the Empire; but let those preachers first take their lessons in Imperial citizenship at Viramgam, and then they will have the right angle of vision and a true insight into practical Imperial politics! Let their personal liberty be restricted for hours at Viramgam as smugglers, and even when released, let them be made to feel as acquitted coolies!......... They say the rule in India is bureaucratic. Nonsense! There is no bureaucracy worth the name in this country. Bureaucracy presupposes efficiency. Bureaucracy may not be as liberal as democracy, but if bureaucracy is not efficient, then it is nothing or worse than nothing. Is the Viramgam Customs' muddle a sample of bureaucratic efficiency in India? If it is, then our faith in the Indian Civil Service must dwindle down almost to zero. But it seems it is nobody's business to remove the Viramgam scandal and other scandals, though it is everybody's business to preach Civic and Imperial duties. Some people are over-enthusiastic about the War loans. But where is Káthiáwár to find money for the loans, if her commerce is throttled and fettered at 'Imperial' Viramgam? Why not remove the dampers on loyalty when loyalty is so sacred? Káthiáwár and her princes have made enormous sacrifices for the Empire, the *Times of India* of 17th instant quotes His Highness the Rao Saheb of Cutch as an example to be followed by other princes, and yet the irony is that neither the princes nor their subjects are treated as respectable and free citizens of the Empire at 'Imperial' Viramgam! Is it still too much or too early to ask that this unjust and long standing nuisance should be put a stop to by entirely sweeping away this oppressive Customs line? But, 'during the war you should only sacrifice and not cry for Justice'!"

Alleged harrassment by the police of people joining the Home Rule League.

Kesari (95), 13th Feb.; *Message* (6), 15th Feb.

38. Just as the Home Rule League's activity is increasing, its enemies too appear to be more and more determined to put it down. Both Lord Hardinge and His Excellency Lord Chelmsford have admitted the justice of the demand for *swarájya*, but as the high-handed bureaucrats disapprove of it they have been trying to nip the movement in the bud by underhand means. They think that with the help of the Police in the mofussil they will be able, by means of threats, to dissuade the people from joining the League. Though they are unable to harrass people in big cities like Bombay and Nágpur, they are in a position to exercise their authority against poor people in distant villages, and we have been informed of such things having taken place in East Khándesh and at Chiplun. [Referring to the above, the *Message* remarks :—" Such opposition is by no means unexpected. Owls can no more bear the light than some officials political enlightment."]

A complaint against the Poona Police.

Kesari (95), 13th Feb.

39. During the recent plague epidemic at Poona a theft took place near the house of the head master of a local school, which he assisted the police to trace. But strangely enough the police took it into their heads to harass him in return for the assistance rendered and while his household furniture was being removed in carts from the health camp to his house in the town they searched it near the Lakdipool in broad day light and attached some cash found. On inquiry the head master was found not to have done anything wrong and his money was returned to him. But who is to be held reponsible for the trouble and the ignominy that he had to suffer? It is said that the people do not help the police in the investigation of crime. But how will a person be encouraged to assist if he receives treatment like the above?

An incident in the Madras Legislative Council.
Message (6), 11th Feb.

40. "At a meeting of the Madras Legislative Council on Tuesday last, the Honourable Mr. A. S. Krishna Row moved a resolution, recommending the appointment of a commission to make an enquiry as to the economic condition of the ryots in the Presidency.......... After a great deal of discussion it was found that the resolution would be favoured by more honourable members than was desirable to certain persons. .... The defeat of government over a resolution was a catastrophe which, according to some members, deserved to be avoided at all risks and cost—apparently even at the cost of the reputation for fairness which the Government had. So one honourable gentleman, Mr. Richmond by name, rose in his seat in the Council and suggested that instead of proceeding with the discussion, the Council should take up another subject for consideration. ..... Practically it meant that honourable members of the Council were not to be allowed to have a poll on the Resolution before it. In other words it was denying to them the right of having their opinion recorded. This procedure of muzzling popular opinion was 'novel', as His Excellency admitted.......... The result of the *poll* on the Honourable Mr. Richmond's proposal was 20 voted for it and 20 against it. His Excellency Lord Pentland voted *for* the 'novel' proposal and so the original resolution was shelved off and a new one was taken up for discussion.......... In face of a probable defeat, the Germans discovered the asphyxiating gas and latterly submarinism. India apparently is not going to lag behind in such discoveries, though in a different sphere. We have nothing but admiration for the genius of the Honourable Mr. Richmond, supposing that he was not 'inspired' by some one else in discovering the legal asphyxiating gas or, shall we say, the torpedo which would kill resolutions supported by an inconvenient majority.......... And as to Lord Pentland's impartiality in siding with a proposal to muzzle the mouths and bind the hands of the honourable supporters of the Resolution—for they were not allowed to continue to speak, nor to record their vote—as to his impartiality, we say, it was simply sublime and did justice to that irreproachable reputation which His Excellency had acquired by the B. P. Wadia affair!"

Comments on the refusal to admit the victim of a motor car accident in the Gokuldas Tejpal Hospital, Bombay.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 13th Feb., Eng. cols.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 12th Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 14th Feb.

41. Commenting upon the remarks recently made by Dr. Nunan, the Coroner, on the inadequacy of ambulance facilities and the paucity of hospital accommodation in Bombay, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"It is not relevant in this connection to say that the man would not have survived even if he had medical aid. What is relevant is the fact that a public hospital should refuse to attend to such a serious case for want of accommodation. We are not blaming the authorities of the hospital; but we think that the public ought to rouse itself from its apathetic attitude in this respect and agitate for more hospitals and also for a system by which injured men can be at once attended to on the spot by police constables who should be specially trained in First Aid methods and speedily removed to a hospital on special ambulance cars. It is not desirable that bleeding or injured persons should be placed in hackney carriages which are notoriously slow in their movements in addition to being very uncomfortable....... There may be some difficulty in providing more hospitals, but we cannot see any difficulty in organising a smart ambulance service for the speedy removal of injured persons." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* considers the inadequacy of ambulance facilities as a disgrace to Bombay and suggests the provision of an emergency ward in every hospital. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* asks Government to demand an explanation from the physician in charge of the Gokuldas Tejpal Hospital for refusing to admit the patient.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár* (28), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.

*42. "We are astonished that neither the jury nor the Coroner thought fit to call the Doctor who 'saw the man from a distance' and question him on his conduct. Perhaps that worthy was guided more by the dictates of Hospital Rules than of humanity. If an explanation were even now demanded of him the public would be the wiser with the knowledge of Hospital Rules and professional etiquette which have denied a dying man such help as was, under the circumstances, possible and within reach.... .... In addition to drawing the attention of the authorities to the want of emergency wards, the jury very properly held that the want of street ambulances was 'a disgrace to such a city like Bombay,' and to this we would add the want of proper police control and supervision not so much over the chauffeur—though we would by no means suggest a relaxation of these in his case—as over the hack victoria driver.......... It is not uncommon to find him taking an easy round with his prancing palfrey along, across or around a busy junction under the very nose of the police sepoy.......... As it is the duty of the police to see that those who make use of the King's highway do not imperil the lives of their fellow-men we should expect to see the victoria driver more often held up than he is." [The *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"In the particular case reported, the 'emergency' patient could very well have been promptly ministered to in the most accessible hospital verandah, failing all other accommodation. And this should have been done in spite of the fact that emergency wards do not obtain among our hospitals. But we are informed that the party complained against manifested disgust at the mere sight of the case. Alas! for New India, if conduct such as this were suffered to pass unrebuked."]

Complaint that both instalments of land assessment are being recovered in February in the Islámpur Taluka (Sátára).

Prakásh (102), 14th Feb.

43. An Islámpur (Sátára) correspondent of the *Prakásh* writes:—Though it has been a long established practice to pay the land assessment in two instalments, *viz.*, in February and in April, it is stated that this year, a proclamation has been made by beat of drum in all the villages in this Taluka calling upon the agriculturists, who have already been reduced to straits owing to the recent excessive rains, to pay in both the instalments before the 10th February, under the penalty of having to pay one-fourth assessment in addition as fine in case of default. The people have been paying their assessment even by two instalments with much difficulty in the past. They would, therefore, like to know if the above orders have been really issued by the higher officers. At least a two months' notice ought to have been given in such cases. I request the Collector to state if the assessment can be paid in two instalments.

Comments on the proposed joint conference of Hindus and Muhammadans of Sind to settle the question of separate representation.

Al-Haq (42), 10th Feb., Eng. cols.

44. "The attitude of a few of our friends, happily very small in number, towards the demand of the Sind Mussalmans for a separate representation on the local bodies is un-understandable particularly after the acceptance of the principle at Lucknow so recently as December last. It is a sign of happy times, however, that better counsels have prevailed in the men of thought of our Hindu friends and they have come to regard this question as the most vital one, the solution of which must immediately be found. In spite of the Mussalmans having approached His Excellency the Governor for a share that from their point of view is both reasonable and legitimate, they would be not only willing but ready to co-operate with the Hindus in any measures that may be taken to arrive at an amicable settlement acceptable to both the sides. Mussalmans have been accused, in season and out of season, of 'running' to Government, but our critics would admit that they have done so as a last resort when their cry has been in the wilderness. Even in the present case, the credit of using the powers of persuasion will go to a Muhammadan for having taken the lead to arrange the domestic affairs if possible by private arbitration. Messrs. Bhurgri, Harchandrai and Ghulam Hosein are shortly to invite the leading men of both the communities to meet in a conference in order to discuss the question

and to see what its solution can be. We are confident a conference like the one proposed would be welcomed by all. So far as the Mussalmans are concerned, they would join it with an open heart and let us hope the other side would be equally open to conviction. Lucknow has, however, bitterly taught us that there is always a section in such gatherings bent upon *bania* dealings and it is the duty of every one who has the good of the province at heart to be cautious of this species of humanity, if the proposed conference is intended to bear fruit. While congratulating Mr. Bhurgri for having originated the proposed conference, we would remind him of his position by reason of his enjoying the confidence of both the communities in a measure which is not in the lot of every one. Let us hope he would strive to bring about an adjustment that would not leave any impression among the Mussalmans that their spokesman wanted peace at any price. His recent attitude has been somewhat misunderstood in some quarters; but that has been so, mainly because of the ignorance of the full facts. Let it be admitted to his credit that he has nerve to say what he feels and the course he has adopted in this case is one calculated to do immense good. We wish the promoters of the Conference all success."

EDUCATION.

Complaint about the permission given to Messrs. Macmilliam and Company to raise the prices of Sindhi School text-books.

Sind Advocate (8), 1st Feb.

45. Commenting upon the permission given to the Messrs. Macmillian and Company to raise the prices of the vernacular school text books, the *Sind Advocate* remarks:—"The present enhancement is on the whole quite unjustifiable, and it is an additional and needless burden on the purse of the parent who is already hard hit, as a rule, by the war-affected economical situation. Some at least of the books were printed before the paper became so very dear, and they had been printed in many thousands—since the company has the monoply of Sindhi text books—so that to take extra price for them it is not fair at all. Then when the paper went down in price (before the war) would Messrs. Macmillian and Company have heard of a proposal to reduce the prices? In any case the burden should not have fallen on the individuals purchasing the books but on Government which we suppose has been taking a royalty from the publishers. Less royalty would have requited the publishers quite well enough."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Strictures on the Honourable Mr. Orr's attitude with regard to the Samson case.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.

***46.** "The drop curtain has now fallen over the Samson Drama in which the Chairman of the Improvement Trust played his part until the final moment. The Magistrate who tried the defamation case was not right in his verdict for the 'Dalvallas'. The Board were not right in suspending and prosecuting Mr. Samson and the Magistrate was not right in giving him the benefit of the doubt. The Board were not right in calling upon Mr. Samson to resign and then refusing him his salary for the period of suspension. In short from the beginning to the end of this nauseating case which has shaken public confidence in the inner administration of the Trust, the worthy Chairman is in entire disagreement with the majority of his colleagues, with the trying magistrates, and finally with the Trust's counsel. We hope soon to hear that the Board has been asked to accept the Chairman's resignation which, we believe, is the only consistent step Mr. Orr could possibly take."

Reflections on the question of compulsory primary education in Bombay.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (122), 14th Feb.

47. Referring to the discussion in the Bombay Municipal Corporation *anent* compulsory primary education in Bombay, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* approves of the holding of meetings in support of the movement and publishes an account of two such meetings. It asserts that almost all Indians are now in favour of making primary education both free and compulsory. It pays a tribute to the democratic spirit now making its appearance among the Hindus many of whom desire to raise the depressed classes to a plane of equality with themselves, and it maintains, that the Mussalmans, professing as they do the most democratic of all religions, are always ready to assist in the amelioration of the lot of their less fortunate brethren.

48. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* draws the attention of the Health Department of the Bombay Municipal Corporation to the insanitary condition of the public *hamam khanas* kept by Indian barbers in the City. It affirms that these places are abominably dirty and that their proprietors, in spite of the good income they earn, not only do not take the trouble of cleaning them but that they aggravate the matter by habitually offering for use the most filthy towels and utensils. It fears lest these should prove to be foci of infection for some new epidemic.

Complaint about the filthy conditon of public baths in Bombay.
Mufid-e-Rozgár . (122), 14th Feb.

49. A Junnar (Poona) correspondent writing to the *Kesari* requests the Commissioner, C. D., to postpone by six or at least by three months the triennial elections of the local Municipality which have been fixed by the Collector of Poona to take place on 5th March next, inasmuch as plague being at present prevalent in that town, it will be a matter of extreme difficulty for many of the voters who have gone out to register their votes. [The paper supports the request of the correspondent and recommends that the elections may be postponed till plague disappears from the town.]

Suggestion that the triennial Municipal elections at Junnar (Poona) may be postponed owing to the prevalence of plague there at present.
Kesari (95), 13th Feb.

NATIVE STATES.

50. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses great surprise at the orders issued by His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad of Baroda for the closing of three hundred primary schools and for reducing the annual expenditure on primary education in his State by two lakhs of rupees. The paper is of opinion that the Maharaja should have inquired into the causes of the failure of primary schools imparting instruction compulsorily before ordering them to be closed. It expresses hope that the Maharaja will take steps to ensure the success of the system of compulsory primary education in his State as the eyes of the whole of India are directed towards the experiment with a view to getting the system introduced in British India.

Comments on the closure of three hundred primary schools in the Baroda State.
Bombay Samáchár (55), 14th Feb.

51. "From the administration report of the Khairpur State for the year 1915-16 we gather that the gross revenue of the State, excluding jagirs, increased from Rs. 17,83,490 to Rs. 19,35,598. The expenditure amounted to Rs. 20,51,764 as against Rs. 20,38,251. No details are given for finding out the causes leading to the piling up of expenditure. It is bad for the State that the expenditure should continue to exceed the income. We are not told whether the State is in a solvent condition or in debts. At any rate, the yearly expenditure needs to be greatly curtailed. May we entertain a hope that the next report will present better results. We have written on this matter, for we keenly feel that the only Native State in the province of Sind should financially be on a sound and stable footing."

Comments on the administration report of the Khairpur State (Sind) for the year 1915-16.
Phœnix (7), 14th Feb.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd February 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 8 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 24th February 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on the action proposed to be taken by the Central Provinces Government to prevent students from attending political meetings. 11
Comments on the non-Brahmin movement in South India . . . 12
Comments on the orders of the Punjáb Government prohibiting Messrs. Tilak and Pal from entering the province. . . . 1—6
England's duty to prepare India to be self-supporting in future . . . 10
Government should prove their trust in the Indians by the repeal of the Arms Act . . . 9
Officials in India should cease to receive with open arms at the people's expense those whom the people regard as their enemies . . 13
Protest against official members of Legislative Councils mechanically voting on the side of Government . . . 14
The Government of India's Despatch on Indian Political Reform ought to have been published before being sent to the Secretary of State. 8
What is the difference between the Moderate and the Extremist? . 7

Excise:

Comments on a recent Press Note on — Advisory Committees . . 28
Comments on the Bombay Presidency Abkári Administration Report for the year 1915-16 . . . 29

Imperial Legislative Council:

Comments on the debate of the Honourable Mr. Dadhabhoy's amendment to the Defence of India Act in the — . . . 24
Comments on the statement made by Government in the — regarding solitary confinement of political prisoners . . . 25
Government and the right to ask supplementary questions in the — . 26
Indians in the Colonies: Government is putting off the question of abolishing indentured labour . . . 27
Judicial matters: Comments on a recent incident in the Bombay Small Causes Court. . . . 30
Necessity of opening the port of Purnagad (Ratnágiri) for steamers . . 32
Public Service: The Vernacular Final examination should not be made compulsory for the Kulkarnis . . . 31
Sind: Appeal to the Bombay Government to put a stop to the excessive favour alleged to be shown by the present Commissioner in Sind to Muhammadans in the matter of Government service . . . 33

B 539—a CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War:

Comments on the farewell entertainment given by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to India's representatives at the Imperial War Conference 19
Comments on the success of the new British War Loan 21
Exhortation to Indians to help Government by subscribing to the War Loan and by enlisting in the Defence of India Force 18
Government should safeguard interests of those in private employ who are called out for military service 22
How Indians should treat the Government's call for enlistment . . 15—17
Reflections on the qualifications of the members composing the Imperial — Conference 20
The evils of gambling in the totalisator at the race-course and appeal to Government to stop it and to His Excellency Lord Willingdon to discountenance racing by refusing to attend race-meetings at least for the period of the war. 23

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Defence of India Force Bill . . . . 34—40

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the closure of 300 primary schools in Baroda. 41

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the orders of the Punjáb Government prohibiting Messrs. Tilak and Pal from entering the province.

Young India (11), 21st Feb.

1. "It must be a cruel irony of fate which is dogging the steps of British rule in this country that while the people are sincerely anxious to prove their worth by rendering useful service in the cause of the Empire, the bureaucracy must go on provoking popular indignation and resentment by its arbitrary and high-handed acts. The order of the Punjáb Government against Mr. Tilak and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal is as unwarranted as it is irritating. It is impossible to think of any reasonable grounds for a gratuitous insult of this kind which is now flung in the face of the people. The order, if well-founded, completely belies the authoritative declarations that have been made in this country about the unchangeable loyalty of the Indian people and the sanity of the Indian mind. We have learnt on thoroughly reliable authority that Mr. Tilak never intended to visit the Punjáb, nor had he received any invitation from the people of that province. Mr. Pal has openly stated in the press to the same effect. This being so, we wonder why one provincial Government after another should persist in the indiscriminate exercise of arbitrary powers vested in it by law. Such action is thoroughly repugnant to the spirit of the great British nation and is inconsistent with British tradition. Even in the United Kingdom, which is more directly affected by this war, public opinion does not countenance high-handed methods. The *Manchester Guardian* in the mail week has taken strong exception to the withholding of publicity in dealing with political offences, alleged or real.......... A suspicion has gained ground in the public mind that the bureaucracy is trying by means of these orders and other arbitrary acts to put down constitutional political propaganda in which Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak are engaged. The ill-advised prosecution which the local Government launched against Mr. Tilak has been, rightly or wrongly, considered as an attempt to suppress the Home Rule movement.......... This suspicion seems to be further accentuated by the belief that some officials in this country are sedulously trying to create in the minds of the British public an impression that Indians are not loyal and require to be kept in restraint by the exercise of arbitrary powers. The wrong that they do to the Empire thereby is incalculable.......... How far this suspicion is well-founded it is difficult to say. But the fact is plain enough that the bureaucracy is determined to put off, as far as it can, the inevitable day of Home Rule for India. But that day is drawing nearer and nearer, and when the war will have ended, there can be no manner of doubt that a substantial measure of self-government will have to be conceded, whether the bureaucracy wish it or not. If reactionary officialdom aims at putting down the Home Rule propaganda by these undesirable means and unbecoming methods it is obviously attempting the impossible.......... Each new attempt at repression will only give it added strength and hasten the day of its fruition. However that may be, we are constrained to protest—and protest strongly—at the free and as we think unjustifiable use which bureaucratic officials are making of the long string of repressive legislation. At a time like the present when everyone is actuated by a sincere desire to assist the Empire, and when the statesmen are preoccupied by thoughts of war, the bureaucracy is rendering the greatest disservice to the cause for which we all stand and to which we are all so whole-heartedly attached. It seems to forget the larger issues that are at stake and how these methods cannot help their solution. .... At the time when the Punjáb Government was needlessly busying itself with the drafting of an unnecessary order, Mr. Tilak was busy by his inspiring personality and weighty words in rousing the people to the full significance of the occasion. We are therefore tempted to ask, with our contemporary of the *Chronicle*, whether the loyalty of the Indians to the Empire is 'so poor a thing that it can only be supported by Sir Michael O' Dwyer's method of placing a gag on public oratory?'......... The high-handed methods of the bureaucracy may yet succeed for a while in trampling under foot the cherished rights of the people. But they cannot certainly

succeed in diverting them from their legitimate purpose or in making them swerve from the right path. Indians have not yet lost their faith in the great British Democracy.......... However successful the methods of these officials may seemingly be, Nemesis will surely overtake them when the war is brought to a successful end, and the British public will be called upon to mete out adequate justice to the ungenerous methods of the bureaucracy in this country. Pending such time, however, we earnestly call upon our countrymen not to feel discouraged by the Draconian methods, which are becoming painfully more common, and to respond whole-heartedly to the great call in the service of the Motherland and the Empire. Temptation will be strong to resent the galling behaviour of reactionary officials. But we entreat our people to remember that the cause which we have so near to our heart will not be advanced by retaliation."

**Mahrátta* (5), 25th Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 24th Feb.

*2. "While the Government of India are trying to strengthen the cause of the British arms by enlisting the sympathy of the Indian public, the Government of the Punjáb are acting in just the reverse direction and are striking blows after blows at the root of public sympathy. The Government of India want to enlist men for the Defence of India Force, but the Government of the Punjáb have tried to estrange them from it by prohibiting two of their popular leaders to cross the boundaries of their sacred province. The question then arises whether Government want the Defence of India Force movement of the public, or their Defence of India Act movement? If they want the former, they cannot have it with a halter of the latter around the neck of the favourite leaders of the public. The Punjab Government might be under the impression that the prohibition orders would serve their cause, but in this they are grievously mistaken. To prohibit the leaders is to prohibit the sympathy of their followers, to distrust them is to distrust the people. We cannot for a moment imagine that Sir Michael O'Dwyer is ignorant of the grand reception which Mr. Tilak was accorded when he travelled to and from Lucknow....... In the Maháráshtra his influence is simply boundless. The young generation follows him wherever he leads them, and such a great asset he has become now that a wise Government would have tried to win him over to their cause instead of offending him and his followers. But the Punjab Government have cast all such wise considerations to the winds, and have quite unnecessarily wounded the feeling of a majority of young India and have thus, we think, weakened the cause they desired to serve. Messrs. Tilak and Pal had not the least idea of entering the Punjáb. But supposing they had, what would they have done? They would have done there what they did elsewhere, and what the other local Governments did not find prejudicial to public safety. So in the Punjab also they would have addressed the public to remain faithful to the British Raj, they would have told them to rally round the British Flag and they would have advised them to win self-government by strictly constitutional means, by petitioning the Parliament and influencing the British public—this is all that they would have done. Now which item of these is prejudicial to public safety? If any of them is, then, not Mr. Tilak alone, but we all, extremists and moderates, Muhammadans and Hindus, plead guilty [The paper makes similar remarks about the exclusion of Mr. Tilak from Delhi. The *Dnyán Prakásh* also adversely criticises the order of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.]

Message (6), 20th, 21st and 24th Feb.

3. "Perhaps the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb was too prudent to overlook the possibility of Lokmanya Tilak's visiting his territories, and promulgated the order of prohibition as a precautionary measure. Or, it may be that he did not want to allow his powers under the Defence of India Act to rust when his greater and lesser contemporaries were exercising it and keeping the weapons in their defensive or offensive armoury in good repair......... People will still remember that Lokmanya Tilak visited the territories of the now famous Sir James Meston during the Lucknow Session of the Congress and when that reactionary Anglo-Indian bureaucrat visited the Congress he was seated on one and the same platform as the latter. And yet, neither was the Gomti set on fire nor was the roof of the U. P. Govern-

ment brought down on the head of Sir James Meston......... When the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb sings to the tune of "Rule, Bureaucratism Rule," we have a shrewd suspicion that it is the influence of bureaucratism which they fear will be prejudiced......... Well may some member of the Imperial Council take up this matter at the next sitting of the Council and elicit from the Law Member a strict definition of 'public safety.' The Honourable Mr. Lowndes has freshly come from the freedom-bearing atmosphere of England, and we hope that his vision has not become coloured by his short stay in the bureaucracy-ridden atmosphere of Simla and Delhi......... The ban placed on Mr. Tilak is as insulting as it has been needless. Are we to infer that this time when he is striving to obtain forty-thousand volunteers for the Indian Volunteer units, whose formation H. E. the Viceroy announced the other day, the Punjáb Government has made him a gift of this order under the Defence of India Act?" [In the next issue the paper refers to the order of exclusian against Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and remarks :—"Assuming that Messrs. Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal were such dangerous demagogues as were likely to inflame the minds of the people, will the Lieutenant-Governor have the world to believe that the people of the Punjáb are so hare-brained that they cannot be trusted to listen to a speech or two of theirs and yet possess their mental equilibrium? If so, what becomes of his past and present declarations of the Punjáb's magnificent and deep-seated loyalty, which he has been trotting out time and again? We cannot believe that Sir Michael can be guilty of any infamous conduct like that—professing one thing in public and believing quite the contrary in his heart of hearts. It is perfectly intelligible that the Home Rule propaganda in this country is disagreeable to bureaucrats of his and Sir Benjamin Robertson's type. But, if high officials can associate themselves openly with the *Round Table* propaganda and the sinister political movement which is assiduously promoted in this country under its auspices and yet be not censured or in any manner called to account, may we not expect that we, who have a permanent stake in the country, can carry on a perfectly legal and constitutional propaganda for our own political emancipation?......... It was only in November last that two eminently independent judges of the Bombay High Court held that the agitation for Home Rule did not constitute any infringement of the law and so long as those who agitated for it kept themselves within the limits of the law, no case lay against them. After this, we had expected that the officials, whatever their bureaucratic tendencies, would avoid a conflict with that agitation. But these expectations have been found to be premature." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—"In the absence of any information to the contrary, one is tempted to ask, 'Is the Punjáb—the land that has well maintained its stream of recruits to fill the thinned ranks of the Indian army—in such a terrible state of unrest that as soon as Lokamanya Tilak or Mr. Bepin Pal enters the Province, the "public safety" would be endangered?' If it is really so, Sir Michael O'Dwyer must be sitting on a living volcano, which might be in eruption any time, any day, any moment, and we cannot but sympathise with the valiant Chief of the Punjáb in his misfortune......... Have Government considered for a moment what effect orders of this character will have on the outside world?......... Has anyone of these 'Governments' realised the unfavourable impression which these orders will create on the neighbours of the Indian Government as regards the internal condition of India? Is such impression helpful in ensuring 'the public safety' of this country? Is it orders like these and those who promulgate them that are dangerous to 'public safety,'—not in the narrowest sense of the term—or is it the Tribunes of the people, who are actuated by the highest ideals of citizenship? These are questions which demand an answer. And whether they are answered or not, we feel it our foremost duty to point out to the Government of India that while sitting on the safety-valve will effectually drive under the surface the deep discontent of the people, it will not surely help to reassure the outside world or the unfriendly neighbour, if any, about the condition of India......... If the various local Governments consider, however, the abuse of the power put into their hands by a too trusting legislature as a remedy against the Home Rule propaganda, they cannot commit a greater political blunder than that. The movement is now too strong to be crushed under the weight of repression or coercion. It has come to stay and will stay with us, as our contemporary of *Young India* has rightly emphasised, in spite of these Governments and their open and covert hostility to it."]

Kesari, (95), 20th Feb.; *Sandesh* (103), 19th Feb.; *Indu Prakásh* (36) 19th Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh*, (34), 18th and 22nd Feb.

4. Our Government are peculiarly subject to occasional fits of nervousness. In one of these fits they prohibited Mrs. Besant from visiting the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces under the Defence of India Act. It was then a foregone conclusion that the next to suffer under this Act would be Mr. Tilak. No one ever suspected, however, that of all the Local Governments, the Government of the Punjáb would deem it necessary to apply the provisions of the Act to Mr. Tilak. He has recently visited several places in the United Provinces, Bengal and the Central Provinces in connection with his Home Rule propaganda, and yet his movements were never restricted by the authorities, as he did not go beyond the limits of constitutional agitation. The order of the Punjáb Government was served on Mr. Tilak on the very day on which in a largely attended meeting he exhorted his audience to lay down their lives in defence of the Empire! Mr. Tilak is charged with the intention of visiting the Punjáb and acting in a manner prejudicial to public safety. But as he had no intention whatever of visiting the Punjáb, how could he act in a manner prejudicial to public safety in a province which he never meant to visit? This is indeed a riddle which defies solution! [The *Sandesh* remarks that the order of the Punjáb Government is sure to cause widespread discontent. It is, to say the least, most unwise to needlessly offend public opinion at a time when every endeavour should be made to secure the co-operation of the people. The order only shows the bias of the Punjáb Government against Mr. Tilak. The *Indu Prakásh* says that the order has fallen upon the people like a bolt from the blue. It is undesirable to curtail the liberties of a man like Mr. Tilak until it is proved that his activities are unconstitutional. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the main purpose of the Defence of India Act is to meet the situation created by the war. To restrict the movements of men like Mr. Tilak and Babu Bepinchandra Pal under the Act is to divert it from its original purpose.]

Hindusthán (17), 21st Feb.

5. It is strange that Provincial Governments should deem it wise to take severe steps at a time when the people are making a movement for securing *swarájya*. Really speaking, this is the time for respecting public opinion and inspiring the public with hope and confidence. A policy of repression is likely to do more harm than good, inasmuch as it will stimulate agitation and increase disaffection and discontent. We wish the Government of the Punjáb had devised some other means of dealing with Messrs. Tilak and Pal. They could have hauled them up before the law courts if their conduct had been found objectionable in the Punjáb without giving rise to public opposition. We do not think that the Government of the Punjáb had any reason to suspect that Messrs. Tilak and Pal were thinking of stirring up a rebellion in the Punjáb. His Excellency the Viceroy would do well to put some check on the unrestricted powers the Provincial Governments possess of exacerbating public feeling with impunity. On the one hand people are asked to make sacrifices for the Government and to help them in the prosecution of the war and on the other they are indirectly told that in spite of their manifestations of loyalty to Government they are regarded with distrust or suspicion. We do not think that the loyalty of the Punjáb is so very unstable as to stand in need of artificial proofs. What have the people of the Punjáb done that they should be denied the pleasure of hearing Messrs. Tilak and Pal? Does not the order imply that Government have less trust in the people of the Punjáb than in the rest of the population of India? There would be nothing strange if the people of the Punjáb took offence at the order. Such measures should not be adopted when Government stand in need of help from the people. Government should take such steps as would convince the people that they are fully trusted and relied upon.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 21st Feb., Eng. cols.

6. "The impression created by such repressive and prohibitive orders, again and again flourished in the eye of the public at a time when the Empire is passing through such a grave crisis, and the Government of India have to appeal to the loyal and active co-operation of Indians as well as all the other parts of the Empire, is certainly not pleasant. Nor are the terms in which these orders are couched, vague and indefinite as they are, free from objection on the score of being offensive. If those who are responsible for issuing the order find themselves unable, or consider it inadvisable, to publish the specific reasons which have prompted the action, why ascribe to the person a vague general intention of acting in a manner prejudical to public safety? If particulars cannot be furnished then general imputations too may be dispensed with. Again, we do not see why it was necessary to give in the order the designation of Mr. Tilak, as 'Chitpavin Brahmin of Poona.' Mr. Tilak is sufficiently well-known as Mr. Tilak, and it is sufficiently well-known, too, that he is personally considered obnoxious by certain Governments or certain officials. We hope it was not intended to convey that he is more obnoxious as being a Chitpavin Brahmin of Poona. It is bad enough to condemn individuals on suspicion. There are people, Sir Valentine Chirol for instance, who do not appear to like Chitpavin Brahmins, especially of Poona. We do not know if Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government intended to convey a similar dislike of Mr. Tilak and his tribe. To us, however, this obtrusive reference to Mr. Tilak's nationality seems rather calculated to stultify the action taken. Mr. Tilak as a Chitpavin Brahmin of Poona is a force only among his own people. He speaks very effectively in Marathi. But he could not address a Punjabi audience in Marathi, and we suppose he could not have worked his audience to any very violent state of agitation, even if he were minded to be violent in his speech. As usual, the whole affair appears to us to be the result of needlessly exaggerating both the inflammability of the Indian public, and the influence of the national leaders."

What is the difference between the Moderate and the Extremist?

Young India (11), 21st Feb.

7. In the course of an article headed "Shades of political opinion," contributed to *Young India*, Mr. L. G. Khare discusses the question, "In what way does the Moderate differ from the Extremist?", and remarks:—"We suppose the difference lies not so much in political belief, as in the manner of expressing it. It lies in the varying degrees of ability with which the Indian gets disillusioned as regard the difference between British promise and bureaucratic performance. The Extremist, when burning with indignation at the compulsory introduction of the 'morals of the poultry-yard' in the hapless Indians at Fiji, promptly calls an open-air meeting when thousands attend. The Council of Moderates in Cottonopolis when shamed into holding a similar meeting do so, but with what prudence, what a considerate regard for the finer feelings of their masters! They placard it not as a protest meeting primarily against indentured labour but a congratulatory meeting to welcome the belated wisdom of invoking Indians as volunteers. And then we read in the daily press that Mr. Tilak who is not to go to any place, where he *never* wants to go, was allowed to speak as the audience demanded it. *Allowed* to speak! The Council of Moderates, we suppose, permitted it. However, that is enough to show *Young India* the difference in attitude. Let it observe also how rapid and remarkable is the transition from violent moderatism to gentle extremism, from gentle extremism to Home Rule sanity."

The Government of India's Despatch on Indian Political Reform ought to have been published before being sent to the Secretary of State.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 25th Feb.

*8. Referring to the statement made in the Imperial Legislative Council that Government were unable to give any further information about their Despatch on Indian Political Reform than that it had been sent to the Secretary of State, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"The Government of India are in a difficult position no doubt, but the position of the Indian public is still worse. If we are to wait till the Secretary of State sends down final orders on their recommendations, it is evident that we shall have very little chance of having the reforms modified in the direction of our wants and rights. It is well-known that the shape ultimately assumed by the Moraly-Minto reform scheme was, in some essential respects, as much a surprise to the Government of India as to the Indian public. We think that it will be a useful reform to make it obligatory on the Government of India to place all its despatches to the Secretary of State before the Legislative Council, unless the Viceroy, for special reasons, decides that any of them should be regarded as 'secret' and withheld from the Council. The greatest need of the time is more publicity in the conduct of the administration."

Government should prove their trust in the Indians by the repeal of the Arms Act.

Young India (11), 21st Feb.

9. "V. R." writing to *Young India* remarks :—" With regard to the abolition or modification of the Arms Act, there are no two opinions in the country. There is unanimity of feeling that the Act should be done away with and failing it, it may immediately be so amended as to do away with the individious distinctions which it has imposed on the score of birth, nationality or colour. It is over thirty-six years ago that the late William Ewart Gladstone, who successfully piloted through the House of Commons the Irish Home Rule Bill, condemned the imposition of the Act, both on moral and political grounds. What he said then applies with equal or even greater. force today.......... In spite of the persistent agitation in India itself against the operations of the Act which has converted a nation of heroes into a timid flock of quill-driving sheep, the Act has been worked and maintained, if anything, with greater rigour than was the case in 1885. If the decision of Government to raise volunteer units from among Indians indicates a generous spirit and relaxation of the suspicious and mistrusting policy referred to above, we trust that that spirit will be carried further and the good-will of Government more effectively demonstrated in the relaxing of the rigours of the Act, either by ending or mending it at the earliest possible moment."

England's duty to prepare India to be self-supporting in future.

Gujaráti (13), 18th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (17), 17th Feb.

10. The war with Germany is not yet over and even after the war England will have to fight a commercial war. At such a time a Japanese writer in the *Modern Review* has asked Indians to be cautious and alive to their own interests. He is of opinion that the interests of Japan are opposed to those of England and so the Anglo-Japanese Alliance may not be renewed and Japan might one day fight against England. When this war broke out we gave it out as our opinion that the nation with the longest purse and the most abundant supply of men and munitions would win in the long run. That opinion holds good even to-day. England has now fully awakened to her responsibilities. The real issues lie between Germany and England. England has been filled with enthusiasm and as she knows that she has to fight for her very existense she will not sheathe the sword until victory is achieved and in order to achieve this end she has marshalled all her resources and is prepared to make tremendous sacrifices. Loyal India was anxious to help England and its attitude has not undergone any change. It is, however, to be regretted that England has not yet been cured of her suspicion towards India in spite of its loyalty having been proved. Now, however, India has to remain wide awake and to help England. All eyes now turn to India. India has gradually become the centre of Imperial activities for the prosecution of the war. India lacks neither men nor munitions. But the object cannot be achieved without full trust and confidence being placed in the people. The enthusiasm and awakening of the people are largely dependent upon the unity of interests between the rulers and the ruled. India is not to be treated like a child. At the outbreak of the war we dilated upon the ambitions of Russia. England should still continue firm in its old policy of keeping Russia as far away as possible from India. But now that England and Russia are fighting shoulder to shoulder she has acquiesced in the handing over of Constantinople and the Dardanelles to Russia. The Allies will be victorious in the end, but no one seems to say a word to the effect that the agreement arrived at between Russia and England is adverse to the real interests of the Empire. India should, therefore,

remain on its guard. In politics friends do not remain constant. [The paper gives a summary of the article appearing in the *Modern Review* (*vide* paragraph 22 of Weekly Report No. 6 of 1917) and concludes thus:—] The duty of England does not now as before comprise in navigation and commerce. She should, therefore, keep India so prepared as to enable it to defend itself by land or sea under such circumstances. England should raise a large Indian Army and also organise a strong Indian Navy. [The *Hindusthán* also gives a summary of the article referred to and says:—The suggestions of the Japanese friend mean that England should take the Indians into confidence and place them on a footing of equality with the citizens of the self-governing Colonies. This can be accomplished only by giving the administration of India into the hands of the Indians. The educated Indians prefer to be under the ægis of the British rather than go under the sway of Japan or Russia and they would, therefore, try to maintain the British supremacy in India. We want to see India come into closer bonds with Britain and, therefore, request England to take steps to make us self-supporting. Under the present circumstances the need of India becoming self-supporting is very strongly felt and India cannot stand on its own legs unless it is taught to defend itself. We are, therefore, extremely anxious to see the suggestions of the 'Japanese Friend' given effect to. Thus only can the future of India be assured.]

Comments on the action proposed to be taken by the Central Provinces Government to prevent students from attending political meetings.

Message (6), 18th Feb.;
Sandesh (103), 18th Feb.

11. Referring to the action proposed to be taken by the Central Provinces Government to prevent students from attending political meetings, the *Message* says:—"Not long ago, Sir Benjamin enunciated a new loyalty to himself and to his colleagues of the Indian Civil Service, which should actuate the people. Perhaps, he realised it too late that it was impossible to obtain from old men of staid views the kind of loyalty he wants. He seems to have, therefore, directed his attention to the student community on the assumption that if the tree is to be bent, it must be done when it is still a tender plant. In Eastern Bengal, his great predecessor attempted it and we all know with what results. Sir Benjamin is evidently blind to its lessons and is going to try the experiment afresh on the backward soil of the Central Provinces.......... He has desired it to be laid down that in future no school boy should be allowed to attend any public meetings during the term time without previously obtaining the permission of his head master, and that school masters should exercise ward and watch over the boys. So far so good. But what about the teachers who fail to discharge the 'glorious task' which he seeks to allot to them? Will he send them right about? Does Sir Benjamin suppose that the great majority of teachers who have sold their services for a living have sold their souls too for a mess of pottage, to forget their honourable calling and take to the ignoble and ignominous role of 'spying?' There are, it is true, men so bereft of all sense of self-respect that they will stoop to any meanness. But after all their number is not many and they cannot do the whole work. Is the Chief Commissioner going then to let loose on the student community the benevolent watchdogs of the C. I. D.? We are glad that the non-official members were opposed to any measures being adopted, more particularly the school masters being converted into spies. Whether their opposition will ever be heeded, we doubt, especially in the present mood of the Central Provinces Government. We cannot but view the action of Sir Benjamin as panic-stricken. If he persists in continuing as he has begun, we are afraid he will before long reproduce on the sedate soil of the Central Provinces the condition of Eastern Bengal, a thing which should be deprecated on all accounts." [The *Sandesh* remarks:—At the meeting of officials and non-officials recently held at Nagpur to consider the question, it was stated on behalf of the Local Government that what they wanted was to improve the morality and character of students. Indian parents would indeed welcome the object so avowed, but they do not like that attempts should be made to rob students of their liberty under the pretext of improving their morality. We certainly do not want to take lessons in morality from the Westerners. They may teach us science and history and similar other subjects, but they have nothing new to teach our students in the matter of morality. That discipline in schools is necessary is admitted by all, but that attempts should be made to turn away students from their duties under the pretext of maintenance of discipline deserves condemnation. Why should Government insist that students should not pay attention to current topics? Only the educational authorities and Sir Benjamin apparently know how such restrictions can help in improving the character of students. It is now a universally recognized principle that students should take part in all social service movements, and Mr. Tilak also has recently called upon them to assist in exposing the doings of the recruiters of indentured labour. Under these circumstances, we cannot but characterise the above attempt of the authorities in the Central Provinces as highly improper.]

Comments on the non-Brahmin movement in South India.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 25th Feb., Eng. cols.

*12. Commenting upon the non-Brahmin movement started in the South India, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"There is something to be said for the strong attitude taken up by non-Brahmin leaders. When for centuries they have been ruthlessly kept down by the calculated selfishness of Brahmins, how can they be expected to look on with equanimity at the prospect of a Brahmin supremacy in the Government of India, reinforced with all the wealth of Western learning? Admitting our sympathy for the movement, we cannot, however, absolutely admire either the language or the spirit of 'the Non-Brahmin.' The non-Brahmins are certainly entitled to feel the injustice of their situation. Forty millions out of forty-one and a half million of Hindus in the Madras Presidency are non-Brahmins, and yet in politics and public life generally they are swamped by Brahmins, who always vote for and stand for Brahmins. The non-Brahmins are equally entitled to try and better their position. They are justified even in exposing the dangers of Brahmin supremacy. But they commit a fatal blunder in opposing the Congress politics. The helplessness of India even within the boundaries of the British Empire, the infamy of Fiji disclosures, the tyranny of South Africans, the commercial poverty and dependence of India, and the future well-being of India, all point out the necessity of making the Government of India more and more Indian. This is the aim that every Indian ought to have in view, and a non-Brahmin does not cease to be an Indian, simply because he has cause to complaim—and a perfectly just one let us candidly add—against the systematic selfishness of Brahmins. Instead of frittering away their energies in an unhealthy campaign against Congress politics, the non-Brahmins should concentrate all their energies on the all-round advancement of their communities. For they must remember that the rest of India are united in their political aspirations, and if they demand self-government a minority of forty millions cannot be allowed to thwart their political aspirations. In fact, the voice of educated India is bound to prevail sooner or latter, and the non-Brahmins ought to be prepared for that day when their representatives will sit in the same legislative chambers with Brahmins. If at that time they wish their interests to be protected they will have to produce bold and fearless leaders, who can hold their own against the subtleties of Brahmin intellect. This should be their great constructive policy. Anything else will harm India, and what harms India will harm non-Brahmins. The Non-Brahmin movement in South India is bound to play a very important part in the immediate political development of India......... Hence it behoves all thoughtful leaders of Indians to show their sincerity as Indians by sympathising with the aspirations of the non-Brahmins and lending them a helping hand to rise to their full height. This especially applies to all Brahmin leaders. Their sincerity, their historical importance, their claim to the title of Indian patriots have all been vigorously challenged. They must make up their minds as to whether they will be good Indians, or good Brahmins. They can't be both and their choice will declare their worth."

Officials in India should cease to receive with open arms at the peoples' expense those whom the people regard as their enemies.

Sind Advocate (8), 8th Feb.

13. Referring to Sir James Meston's explanation in the United Provinces Legislative Council with regard to his connection with the *Round Table*, the *Sind Advocate* writes:—"We will not say any thing about the printing of the letter in the Government Press. It was stated in answer that the work had been paid for. So far so good. But the supplementary question arises whether the payment was made before the exposure or after. And moreover why should such matter have been allowed to be printed in a Government Press at all? And why should Curtis and Company continue to be Government guests, when visiting certain places on their mission? Lately Mr. Curtis was in Government House, Bombay; as soon as he left, Sir Valentine Chirol came in. *New India* makes a very apt and pithy observation on this exit and entry: the king is dead, Long live the king! Seriously this sort of thing must cease. If high Government officials receive with open arms at the people's expense, men whom the people regard as their enemies, then farewell to mutual confidence and good will between the rulers and the ruled."

Protest against official members of Legislative Councils mechanically voting on the side of Government.

Kesari (95), 20th Feb.; **Mahrátta* (5), 25th Feb.; **Hindusthán* (28), 28th Feb.

14. Our readers will perhaps remember that His Excellency Lord Willigdon recently decided that members of the Legislative Council can temporarily leave Council meetings for private business or even for pleasure. In commenting on this we had suggested that Government should make it a rule to count the votes of official members as already recorded on their side, and thus save the members the trouble of attending meetings of the Council and effect some saving in travelling allowances to Government. A recent incident in the Imperial Legislative Council justifies the truth of our remarks. During the debate on the Honourable Mr. Sarma's Resolution on Local Option a number of official members were absent from their seats. Mr. Sarma suddenly closed the debate and called for a division. On this the absent members were hurriedly called in and Mr. Sarma's motion was defeated. The Honourable Mr. Basu vainly asked whether members who had not heard the debate had any right to vote. If votes are to be taken in this manner we would suggest that dummies of official members with a mechanical device for raising their hands at the will of the President, should be installed in the Council Chamber and the members themselves saved the trouble of attending in person. [The *Mahrátta* makes similar remarks. The *Hindusthán* gives a translation of the article in the *Kesari.*]

How Indians should treat the Government's call for enlistment.

Kesari (95), 20th Feb.

15. The Viceroy need entertain no misgivings that his call for enlistment will not be responded to by the Indian public. It is only the Indians who have a misgiving as to whether Government would inaugurate a generous and judicious policy or whether even at the present critical time they would still continue to be possessed by the spirit of partiality and would observe invidious distinctions between their black and white subjects. Whatever the attitude of Government, our line of action has been definitely settled and our leaders have advised the people to enter military service unconditionally. What is the real significance of this throwing open of military service to Indians by Government? We shall indulge in a little plain-speaking in interpreting the significance of this step. It simply means that to-day Government cannot do without our aid. To properly understand the significance of the measure we must first of all shake off our intellectual dullness brought on by over-loyalty and free ourselves from the delusion resulting from our excessive love for the Empire. If Government were really actuated by disinterested motives why did they withhold the boon of military service from us for the last hundred years, and why did they disarm us? What have we done that has rendered us worthy of their trust now? If the possession of arms was the cause of the Mutiny of 1857 what guarantee has been taken from the nation that armed and trained men

under the new measure will not raise the standard of revolt in the future? In 1857 there was no demand for *swarájya* as at present. Thus it may perhaps be argued by some that there is a strong motive for rising in rebellion now while there was none formerly. Moreover, there was then no menace of a foreign enemy, but now, as proved in courts of law, German spies have actually found their way into India in spite of all rigid precautions and fomented disaffection and supplied money and arms to young Indian anarchists. What is then the significance of Government's call to Indians for military service now? We repeat that Government have begun to think that it would be difficult for them to pull on without military assistance from Indians. This concession, therefore, is not an act of generosity but of hard necessity. Government have tried their utmost to meet the pressing demand for more men by every other means. They even tried to ascertain how far they could depend upon their ally, Japan, for military assistance. But all these endeavours to secure the services of foreign mercenaries fell short of the requirements. In the face of such circumstances what else could Government do but to turn to Indians for help? Government could not, as in the old days of mythology, put life into clay figures and raise a white army. Had the thing been practicable our benign Government would have for ever saved us from the bother of bearing arms. We have, however, no desire to rake up old matters. We would only ask Government whether they really intend to do justice to us or only to make soldiers of us till they gain their object. Our response to the call for military service will depend on Government's reply to the above question. We are willing to shoulder the rifle provided we can do it with self-respect; otherwise it will prove only a burden to us. In this connection one is reminded of the *dhobie's* donkey in an unrecorded Æsop's fable which refused to run away when a thief entered its master's house saying that it was the same to it whether it served its own master or the thief as both would use it as a beast of burden and nothing more. If Indians fail to come forward voluntarily to-day Government may resort to compulsion to-morrow. In any case we shall have to be soldiers. But the question is whether we are to be "fighting soldiers" or "weeping soldiers." The answer to this question wholly depends on the policy Government would be pleased to adopt. If the higher military posts are to be always conferred upon Europeans, then what self-respecting Indian would care to serve under them? If Government really want to secure Indian volunteers the mere passing of the proposed measure will not suffice. Along with that measure the grant of all the demands made at the various meetings must be publicly announced, nay, they must at once be put into force. Government have been emasculating us during the past hundred years, but if they now really wish to revive our fighting spirit they can do so within the space of even six months. If even a commercial nation like the English could produce millions of soldiers in a short time, the same can be done in India by means of training. It would be futile to distinguish between fighting and non-fighting races in India if a real national force is to be created. We hope that this distinction will soon disappear and all Indians will prove their fitness to fight in the defence of their motherland.

16. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford loudly declared in the Council that European British subjects in India would have to enlist themselves compulsorily while Indians would get an opportunity of joining the army on a voluntary basis! The Indian army so formed is to be called the Defence of India Force. The Press is welcoming the measure as if a great obligation had been conferred upon India! And as if that were not sufficient, some people demand that only Indians should be appointed as officers in the Indian units!! While others ask us to be contented with what we have got and to thank Government for it. The Indian National Congress has been asking Government to give military training to Indians for the last thirty years but to no purpose and now when compulsion has come into force in England the Government of India has introduced the Defence of India Force Bill after two years and a half of the war! Who should be thanked for this? Who has been kind to us? Is the goddess of war to be thanked or the Germans who roused her

Gujaráti (13), 18th Feb.

from her slumbers? If a period of two years and a half was required to induce Government to place so much confidence in Indians, how long must the war last to enable the Indians to secure all they want?

Shetkari (38), 18th Feb.

17. Out of the total population of about 400 millions of the whole British Empire that of India alone exceeds 300 millions. England never tapped, nay purposely ignored, this vast reserve of strength. The English are perfectly aware that an Indian army trained by Europeans is an efficient fighting machine. The early history of the English in India shows that Indians in the service of foreigners do not hesitate to fight even against their own countrymen. If Indians had been trained to the use of arms before this an immense number of fighting men would have been available for service at a critical time like the present. But a Government which has enacted extremely stringent forest laws even in the most trifling matters could not be expected to err on the side of liberality and to allow us to bear arms in self-defence. Magnanimity is the quality of the Orientals alone, and however much the Western nations may plume themselves upon their liberality they cannot equal the former in that respect. History does not record a single instance of Indians having committed the sin of interfering with the internal administration of the kingdoms conquered by them. The materialistic Western nations, however, do not as a rule deal generously with conquered peoples. They consider it their primary duty to emasculate the subject races and India knows this to her cost. Our rulers have now come to realise that whatever the initial advantages of this policy it does not pay in the end. It was wrong in principle to pass such a measure as the existing Arms Act. It was all the more unnecessary in the case of the peace-loving population of India. The war, however, has opened the eyes of our Government who now see that they must revise their old military policy to meet the changed conditions. The proposed Indian Defence Force Act will remedy to some extent our existing disabilities. But in order to make it a complete success it is necessary to treat Europeans and Indians equally in the matter of pay, status, etc. Otherwise an undesirable impression will be created on the minds of the people that our rulers are unwilling to meet their just demands even at this critical time.

Exhortation to Indians to help Government by subscribing to the War Loan and by enlisting in the Defence of India Force.

Islámic Mail (121), 26th Feb., Urdu edition.

*18. The *Islámic Mail* begins an article on the subject of loyalty by bestowing high praise on that virtue, and holds up the example of the faithful dog to admiration. It then proceeds to attribute all moral and material progress that India has made in the last century to Englishmen, and emphasises the fact that perfect peace has reigned in the country owing to the strong arm of British Rule. It refers generally to the existence of grievances and defects which it considers to be inseparable from all human institutions, and lays stress on the duty of the subjects to sacrifice everything when the safety of the Crown is in danger. It considers that the war which Great Britain and her Allies are at present waging is a life-and-death-struggle and dwells on the services hitherto rendered by the Indians in support of the Allies' cause. It informs the public of the determination of Great Britain to make a supreme effort in the current year for vanquishing German militarism once for all, and it declares that that can best be accomplished by the Indians offering themselves for military service and by subscribing to the Indian War Loan. The paper believes that the Indians will join the Indian Defence Force with alacrity, and it is convinced that the Muhammadans, who have been promised entry into Paradise if they wield the sword, will enlist in much larger numbers than other communities. It is, however, of opinion that what is more urgently required is not personal military service, for Great Britain has already raised a force of five millions, but that the Indians should buy the 'Government Promissory Notes' which are likely to bear more than 5¼ per cent. interest per annum. Judging from the fact that this Presidency contains a large number of rich mill-owners, merchants, and ruling princes, it believes that Bombay will head the other provinces by subscribing the largest amount towards the Loan. In conclusion the paper contends that the claim of being the brightest jewel in the British Crown and the aspirations after larger political rights demand corresponding sacrifices on the part of the Indians.

Comments on the farewell entertainmet given by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to India's representatives at the Imperial War Conference.

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (24), 19th Feb., Eng. cols.

19. "The extremists have not yet left off their favourite method of indulging in destructive criticism which sometimes aims at making Government impossible. The narrow-minded and ruthless criticism of the Indian Chamber for entertaining Sir James Meston, the Maharajah of Bikaner and Sir S. P. Sinha appears to show that they are violent opponents of any rapproachment between the public bodies and public leaders and Government. The public bodies which take a wider and broader view of their functions than of merely claiming attendance to mandates issued from Poona and Madras are to be pillioried and public leaders who guide such bodies are to be tabooed as 'sycophants'. Not only this, but the unworthy motive is attributed to those responsible for the afternoon party to belittle the importance of the Indentured Labour meeting by having a counter attraction elsewhere! Surely criticism has passed beyond a stage when it can be considered legitimate and justifiable. The Indentured Labour question is a sacred question to which every one has given his adherence. There must be not a single member of the Indian Chamber who has not contributed his mite to the agitation propaganda for placing the relations of India and the Colonies on a satisfactory basis. Even at the afternoon party which is so much criticised, the Honourable Mr. Lallubhai emphasised that India would resent being placed under the domination of the Colonies. And yet machiavelian tactics are attributed to these gentlemen who are charged with playing in the hands of Government officials!"

Reflections on the qualifications of the members composing the Imperial War Conference.

Gujarâti (13), 18th Feb.

20. While writing about the Indian representatives at the Imperial War Conference, the *Gujarâti* remarks:—They say that the first question this Conference will discuss is what steps should be taken to bring the war to a speedy end. But what we would like to know is how many of the people comprising the Conference have made a study of war as a science? The Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, knows nothing, Sir James Meston knows how to handle figures and Sir S. P. Sinha is conversant with law. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, no doubt, knows something about war. He might open his purse-strings and raise an army in his State. But has Sir Satya Prassana any following? If Government were to seek the help of persons like Surendranath Bannerjee, Lala Lajpatrai, Mrs. Besant and Tilak, lakhs of people would come forward to enlist themselves in the army and millions in money would be placed at the disposal of Government. Is it not necessary now to take such people into confidence? [The paper elsewhere finds fault with the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau for giving a farewell entertainment to Sir James, Sir Satyandra and His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner on the score that India has no direct representation on the War Conference. The paper alleges that the reception was got up to flatter the official classes.]

Comments on the success of the new British War Loan.

Bombay Samâchâr (55), 23rd Feb.

21. Adverting to the success of the new War Loan in England, the *Bombay Samâchâr* remarks:—The British nation is so filled with enthusiasm to strengthen the fighting power of Government that the whole of the vast amount subscribed to the loan has been advanced by the masses without any pressure being brought to bear upon them. If detailed information about the success of this loan finds entry into Germany it is difficult to imagine what devises the enemy will have to resort to to pacify the clamour and agitation that will be caused among the German people. However much Germany may be misleading its subjects with imaginary details regarding the approaching economic exhaustion of the Allies, there is no doubt this proof of the inexhaustible

wealth of the British nation will be an eye-opener to it. This enthusiasm for the War Loan prevails not only in England or the Colonies, but in India also. The richer and the middle classes are equally anxious to place at the disposal of Government as much money as they can get together. In comparison with England and the Colonies India possesses so little wealth that her contribution to the loan will perhaps be considered small, but in proportion to her wealth she will be considered to have cut a good figure. It is the duty of every loyal citizen to invest any spare money he may have in the forthcoming war loan and thereby to strive to bring the end of the war nearer.

Government should safeguard the interests of those in private employ who are called out for military service.

Sind Observer (10), 10th Feb.

22. Writing about the Registration Ordinance, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"We have been asked what is to happen after registration.......... If the State needs the services of all or any of the persons registered, be sure that they will be called out without hesitation. Government servants are certain of their billets, writes a correspondent, how about the others? We presume that Government will deal liberally with their employees, and we have no doubt that patriotic and wealthy merchants will act similarly towards those of their staff who are summoned to serve the country. We have, however, no doubt that certain employers will for one reason or another attempt to shirk their responsibility towards those whom the country calls out. It is the business of Government and of public opinion to promptly and effectually deal with such an attitude. As we said long ago, compulsory service will fall heavily on the poorly paid non-Government servant class of European British subjects, and it is but right that such persons should look to Government for protection. The State needs the men and the State should see that no one shirks his duty be he employee or employer, poor or rich. The commonweal demands the co-operation of all classes, labour as well as capital, and the State must see fair play. We invite Chambers of Commerce to consider this point. The matter of exemptions in England has been a grave scandal and we trust that the Committee handling such questions in India will not follow that bad example."

The evils of gambling on the totalisator at the race-course and appeal to Government to stop it and to His Excellency Lord Willingdon to discountenance racing by refusing to attend race meetings at least for the period of the war.

Young India (11), 21st Feb.

23. Referring to the correspondence appearing in the *Times of India* in which the British residents of Bombay are taken to task for the life of ease and pleasure they are enjoying at a time when the Empire is engaged in a life-and-death struggle, Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, writing in *Young India*, remarks:—"Many of the readers of *Young India* will remember that, *a propos* of the determination of Lord Chelsmford and Lord Carmichael not to attend races during the war, it was suggested that His Excellency Lord Willingdon should follow in the wake of Their Excellencies and give a new tone to 'society' in this city. But the suggestion has obviously fallen on deaf ears. And week after week, the races are going apace with all their concommitant evils of waste of money and energy. This could only be put an end to if the head of the Government takes the lead and announces his intention never more to attend a race meeting at least for the period of the war. The suggestion may not be palatable; but all the same, we feel that some such thing will have to be done. Then why not do it at once? That is the question and we hope we shall have His Excellency Lord Willingdon's answer in a practical form......." [The writer then dwells on the immorality of gambling on the totalisator, the vast sums of money that annually change hands, the huge profits the Turf Club is making over it and the financial ruin it entails on a large number of people, and earnestly pleads for the prohibition by law of the use of the totalisator on the race-course. He then proceeds:—"And yet either because those who are competent to take action are cowed down by the fear of interested imposition or are too indifferent to the well-being of the community, the tragedy of life is being ruthlessly enacted before our very eyes

year after year. Any well directed effort is sure to serve two purposes at one and the same time, namely, to put an end to this enormous waste that is going on in the name of 'sport' and relieve so much useful money, part of which at least will find useful employment in war service. If the local Government is not prepared to move in the matter, may we at least expect our influential public men to take up the question? Notwithstanding the great opposition which it would provoke in interested quarters, those who wlll make an unfaltering move in the direction will be entitled to the heartfelt gratitude of the community."]

Comments on the debate on the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy's amendment to the Defence of India Act in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Message (6), 24th Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 24th Feb.

24. "In the debate on the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy's ammendment to the Defence of India Act, the Honourable Sir Reginald Craddock on behalf of Government practically said that inasmuch as high officials were entrusted with the administration of the Act, there was no need of any advisory committee to prevent any conscious or unconscious miscarriage of justice. He was right. The sun might to-morrow get black, but the heaven-born bureaucrat cannot even unconsciously commit any mistake. The District Magistrate of Poona who thought Mr. Tilak's speeches to be seditious and such as justified a security being demanded from him and who relied on Justice Strachey's judgment though it was adversely animadverted on by the Full Bench, did *not* commit a mistake. Did not the High Court commend his judicial temper and knowledge?......... That leads us to another argument. Sir Reginald Craddock said that a part of the information against the interned persons which the officers possessed was secret and that they could not, with propriety, consent to part with it to any Advisory Committee, composed of that hateful class, labelled lawyers or of any other class in India. In the light of this declaration, we must assume that some 'secret' information against Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal is in the possession of officials and that it is this 'secret' information which justifies the bars placed on the leaders' movements. Before God we can honestly say that the officials may have got some 'secret' information against the individuals named but no dictionary available in our office says that 'secret' means 'true'." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:— The attitude of defiance taken up by Government in connection with the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy's amendment to the Defence of India Act is sure to increase public discontent. People wish that, instead of unnecessarily offending, Government should conciliate public opinion at a time when all the resources of the empire are being mobilised for the successful prosecution of the war, but instead of doing so the Defence of India Act is being enforced with unnecessary severity and hundreds of persons are being interned without trial. Mr. Dadabhoy did not demand the repeal of the Act, but only wished that it should be enforced not simply at the discretion of executive officers but with the help of advisory committees containing men with judicial training. Why should Government be afraid of taking the help of persons with judicial training? Let Government give up their present attitude of mistrust and the public will then support them in their measures.]

Comments on the statement made by Government in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding solitary confinement of political prisoners.

Mahrátta (5), 25th Feb.; *Kesari* (95), 27th Feb.

***25.** "The Honourable Mr. Basu has done a very good service to the rotting political prisoners in Bengal by asking the Supreme Government about their continuous solitary confinement. The answer given by Sir Reginald Craddock shows that he, while denying that they were placed in solitary confinement, euphemistically admitted it by saying they they 'were for the most part continuously detained in cells,' and 'were not allowed to mix with other prisoners.' Pray wherein then differs the solitary confinement but in name only? He says they are allowed books, letters and occasional interviews. But these palliatives are allowed to other prisioners also. They are not confined in solitary cells continuously for more than fourteen days at a time, with intervals between the periods of solitary confinement of not less duration than this, and when the solitary imprisonment exceeds three months, it does not exceed seven days in any one month. But the political or state prisoners are, as Sir Reginald Craddock says, for the most part, continuously detained in cells for any length of time! .... The poor unfortunate political prisoners are required to rot in cells for over six months and we believe that this continuous isolation, no matter whether it is called 'solitary' or separate confinement, is directly against the spirit, if not the letter, of the law and is a violation of the principles of good health, and yet we are told by Sir Reginald Craddock that Government do not propose to make any changes in the present arrangement no matter even if insanity steals upon the poor prisoners!" [The *Kesari* makes similar remarks.]

Government and the right to ask supplementary questions in the Imperial Legislative Council.
Mahratta (5), 25th Feb.

***26.** Referring to the reply given by Government in the Imperial Legislative Council that they do not consider it desirable to allow the right of asking supplementary questions to be exercised by any member other than the one who asks the original question, the *Mahratta* remarks:—"When even such a petty right is not conceded by Government, we can very well imagine what fate awaits our scheme on which so much labour and energy were expended by our leaders. The extension of this right would not have involved much trouble to Government, nor would it have needlessly embarrassed the member in charge of the department, as according to rule XIII of Section IV of the Council Regulations, 'the member in charge may decline to answer a supplementary question without notice.'......... But by negativing the request of the Honourable Mr. Chanda they have shown that they are not willing to give even a petty concession demanded by the Congress and the Muslim League. When such petty concessions are refused we can picture to our mind's eye what must be the nature of the reforms adumbrated by Lord Chelmsford in his opening speech in the Council. Disappointment has thus already begun and we know not where it will end."

Government is putting off the question of abolishing indentured labour.
Kesari (95), 20th Feb.

27. In spite of the unanimous demand of the whole country the Government of India are putting off the question of abolishing the system of indentured labour, while the Colonies themselves are deliberating as to how to get the present system continued under a new name. We do not, therefore, expect a solution of this problem in the near future. In 1834 England abolished slavery without any regard for the convenience of the Colonies. Why are they hesitating then to eradicate this evil now? The people of England themselves hate this system, as will be seen from their attitude towards the proposal of importing black labour from South Africa. Their main contention is that the nation which countenances slavery cannot itself remain free. It is really strange that people who are averse to slavery in their own country do not hesitate to treat their own fellow-subjects worse than slaves when they migrate to the Colonies. Is it not inconsistent that Englishmen should object to slavery in their own country whereas their kinsmen in Fiji should strive for its continuance?

Comments on a recent Government Press Note on Excise Advisory Committees.
Message (6), 22nd Feb.

28. "Many readers probably know that Government have overwhelmed the people in many districts of this presidency with their generosity in giving them the right to tender their advice in the matter of deciding the number or locality of liquor shops in the district. We refer to the Excise Advisory Committees in which Government servants form the majority. The non-officials in the committees should feel honoured in being allowed to tender advice which the other members may or may not take. Again, they are expected to flatter themselves that they have *not* been allowed even to *inspect* shops! .... It was a matter for complaint with the districts of East Khándesh, Ratnágiri, Kanára and Kaira that they were not given the privilege of having these Advisory Committees with the vast powers noted above......... Government, says a Press Note, have decided to appoint committees for all the talukas of the East Khándesh District. The rest must for the present go without them. The reasons justifying the state of things is noteworthy. In some areas like Cánara or some talukas of Broach, West Khándesh and Kolába, the advice of the representatives of the people is not necessary because *the consumption is small*. If the people want to have a share in determining the number and locality of liquor shops in their taluka or district, they should wait until the consumption of liquor increases! Their advice is not necessary as regards the *prevention* of the spread of liquor consumption—it should apparently come in when the evil is aggravated! But no. When the evil is aggravated, as in the case of the district of Kaira, the representatives of the people should *not* be consulted (we are told in the press note) on the ground that *facilities for obtaining licit liquor in Kaira are very inadequate and any reduction in the number of shops is only likely to give an impetus to the illicit distillation which is so rife in the district*. Ye Russian, French and British statesmen who have *curtailed* the facilities for drinking, fall at the feet of the excise authorities here and learn that it was your duty to provide 'adequate facilities' to drinkers. 'Adequate facilities' for education to the children of the soil may perhaps *not* be provided for pecuniary reasons, but 'adequate facilities' for drinking—well, pecuniary reasons *cannot* stand in their way and they *must* be provided for......... It seems to be thought that if people are going to get drunk let them get drunk with liquor supplied by Government. The hall-mark of 'legitimacy' justifies everything even vice.... Seriously, is it not after all better that some little illicit traffic be allowed, if it tend to reduction of liquor consumption on the whole, rather than insist on everything being licit, even though the vice may perhaps tend to be thus aggravated? Temptations towards illicit traffic were not absent in France or Russia or in England when these countries decided to largely curtail the drink vice. But they bravely faced the risks, on the ground that *on the whole* their restrictions will tend to diminish consumption of liquor, though they may give rise to a little more illicit traffic. Why not apply this line of reasoning here?"

Comments on the Bombay Presidency Abkari Administration Report for the year 1915-16.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 23rd Feb.

29. Commenting on the Abkari Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1915-16 the *Bombay Samáchár* notes with regret the fact that the new system of selling liquor shops by auction has been responsible for a large increase in the Abkari revenue of the Presidency. It remarks that wherever the purchaser of a shop at an auction sale has to pay a larger price than before, there must, in consequence thereof either be an increase in the quantity of liquor sold or the purchaser must mix liquor of an inferior quality with that of a higher one in order to secure for himself a margin of profit. If the latter is the case and there is a larger demand for liquor of this inferior kind, it would not be wrong to apprehend danger to public health. The paper, therefore, appeals to the authorities to consider the matter and bring about the necessary changes in the present system. In order to lessen the consumption of liquor and thereby make the people more industrious and moral, the paper wishes that Government should receive with greater sympathy suggestions emanating from the people for bringing about the desired result. It prays that wherever it is not possible to close a shop in deference to the popular wish, a general rule should be laid down not to allow any new shop to be opened in the locality in question without consulting public opinion. It also wishes that in consultation with Temperance Societies efforts may be made to open shops for the sale of harmless drinks. Such a step, it adds, will wean the people from vice and lead them on to the path of industry and moral health, with the result that the individuals themselves and the country at large would be benefitted thereby.

Comments on a recent incident in the Bombay Small Causes Court.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 23rd and 22nd Feb., Eng. cols.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 20th Feb.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 25th Feb.

30. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* dwells at great length on the incident in the Bombay Small Causes Court, wherein the Chief Judge, Mr. Chitre, in the course of the proceedings in a certain case, is alleged to have addressed to Mr. Billimoria, a brother Judge on the Full Bench, the remark, "It is not our business to advocate the cause of one party." The paper points out that Mr. Billimoria's behaviour on the occasion in question was quite in keeping with that of Judges of the Bombay High Court on similar occasions. The paper then continues:—"It is thus obvious that what Mr. Billimoria did was perfectly legitimate, and not inconsistent with judicial practice and tradition. But even assuming he was advocating the cause of one party—and some judges have at times produced that impression even here in Bombay—it was entirely unpermissible to the other Judge, be he the Chief of Chiefs, to administer a rebuke to his colleague. All judges are alike, and hold equal position while on the Bench. .... The Chief Judge has merely certain special powers vested in him for regulating the business of his court. Mr. Chitre thus entirely misconceived his position and functions in thus presuming to lecture to his colleague........... What Mr. Billimoria said to the Bar after the Chief Judge's gratuitous and offensive remark, also appears to us to be unexceptionable: "I have asked him (the Chief Judge) to say something which would remove that impression." Here there is no demand even for a withdrawal of the offending words. We are glad Mr. Billimoria kept his temper, whoever else did not. He is entitled to an apology, if the facts are as published; and we trust Mr. Chitre, seeing that he was hastily led into a false position, will seize an early opportunity of doing so." [In its vernacular columns in the previous issue the paper attributes the incident to want of experience on the part of Mr. Chitre and remarks that the public have always considered it a dangerous practice to pitchfork a fresh advocate on the post of Chief Judge and that such incidents will not tend in any way to lessen their anxiety in the matter. It adds that the incident is in no way desirable from the point of view of the prestige of the Court and trusts that Government as well as the High Court will take immediate steps to pacify the public mind. The *Sánj Vartamán* regrets the incident and observes that the remarks passed by the Chief Judge are insulting to a judge of Mr. Billimoria's experience and worth. It is extremely regrettable, it adds, that from the experience Mr. Chitre has already had as Chief Judge he has not yet learnt to behave with courtesy and propriety with his brother judges. In the opinion of the paper the only honourable course open to Mr. Chitre under the circumstances is to withdraw at the first opportunity the unjust remarks passed by him against his brother judge and thus do him justice. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"It was but natural that Mr. Billimoria, to whose standing as a lawyer and reputation as a judge it will take Mr. Chitre long and hard to approach, should have resented this uncalled for stricture and refused to sit side by side in the administration of justice with a colleague who posing as a senior by an irony of fate takes upon himself to doubt publicly his colleague's impartiality and refuses to offer even an explanation of the same. We hope the High Court will look into this grave abuse of responsibility by the Acting Chief Judge."]

The Vernacular Final Examination should not be made compulsory for the Kulkarnis.

Rajahansa (79), 17th Feb.

31. One R. B. Kulkarni writing to the *Rajahansa* says that the Government order requiring kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination in addition to the Kulkarni Test is purposely directed against the kulkarnis as a class and the vatandar kulkarnis in particular. He complains that the subjects prescribed for the Vernacular Final Examination do not at all help a kulkarni in his work, the Kulkarni Examination being quite sufficient for the purpose. Are kulkarnis who have secured prizes and certificates for their work, he asks, to be held unfit because they have not passed the Vernacular Examination? He suggests that meetings should be held to protest against the order, and requests the Honourable Mr. Belvi to interpellate Government in this connection at the next Session of the Legislative Council.

Necessity of opening the port of Purnagad (Ratnágiri) for steamers.

Kesari (95), 20th Feb.

32. In December last the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye asked a question in the Legislative Council on the desirability of opening the port of Purnagad (Ratnágiri) for steamers. Government informed him that they had no information on the subject and would call for a report. We have now received a copy of a memorial submitted to Government by one Mr. Phadke in favour of the proposal. In our opinion he has adduced convincing arguments in support of his prayer. He points out that the harbour would serve an area containing a population of 44,000 inhabitants. The Bombay Steam Navigation Company is also guaranteed a minimum of 50 passengers a day. We fail to see, therefore, its objection to open this harbour. As the contract for carrying the Konkan mails is given to the Company, Government can surely bring a certain amount of pressure to bear on it and make it comply with the reasonable demands of the people. We earnestly invite the attention of Government to this matter and pray that they will consider the whole question sympathetically.

Appeal to the Bombay Government to put a stop to the excessive favour alleged to be shown by the present Commissioner in Sind to Muhammadans in the matter of Government service.

Sind Advocate (8), 8th Feb.

33. "That Officials have for some years past been favouring Muhammadans at the expense of Hindus in the matter of Government employment is well known and we have all got accustomed to put up with a certain amount of injustice and inequity. But Mr. Lawrence, the present Commissioner, is going far beyond the limits thought necessary by previous patrons of the Muslim Community. He is making the situation harder than before. The matter should be brought before the Bombay Legislative Council with facts and figures compiled from the most recent history of appointments to the Mukhtiarkar's grades. We are sure the Bombay Government will put a stop to this. It would be nice if Mr. Bhurgri takes up the matter on the ground, apart from other things, that this sort of thing creates bad blood between the two communities. Failing Mr. Bhurgri, we must look to Mr. Harchandrai for the needful being done."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Defence of India Force Bill.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 22nd Feb., Eng. cols.

34. "The services of India to the Empire have been acknowledged on all sides excepting by a few insignificant few. The question is not, however, what we have done but as to whether we are doing all the utmost that we can for the Empire. Plainly we are not. The whole-man power of the country is still, excepting the standing army, lying unutilized.......... Our import and export lists have also not been so closely scanned and scrutinised as they have been by the Board of Trade, for instance in England. Are there not still many imports for which there should be no room in the country when the Empire should be engaged in one and one business only—the business of prosecuting the war? The import of motor cars has only been recently prohibited but there are several luxuries and fineries which we can well do without and would be perhaps much better off without them. The Government of India has, it is pleasant to note, begun to move.......... [The paper here refers to the Defence of India Bill Force and continues :—] In order that this supreme privilege may not be fruitless and that the manhood of India may well respond to the appeal of the Empire in this its hour of the greatest need, the terms for this Force must be liberal enough and be on a level with the terms which are offered to European volunteers. There is one special reason for such a liberal outlook which is apt to be overlooked. It is that conditions in India and England differ in one important respect which is that women in England can go to work and thus earn their living, while Indian women are unable to do so, and so, in case of the death of the earning members of families, will be left to starve. Graduates and people in good positions of life will, most of them at least, be eager to swell the ranks of the Indian Defence Force but they must be assured a decent maintenance for those they leave behind during the separation period and after their death if it happens. We bring

this to the notice of the authorities with a view to make the success of the recruiting of the Indian Defence Force as complete as possible. Government and their advisers must remember that this is the most epochal moment in the life of the Empire and that no half measures will do. They must act and act quickly and liberally. Let not the concessions be half-hearted and grudging."

Mahrátta (5), 25th Feb.

***35.** Referring to the Defence of India Force Bill the *Mahrátta* remarks that it is "not the out-come of the liberality of the views of Government, but of the critical circumstances produced by the war" and goes on:—"Everything is left to rules and regulations to be framed either by the Governor-General in Council or by the Commander-in-Chief. The people are to have no voice in this, and one of the significant sentence of the Viceroy shows that the Indian demand of equality has no chance of being satisfied. The Viceroy said: 'As the British element under this Act is to be dealt with on the same lines as those of the British regulars, so the Indian element will come under the same military conditions which apply to the Indian regular forces saving the fact that in both cases that service is to be within India.' This shows that the differential treatment is to be continued and equality rests only in admission in the force. We do not know whether such a cold measure can impress the educated youths whom the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief wish to rally. The latter has said, however, that 'if the educated men showed themselves fit for the position they were aspiring for, the fulfilment of their aspirations would be most favourably considered when the time came.' We do not know how much we may depend upon this promise. Leaving apart the case of the educated men, can the Commander-in-Chief point out some Indians, who have won V. C.'s, Orders of Merit and other distinctions and have been promoted to the commissioned ranks? We have no means of knowing when the time is to come for that, if not now. And if the time has not come yet we are not sure whether it will come in the near future. This past record is not very encouraging and, therefore, the promise, unless it is fulfilled immediately or unless some provision for it is made in the statute itself, can hardly inspire any confidence in the minds of the educated men. If we scan the speech of Sir Charles Munro we see that much of the burden is to fall on Indian shoulders, as they are to be employed only in active companies.... But though the Bill does not correspond to our expectations, are we to fall back from the plain path of duty? The opportunity has been granted to us by Government for undergoing a military training and fight for our Home and their Empire. If we lose it, we shall be the worse for it. We will be judged by our leaders as a generation unfit for Home Rule and we shall be forsaken by our most popular leaders like Mr. Tilak and others. Are we to take this risk? Bengal has chalked out its path by raising double companies; Madras, says the rumour, has enrolled 500 volunteers; the Punjáb is raising double companies of University students, and in view of all this, we hope, Bombay will not lag behind."

Message (6), 23rd Feb.

36. "From the bare outline which Sir Charles Monro was able to give in his speech it appears to us that the advance which is now proposed will not be so great as has been anticipated. It will be remembered that Lord Chelmsford's announcement that Indians would be permitted to enrol *in their own units* aroused the greatest satisfaction because it indicated to the public mind a great departure from the policy of distrust which characterized the Indian military administration in the past. But the departure falls far short of expectations, and unless in the Select Committee stage the provisions of the Bill are largely modified, it will simply be another case of hopes being broken to the heart that were held out to the ear. In the circumstances it will be difficult to speak with any degree of certainty as to the response. That response can only be adequate, when people feel in their heart of hearts that the conditions which will be imposed do not imply any manner of distrust or irritating distinctions between class and class. There will no doubt be some difficulty in officering the Indian Units by Indians to begin with. But does it appear from the reported speech of His Excellency the Commander-in-chief that intelligent and educated Indians will be allowed to qualify themselves for those positions? The existing Military Colleges are to continue to be shut in their faces and no new colleges are to be opened for their training. Sir Charles Monro said in the course of his reply to the debate that if they (the Indians) showed themselves fit for, the 'position they were aspiring for the fulfilment of their aspirations would be favourably considered when the time came.' But when is that time to come and how are Indians to show their fitness for the position they are aspiring for, unless and until they are given the opportunity for training?......... Sir Charles Monro said that there is no intention of discriminating between the Indian and European members of the service. We should have heartily welcomed this declaration, but unfortunately the whole tendency of the Bill seems to be to perpetuate and aggravate the distinction between Europeans and Indians, except so far as it concerns the detailing out of the units for active service.......... The European units will receive pay and allowances and other privileges similar to those of the regular British army serving in this country and the Indian units will be entitled to those privileges which the Indian regular units are allowed under the Indian Army Regulations. We wish we would have given our whole-hearted approval to the measure. It seems an irony of fate that even a tardy measure of this nature should be accompanied by a grudging practice."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 25th Feb.

***37.** "British units are to include men between the age of 16 and 50, divided into cadets, active and reserve companies; whereas the Indian units are to consist of active companies composed of men between the ages of 18 and 41 only. In view of this fact, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's remark that there is no intention of discriminating between the two classes, is rather unintelligible. Indian boys grow more rapidly than British boys, and, if anything, there is the greater reason for catching the former at an early age. We think that the non-provision of cadet corps in the case of Indians will be widely felt to be a vital defect of the scheme, and it is likely to be felt as a needless accentuation of race distinction in the composition of the Force. We trust that this point will receive attention in the Select Committee. We perfectly understand that the first and sole consideration in the organisation of the new Force is military efficiency, but we do not see that it is necessary on that account to adopt a device which is calculated to deprive the Indian Community of other incidental advantages that may be expected to accrue from a diffusion of military training. The institution of cadet corps will enable schools to start their own Companies and will thus be a valuable means of promoting a spirit of comradeship among young men in the most impressionable period of their lives."

Sandesh (103), 23rd Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 23rd Feb.

38. The Indian Defence Force Bill has been introduced and referred to a Select Committee. Those amongst us who have had to satisfy their military instincts up to this time simply by donning a khaki 'hunting coat' will certainly feel gratified at the measure and it is expected that a sufficient number of men will get themselves enrolled under the new law. We agree with the Honourable Mr. Haque that no one would have objected if the principle of compulsion had been applied to Indians also, inasmuch as they are as anxious for the safety of the British Empire as the English. We, however, feel that the speech made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief at the introduction of the Bill does not meet the aspirations of Indians, for though he has stated that no distinction would be made between Indians and Europeans, he has given no assurance that Indians would be given higher military posts. We admit that there are no persons among us at present who can be granted commissions, but that is the result of our being prohibited the use of arms. But we are confident that our people will show themselves fit for the grant of commissions after they enter the army, and Government ought to have given us the necessary assurances in view of that fact. But nothing of the kind was done and we were only told point blank that Government wanted our educated men to enlist, the question of their aspirations being considered "when the time comes." Government apparently do not know this is the best time for making the announcement. The people are, however, as anxious as Government to see the war ended at once, and therefore we feel confident that they will take full advantage of the concession now granted and prove their fitness for miltary service. The door to the higher posts will then doubtless be thrown open to them. Mr. Tilak has already made the appeal and we hope it will be enthusiastically responded to by all Home Rulers. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:— His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's speech satisfactorily removes many of the doubts that had been raised as to the very constitution of this new Force. It is now evident from His Excellency's speech that this Force is to be built upon the basis of the existing Volunteer Force, which is to be improved and expanded into the Defence of India Force, to serve as an auxiliary to the Regular Army. Indians are to be included in this Force, and thus this measure grants the prayer which the country has been making for so many years through the National Congress. It will help to revive military ardour among those classes from which it has recently disappeared and will enable them to fight in defence of their country. The Commander-in-Chief did, it is true, remark that no difference will be made in the treatment of the European and Indian branches of this Force, but whether they are to be treated on a footing of perfect equality will be known after the rules under the Act are promulgated. We feel confident that if such equality is assured, numerous young Indians will come forward to enrol themselves and the necessary number of Indian battalions will be easily raised.]

Bombay Samáchár (55), 24th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 22nd Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 22nd Feb.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (75), 23rd Feb.; *Hindusthán* (17), 23rd Feb.

39. The *Bombay Samáchár* welcomes the Defence of India Force Bill as an epoch-making measure in the history of India and expresses its full confidence that when it comes into force thousands of Indians will gladly come forward to enlist themselves as Volunteers. It, however, suggests that in order to popularise volunteering among Indians Government should give careful consideration to the suggestions made by the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council and give the Indians equal treatment by opening Commissions to them and enrolling them in the Officers' Training Corps. It expresses hope that the Select Committee will not fail so to amend the Bill as to make it fully acceptable to the Indian people. [The *Sánj Vartamán* also welcomes the Bill and asks Government to give full opportunities to Indians to qualify themselves for Commissions in the proposed Defence of India Force. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes in a similar strain and expresses hope that when the Bill is passed into law it will embody all the suggestions advanced by the Indian members of the Council. The *Shri Venkateshwar* welcomes the measure and exhorts the Indians to enlist themselves in the Force with a view to serving the country and the King-Emperor. The *Hindusthán* considers the reply given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to the effect that Indians would be given Commissions on their proving themselves competent for them as rather vague and indefinite. It asks Government to give full opportunities to Indians for training and qualifying themselves for Commissions. It expresses the hope that Indians will readily come forward to enlist themselves in the Force to defend their motherland.]

Rást Goftár (28), 25th Feb., Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti* (13), 25th Feb., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 25th Feb., Eng. cols.

*40. "To the Viceroy, who in bold contrast to his predecessors' policy of distrust has given India the boon which it prayed for so long, is rightly due the country's lasting gratitude and good-will. Whether the boon given will be a permanent conferment or a temporary concession will rest entirely with Indians themselves. We do not believe that the concession will be bodily withdrawn after the war, if the response to the call is truly enthusiastic.......... We are in the fullest sympathy with the [Bombay] meeting's claims in respect of equal terms as regards pay and status. India's response to the call should in any case know no faltering. Once that the Territorial Force is established we shall feel that it has come to stay; and as to the other demands, their realisation will follow as a matter of course, if only the country tenders overwhelming proofs of the utility to the Empire of India's neglected but tremendous man-power." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The best form of service which the sons of the soil can dedicate to their mother-land is personal service for her defence. The call is here and prompt and we hope that India's youths will respond to it in the truest spirit of manly patriotism." The *Gujaráti* writes:—"Whatever the shortcomings of the measure we hope there will be a liberal response to the appeal made by the authorities to meet the exigencies of the present situation.......... The terms and conditions of military service are still unknown. In military matters the Indian people are so profoundly ignorant that it will be some time before the rules and [illegible] framed under the Indian Defence Force Act become widely known and their full significance widely appreciated. The disappearance of military [illegible], the decay of the martial spirit of the people, the general neglect on the part of people to cultivate national physique and the lack of definite knowledge as regards the future prospects of those who enrol themselves for military service—all these will prove no mean drawbacks and impediments. We gratefully welcome the departure that has been taken from the suicidal policy that has hitherto been followed, though we cannot as yet make up our mind to speak about it in a spirit of exhultation for the reasons we have already given. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"'The greatest step since the British came into India' has at last been taken. The Commander-in-Chief has introduced the Indian Defence Bill in the Imperial Council.......... To regret the delay in introducing this measure and to repeat that Government committed a blunder in not utilizing the psychological moment is to cry over spilt milk. What remains to be done—and it is the duty of every citizen worthy of the name to do it—is to rise to the occasion and to show that the new spirit which is said to be abroad is not mere lip enthusiasm but constitutes the determination to act and prove true to the great trust that has now been reposed in the country.......... Sir Charles Monro told the Council that 'if they (Indians) showed themselves fit for the position they were aspiring for, the fulfilment of their aspirations would be most favourably considered when the time comes.' It is necessary to sound a note of warning in this connection. We hope that when the time comes, the story of India's aspirations in civil appointments will not be repeated and that the fulfilment will not be left to the mercy of Committees of Inquiry, Commissions and their reports."]

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the closure of 300 primary schools in Baroda.

Baroda Vartamán (53), 19th Feb.;* *Hind Vijaya* (60), 21st Feb.; *Gujaráti Punch* (15), 18th Feb.; *Indian Loyalist* (19), 22nd Feb.

41. The *Baroda Vartamán* is surprised and pained to hear that His Highness the Gaekwár has ordered the closing of 300 primary schools because a good deal of mismanagement was said to be prevailing in the administration of these schools and because, in the opinion of Mr. Clarke, the new Director of Public Instruction, teachers drawing miserable salaries were unfit to be entrusted with the task of educating the young. If that is a fact, the paper appeals to His Highness not to take such an extreme step, specially because his past policy has shown the way to other ruling Chiefs and induced them to make primary education free and compulsory in their respective States. It prays that any mismanagement existing in the department may be investigated and put an end to. As regards the pay and prospects of primary teachers, the paper points out that efforts have already been made to improve their lot and declares that in case more money is required for this purpose the people will not grudge to pay it. In conclusion the paper makes a fervent appeal to His Highness not to allow any retrograde step to be taken in the matter of education in his State. [The *Hind Vijaya* also writes in a similar strain. The *Gujaráti Punch* enlarges upon the benefits that have accrued and will accrue to the country as a whole from the wise and generous step taken by His Highness in making primary education free and compulsory and trusts that Mr. Manubhai will not allow any unjust step to be taken by His Highness. The *Indian Loyalist* remarks that it is too early to expect any good results from the system of free and compulsory education and thinks that if it is patiently and enthusiastically continued there is a very bright future in store for it. It hopes that His Highness will reconsider his action and devise measures to remedy the present unsatisfactory working of the system.]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 2nd March 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 9 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 3rd March 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:
- Comments on the orders excluding Mr. Tilak from the province of Delhi and from the Punjáb . . . . 27—31
- Comments on the orders of the Central Provinces Director of Public Instruction for watching the conduct of students . . . . . 33 & 34
- Reflections on the mentality of the English and the character of English rule in India 32
- The duty of Indians not to embarrass Government at the present juncture by political agitation 35

Excise:
- Comments on the Bombay — Administration Report for the year 1915-16 46
- Suggestion for starting salt depôts in the Ratnágiri District as has been done in the Punjáb 47

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay: Alleged extravagance in connecton with His Excellency the Governor's recent visit to Gujarát . 45

Imperial Legislative Council:
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy's resolution in the — on the working of the Defence of India Act 38
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's resolution in the — on the subject of the Calcutta University Commission 40
- Comments on the Honourable Sir Shankar Nair's oppisition to free and compulsory primary education in the — 39
- Comments on the Resolution in the — requiring one month's notice before the introduction of a private Bill in the Council . . 41
- The new Budget in the — . . . . 36 & 37

Indian Press: Comments on the policy of the new non-Brahmin paper *Justice* issued in Madras 49

Indians in the Colonies:
- Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's statements in Parliament with regard to the question of Indian indentured labour . . . . . . 43 & 44
- Comments on the Secretary of State's reply to the Government of India's despatch of 1915 on Indentured labour 42

Police: The Defence of India Act and the — 48

War:
- Alleged recruiting disturbances at Kolhápur 14
- Appeal to Government to grant to their menial servants some increase of pay to make up for the abnormal rise in prices brought about by the — 24

B 549—6 CON

PARAGRAPH.

[illegible] ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Comments on a speech delivered by the Collector of Sukkur at a Durbar in connection with the Indian — Loan 19
Comments on the recapture of Kut-el-Amara 25
England is unable to combat the evil of drink even in these times of — 22
Government should take steps to enforce economy and discourage the enjoyment of luxuries 21
Reflections on the official account of the German atrocities with the Cameroons 26
Reflections on the progress of the — 23
The Defence of India Force Act and the duty of Indians . . . . 1—13
The Indian — Loan . . . . 15—18
What the Indian representatives will have to do at the Imperial — Conference 20

EDUCATION—

A Moslem complaint about God being styled "mother and father" in one of the lessons in the Third Gujarati Reader 53
If the Englishmen in India were to part with their authority in educational matters to Indians the results would be marvellous 50
Muhammadans and the question of compulsory primary education in Bombay 51
The D. J. Sind College principalship 52

RAILWAYS—

A Railway complaint 55
Treatment of high class Indian railway passengers by Europeans . . . 54

MUNICIPALITIES—

Thána: A complaint against the Chairman of the Notified Area Committees of Santa Cruz, Borivli, etc. (—) 56

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The Defence of India Force Act and the duty of Indians.

Mahrátta (5), 4th Mar.

*1. “When the Viceroy first gave out the idea of the new force it was believed in all quarters that a deep examination of the new circumstances had really changed the angle of vision of the authorities and induced them to open for Indians in a right generous spirit the door so far closed to them. The appearance of the Bill threw some new light on the mental pre-occupations of the authorities and now the Select Committee's report and the discussion on the same in the Imperial Council give us valid grounds for believing that the Indian Government is not yet prepared to be just towards us—*Indians of pure descent.* They want our money, they want our lives. But they do not want us to aspire to positions of trust and honour in the army. They want us to come in our thousand and hundreds of thousands to defend *their* Empire, but they refuse to do *that* for us which will be an indication of *their* belief that *we* Indians look upon *their* Empire as potentially *ours.* We are *in* the Empire and there are only two ways in which we can think of the Empire. We may either look upon the latter as a group of the possession of an alien people in which we need never hope to be treated as equals of these aliens. Or we may look upon this territorial group as one in which we may in a reasonable period become the equals of our sometime ‘conquerors’. The intelligent and enlightened portion of the Indian community thinks of the Empire in the latter spirit and hence it urges the youth of India to be optimistic. Hope! Do not give up hope!—That is the burthen of our leaders' public orations and private advice on every topic, political or other. But the burthen of Government measures is continuously hostile to that of our leaders' speeches and talks. The net result of it all is the failure of the Indian leaders to keep the light of Hope still burning in the youthful minds. The result is deplored by all parties, but the only way to avert it is avoided by the authorities. The India Defence Force Act is the latest instance of a measure which by its halting and mistrustful policy will repel more Indians than it will attract by the small concession it embodies. Such are the facts. The Defence Force Act has intensified racial distinctions. It has opened the door of the army to us Indians but in a very grudging manner. It promises us nothing but the life of a common soldier—no higher training, no commissions. What is our duty under the circumstances? Our duty is plain. Grudging as the Government is, we must be ungrudging in our response to the call we have received. India is *ours.* The British Empire is *ours,* We are citizens of India and the Empire. Though our status in the country of our forefathers and in the Empire of our compulsory adoption in such as every self-respecting human being must heartily hate, we hope, with the help of Time and endeavour, to rise to the level we naturally aspire to. Let us thank Time for having compelled (or induced?) our Government to open the doors of the army to all Indians without distinction for the period of the War. Let us shoulder the musket and learn the drudgery of the common soldier as long as the war lasts. This education will avail us immensely in our future agitation for Rights. The youth of India—and we call upon the College and High school students to join the ranks in their hundreds—the enlightened youth of India who will have gone through the experiences of the military life, will have a confidence created in themselves which will be of immense use to them in their career. Our aim is the emancipation of our country from the unbearable yoke of irresponsible bureaucracy. For the work which this aim requires from us, the soldier's qualities are a necessary factor in us. Now has an opportunity been placed before us by Time, when we can develop the soldier in us to some extent. It behoves us for the sake of the Motherland to take full advantage of this opportunity. Let us remember that those who are in power *never can*—such is common human nature—part with their power without necessity. Do we not know that the history of the English people is a continuous sermon inculcating the necessity of tough and rough struggle, unceasing service and sacrifice on the part of those who would share power with their masters? Let us not draw false lessons from the unique example of the Mikado of Japan. We ought to be prepared for the worst, and at the same time to labour in the Mahratta-spirit (the spirit of undaunted patriotism) for the best that we can think of for the Motherland." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The Honourable members of the Imperial Council were unfit to understand the *military point of view*—they were children: That is the dictum of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. It is this *most sacred* and *abstruse* military standpoint which compelled the Select Committee to bring within the scope of the compulsory provisions of the Bill, those fortunate persons who are specified therein! If this discrimination appears to Indians as a mark of distrust—well they are an *unpractical* lot. The military authorities know what is good for India! The Honourable members of the Imperial Council who plead for a policy of *trust* know not *Secrets of making a government popular*! Or perhaps the military authorities care little for the *popularity* of the English rule in India. We do not know. Frankly, we are in the dark as to the motives which rule our rulers. We can make conjectures but we can never be positive in our assertions. Under these circumstances, we can only hope that Providence is guiding our rulers aright. We have been compelled to write this note, because we were painfully surprised at the way in which our representatives in the Imperial Council were treated by the Commander-in-Chief.]

Young India (11), 28th Feb.

2. "V. R" writes in *Young India*:—"The reception which has been accorded to the proposal of the Government of India to raise a Defence of India Force has not yet been marked by any exuberant outburst of enthusiasm; but we are sure that it would meet with an adequate response. While on the one hand some of the principal organs of the Anglo-Indian press have openly hinted that the measure may interfere with the pursuit of commerce, the Indians have not, on the other, enough information yet, on which to base any enthusiastic action regarding it. So far as Indians are concerned, the proposed measure seeks to perpetuate the racial distinction to a certain extent. This apart, the speeches of both the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief leave many matters connected with the recruitment and composition of the Indian units in total obscurity, and so does the Bill. The commissioned ranks are obviously shut out at any rate for the time being to the Indians; but if they show themselves fit, the fulfilment of their aspiration in this direction would be most favourably considered, when the time comes. This point is even more authoritatively, though indirectly acknowledged in the reply which Mr. Chamberlain gave to a question in the House of Commons the other day. The Right Hon'ble gentleman stated that 'he had been informed by the Viceroy that Indians would be eligible to commissions as soon as they proved their fitness for them.' Why the Viceroy should not have told this to his Council is more than we can understand; but it is thoroughly in keeping with the inscrutable traditions of the terrestrial providence which the bureaucracy is plying in this land. As to when or how this fitness is to be attained not a word has been said yet. Perhaps that too will be determined in the regulation.......... The Bill itself was 'drafted *after consultation with the Chamber of Commerces and other representative bodies*.' We should like to know whether any Indian public bodies were consulted in drafting the Bill and whether it is the intention of the Government to give the Army Headquarters the assistance of Indians in drafting the regulations. We take our stand on the assurance of the Commander-in-Chief that 'there is no intention of discriminating between the two classes'. Perhaps, the omission to take note of Indian opinion was due to inadvertence, which we trust will be made good by including in the Advisory Committee some competent Indians, so that in drafting the regulations adequate regard may be paid to the interests of Indians. We have no doubt our European fellow subjects on the Committee will stand foster-father to the Indians as they have all these years done. But we think that that is not enough. We mean no reflection on them when we say that it will not suffice if *they* represent Indian interests. The time when the country felt satisfied if Europeans represented her interests is gone past recall, and consistency with the expressed intentions and policy of the Government demands that suitable

Indians may be selected to assist the Army Headquarters in drafting regulations which affected at least the *Indian units*. The Bill, as it now stands, is not very explicit and we doubt if it will emerge any the better from the Select Committee. That Committee consists of a strong majority of Europeans; to which should be added the fact that the three non-official Indians on it are not the best or the most distinguished or the most independent among the Indian members. They are, however, distinguished for their amiability of disposition and two of them at least are so obliging by nature that we shall not be surprised if they endorse what the European majority says or does.......... Before concluding, however, it is our painful duty to say a word of protest against the policy of scant confidence followed even towards Member of Council. Even in a matter of vital interest of this nature, we have been reduced to dependence on London, for what crumbs of information the Secretary of State is, in the plenitude of his wisdom, pleased to throw out to the starving dogs of Indian public opinion. This does not at any rate look like taking the Honourable Members into the confidence of the Government, as claimed by the Viceroy at the very outset of his speech. We wonder whether this is one of those matters, in which, as Sir Reginald Craddock said in some other connection, officials alone are interested and outsiders cannot be trusted."

Message (6), 25th and 27th Feb.

3. "In replying to the debate on the Indian Defence Force Bill, His Excellency the Commander-in-chief was pleased to remark that if 'they (Indian recruits) showed themselves fit for the position they were aspiring for, the fulfilment of their aspirations would be most favourably considered, when the time came.' It seems then that in the opinion of such an authority as the Commander-in-Chief, the fitness of Indians to be in the commissioned ranks is yet to be proved. Did His Excellency mean to suggest that a nation which produced a Shiwaji, a Ranjit Sing, a Mahadji Scinde and other generals cannot now produce men who can be lieutenants or even corporals? No, he could not have meant to say that.—he surely knows Wadgaon. His Excellency, we think, would admit the fitness of Indians from a military point of view, but he is not sure as to their fitness from other points of view. To be plain, he probably thinks it *impolitic* to give Commissions in the army to Indians.......... If we say that the war has tested our loyalty and proved our *fitness* from the point of view of policy, we shall be told that the war has not proved any such thing. It has proved the loyalty of Indian soldiers and of *unarmed* citizens. It has proved nothing about the loyalty of Indian commissioned officers, for the simple reason that there were no such officers! We understand the force as well as the sting of the argument, but we want to place our own difficulty before Government. If Government is not going to arm us and open commissioned ranks to us, unless the loyalty of armed citizens and trained Indian officers is proved, the realisation of our aspirations will be postponed to Doomsday, again for the simple reason that unarmed people *cannot* prove that they will be loyal when armed. The reasoning in fact runs in a circle—no arms without loyalty of armed men proved and no proof of such loyalty possible, without possession of arms, by citizens. The circle can be thus got over, however. Give arms to *some* of the citizens, admit to officership *some* Indians in the beginning and when this experiment has proved a success, proceed to extend the privileges. But Government apparently are not willing to make even a beginning in this direction. *And hence our tears.*" [In its subsequent issue the paper writes:—"Perhaps, the authorities do not want that Indians should volunteer in any large numbers and that is how we can construe the invidious distinctions which will be continued between the *European* British subjects and *non-European* British subjects of His Majesty. That these distinctions are to be maintained in the new Force will be clear to any one who calmly and carefully peruses the two notable speeches of the last week, notwithstanding the statement of the Commander-in-Chief to the contrary.......... It is pleasing to learn on the authority of a round-about source, we mean that of Mr. Chamberlain—that the Viceroy is anxious to make Indians eligible

to commissions. Why the Viceroy should not have told us in the first instance is beyond all imagination. Even this third-hand announcement is some solatium for the otherwise disappointing character of the 'concession'. In spite of the many desideratums which environ the composition of the Indian units, we earnestly hope our countrymen will whole-heartedly respond to this call to arms and take full advantage of the small door of opportunity which has been thrown open to them for still further proving that they are as capable of bearing a trust as any other people of the Empire. The distinctions and differences which will be observed will be galling no doubt, and very often it will need an inexhaustible well of patience to put up with the idiosyncracies and overbearing conduct of unsympathetic and hot-tempered officers. But it is inevitable in the present dispensation of things and we fully trust our countrymen will bear with all these, in the higher and nobler interests of the nation."]

Message (6), 2nd Mar.

4. "According to the amended definition, anybody, from a European British subject down to a full-blooded Negro, provided the latter has establised a claim to being a European British subject, by 'lodging form "A" with the Registration authority' within the prescribed period, *i.e.*, by 3rd March 1917, would be a 'European British Subject' within the meaning of this statute. Whatever the exigencies of the situation, those who have been responsible for the drafting and amending the legislation in this respect have been guilty of an egregious blunder by accentuating the racial distinction that has already existed by the addition to it of a new factor, the factor of religious distinction.......... To say nothing of his two Indian colleagues, we ask what Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was doing when this new bar of religion in addition to the already existing bar of race was forged. We perfectly understand the attitude of the other two gentlemen. But that a trained lawyer like Mr. Basu should have signed the report without a word of dissent is extremely disappointing.......... Further, we are tempted to ask what becomes of the previous declaration of Sir Charles Monro that if the Indians showed themselves fit for commissioned ranks, the fulfilment of their aspiration would be favourably considered. What becomes, too, of the Viceroy's communication to the Secretary of State that Indians would be eligible to commissioned ranks? We were told only yesterday by one who had been in France for 12 months on active service, that the French had allowed their coloured troops to be officered by their own men and that every opportunity was allowed to them even amid the distractions of war, to qualify themselves for commissions. If that be so in the case of far less enlightened people, can it be said of us that we have neither the intelligence nor the capacity to officer at least our own units? In concluding the discussion, the Commander-in-Chief said that the 'eminently temperate suggestions which had been put forward' would be 'treasured up' and be 'fully and sympathetically considered *in the future when the situation was quieter and more settled*.' The remarks of His Excellency were thoroughly superfluous. We know that the suggestions would be *treasured* up in the same way as they had been during the past thirty years and fully and sympathetically considered *in the future*, when the force has been disbanded. In making these superfluous remarks, we do not think His Excellency was quite serious nor need we take him seriously. However, we are glad that the non-official members unreservedly placed themselves in the hands of the Government and facilitated the smooth passage of the Bill. Unsatisfactory as the result is, so far as we Indians are concerned, let us unhesitatingly accept even this as for the best and do all that we can to make the measure an unqualified success. It is hard indeed to accept even Eurasians and Indian-Christians, most of whom will at other times be unfit to hold a candle to the Indians, as officers. But we have perforce to bow to the inevitable and if we are not to miss what little opportunity has been offered us, let us show our readiness to sacrifice by submitting to this anomaly with a willing resignation." [Elsewhere the paper writes :—"We must confess to a degree of surprise to learn that on such an important occasion as the passing of the Indian Defence Force Bill, His Excellency the Viceroy should have been absent from the Council and relegate the task of presiding over it to a

second rate lawyer politician.......... We know His Excellency is preoccupied with more pressing affairs of State. Yet unless he thought that the Bill was a mere trumpery affair, we believe he would have snatched a precious hour or two to attend the Council during the passage of the Bill, if not throughout the day's sitting.......... Does it indicate His Excellency's coldness towards the matter or was he unwilling to face the storm of words? We hope an explanation would be forthcoming in order to dispel the impression which he has created in the public mind."]

Gujaráti (13), 4th Mar., Eng. cols.

*5. "Of course anything plausible is justifiable in the case of a war measure, and it is no wonder that the solution suggested by Mr. Abbot was accepted as an easy way out of the difficulty. The fact, however, stands that racial distinctions, against which the country has always strongly protested, have been further intensified on account of the enlarged scope thus given to the definition. The position is this. First, measures are taken or institutions established on the unjustifiable basis of racial distinction or racial preferences and favouritism and that too at the expense of the general taxpayer, and that differential principle is sought to be further extended in the name of military necessity in derogation to the rights and privileges of the other communities! That is a double injury inflicted upon them, and although the country may acquiesce in the measure as a matter of mere urgency, it is impossible not to feel most keenly the anomaly thus created.......... It requires an extraordinary amount of patience and tolerance not to characterise this state of things in its true colours and His Excellency the Commander-in-chief would have done well not to read a homily to the Honourable Mr. Sarma when his predecessors and their responsible colleagues had lamentably failed to do their duty since Sir Henry Lawrence sounded his note of warning seventy years ago.......... In the absence of fuller information it is not possible to realise how the non-official members and Sir Charles Munro, who were shortly opposed to one another at one time in their standpoints, subsequently softened down and more or less made up their differences. The former had at the outset a serious grievance on the ground of principle and the Commander-in-Chief spoke as if he was an all-wise military and political expert, but strangely enough he moderated his domineering tone of superiority at the conclusion of the debate. He dwelt on the anxieties which the military authorities had to face and added that 'all the remarks which had been made in the Council would be treasured up and the eminently temperate suggestions which had been put forward would be fully and sympathetically considered in the future when the situation was quieter and settled'. This eminently conciliatory and sensible assurance seems to have brought about a change in the attitude of the councillors.......... If provision was made for the training of European youths at the expense of the Indian tax-payer, there was no earthly reason why Indian youths should not have, according to all principles of military fairness and political consistency, the same opportunities as being the sons of the soil. This claim is irresistible and unassailable. No amount of quibbling can ever satisfy the people on these points. But the motion was of course lost by 37 voting against and 23 voting for it. No other result could have been expected from an officialised Council.......... The debate on the Defence of India Force Bill was a very important one and we wish His Excellency Lord Chelmsford had made it convenient to preside on the occasion and listen to the proceedings in person. He would have then appreciated more fully than he seems to have done the intensity of the mingled feelings of regret and astonishment which past blunders have aroused in the country."

Gujaráti (13), 25th Feb.

6. Though Indians have been given the opportunity of serving the Empire at the eleventh hour they should put forth all their strength to enable the Allies to gain victory. The Indian Defence Force Bill makes a very small concession to the aspirations of the Indian people. However, we must be thankful for small mercies. A public meeting was convened in Bombay on Sunday last and great enthusiasm was displayed thereat as if the Indians had been given the right

of bearing arms for all times. In fact the Act will remain in force for six months after the war! Government are in no way under an obligation to accept the military services of Indians after the termination of the war. European British subjects will be requisitioned to take the place of the garrison at the frontiers and to form themselves into the second line force. Indians aspire to serve in the artillery and in the machine gun sections and to work on the aeroplanes and in submarines with a view to defeating the enemy. But these are mere dreams! Indians will only be formed into a third line infantry corps. The Commander-in-Chief has said that certain provinces and communities have not furnished a single recuit to the army. We would like to know which these commnities and provinces are. Is any attempt being made to revive the martial spirit of such communities? The present situation is due to recruiting having been confined to certain classes only and to the operation of the Arms Act. We would like to have a Committee appointed to enquire into the fitness of Indians for military service. The Indian Defence Force Act should be so amended as to give full scope to the Indians to display their abilities. Let all the inequalities between Europeans and Indians in the matter of commissions, pay and prospects be removed and then see the result. We are afraid the war will come to an end before the valour of the Indian Defence Force is put to the test. It will take at least seven months for the giving of the necessary training to the people after the rules under the Act have been framed. We would, however, urge the Indian people not to allow this opportunity to slip of proving their merits. [Elsewhere the paper publishes a letter from Mr. Ranjitram Bawabhai suggesting the formation of a "College Unit" from the students studying in the various colleges of Gujarát and Káthiáwár.]

Indian Social Reformer (3), 4th Mar.

***7.** "As Eurasians, Indian Christians and, in some cases, Parsis, have been admitted to Volunteer Corps, the new definition, as the Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Sastry rightly contended, implied an invidious discrimination against other Indians. The Commander-in-Chief could not, of course, see the point of the objection, and His Excellency's manner provoked from Mr. Sastry the complaint that he seemed to take them to be children. It may be desirable in future to entrust the conduct of such measures in Council to civilian members of Government who are more accustomed to deal with objections raised by their colleagues in debate, than to the Commander-in-Chief who naturally expects his orders to be obeyed and not to be discussed.......... The Act, it does not seem to be generally known, provides that His Excellency the Viceroy is to notify the areas and classes from which recruits are to be taken. It is desirable that the notification should be promptly made in order to avoid disappointment to those areas and classes which are not to have the benefit of the Act."

Kesari (95), 27th Feb.; *Sandesh* (103), 25th Feb.; *Bakul* (83), 25th Feb.; *Kalpataru* (93), 25th Feb.; *Arya Vaibhav* (*new*), 1st Mar.

8. The war has brought many important changes in the world. So far England could rely on her navy to protect her from invasion and to keep the seas open to commerce. It also freed her from the necessity of maintaining a large standing army. The German submarines, however, have in the present war made the task of the navy more difficult owing to their large number and increased radius of action, and they are seriously interfering with the commerce of the Empire. Similarly on land on account of the destructive power of modern weapons of war England has come to realise that a country with a small army has very little chance against an adversary like Germany. Circumstances have thus compelled her to revise her old military policy towards this country. England held this country with a very small army simply by disarming the population. Even the small Indian army maintained by Government is largely recruited from men from beyond the frontier and is almost entirely officered by Europeans. The war, however, has convinced our Government that they must abandon their old policy of distrust and entrust to some extent the defence of the country to the Indians themselves, especially at a time when the regular army is drawn to other theatres of war. Some amongst us declare that so long as Government discriminates between Europeans and Indians we should not be very enthusiastic over the Indian Defence Force Act. We do not subscribe to this. Although Government do not definitely pledge themselves at present to satisfy all our just demands they will be compelled by force of circumstances to treat them sympathetically in course of time. We ought to be satisfied with the present opening. Higher appointments in the army will be given to us in due course. This is a call to our educated classes and we trust that they will respond heartily to it. This unique opportunity will not occur again. The Indian Defence Force is avowedly for the defence of the country. It is no use asking for self-government if we are not prepared to defend that government by force of arms. We should come forward with an unlimited number of fighting men. God has given this opportunity to Young India and He will satisfy our other aspirations also. [The *Sandesh* says:—Indians have got an opportunity of discharging the sacred duty of defending their motherland. They should remember Mr. Tilak's warning that he would give up the Home Rule movement if they fail to adequately respond to the call for Volunteers. The required number of recruits can very easily be made up if every town contributes its quota. Particularly those of us who advocate the cause of Home Rule should now come forward to popularise this movement. We must not withhold our assistance from Government even while they harass us by restricting the movements of our leaders like Messrs. Tilak and Pal. Indian youths should bear in mind that the Almighty God will not fail to satisfy our just ambitions if we discharge this patriotic duty. The *Bakul* says:—Government ignored our demand for Volunteering for thirty years. The right is conceded to us now when the Empire is in difficulties. We should not, however, lose this golden opportunity of convincing our Government that we are able to defend ourselves. The *Kalpataru* remarks:—Have Government conferred this right on us as the birth-right of every British citizen? If they aim simply at getting over their present difficulties, there is no reason why we should be very enthusiastic over this offer. We trust Government will make this point clear. The *Arya Vaibhav* says that Government is at liberty to train any number of Indians and take them anywhere they are required, but people must first know that they will be treated on a footing of equality with the Colonials.]

9. "The right to bear arms for which the educated Indians have been agitating these 30 years is to-day a *fait accompli*. Not only this, but those Indians who qualify themselves in the Army will be eligible for Commissions therein. When Mr. Tilak (the Mahratta Nationalist) and *New India* (the Bible of the Home Rule Leaguers) make frantic appeals to the educated Indians for enrolment in the Defence of India Force, it means that the tide has come in the flood of Indian progress which, if taken advantage of at this psychological moment, will but lead to great results. We sincerely compliment Mr. Tilak upon his plain speaking to the 'Home Rulers' regarding ruling to be done by them and the defence of their homes by the British or the Japanese. Now has come the hour for trial for those who are most vociferous in the demand of full-blown Home Rule. We have little doubt that the places where nationalists of the stamp and stamina of Mr. B. G. Tilak rule the roost among the Home Rulers there would be an adequate response to this clarion call for the defence of the country. As to our own province where public life is insincere and fitful, it is a question whether the educated classes will make a decent response. But the matter is complicated by the fact that the pay and prospects of those who will enrol themselves in the force will not be better than those of illiterate privates in the Regular Army. If the pay of the educated classes who enrol themselves in the Defence of India Force is placed on a par with that of the Anglo-Indians, cause for complaint on that score will cease to exist. This consideration apart, it should be the duty of the true sons of the soil to make a supreme effort for inducing educated men to join, in adequate numbers, in the Defence of India Force. A momentous hour has come for supreme self-sacrifice. We have in our midst the Citizens'

Phœnix (7), 28th Feb.

[illegible] whereof should set a personal example in order [illegible] brethren to join in the Defence of India Force. We [illegible] what personal sacrifices the members of the local Home Rule [illegible] whose fashion is to talk big and the loudest, are prepared to make in this connection. It is all very well to pass strongly-worded resolutions on this grievance and on that. But the real fitness lies in the doing in the hour of the country's call."

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 27th Feb., and 2nd Mar.

10. It is necessary that all should avail themselves of the fine opportunity offered by Government to the people for military training. Government is going to arrange that the training of those who join this new Force will not much interfere with their daily avocations, and, therefore, it is the duty of men of all professions and of students who have completed their courses to enrol themselves in it. We must bear it in mind that by joining this force we would be serving not only the Empire but our country also, for it is primarily intended for its defence, by setting free the regular forces to proceed to the front. If we hesitate to join and leave the defence of the country to the European portion of the Force, it will be the most disgraceful for all of us, for we will then be justly charged with shirking the responsibility of defending those rights for which we all have been clamouring. We fully trust that Young Indians will not allow such a stigma to fall upon them. Government have pledged their word to give commissions to Indians and we all hope that no invidious distinctions will be made between Indians and Europeans in the rules that are about to be promulgated. The angle of vision of Government has evidently undergone a change, and we join with Mrs. Besant in her appeal to Indians to be prepared to join without raising any doubts as to the conditions of service. We do not think that the European portion of the Force will be disbanded after the war, and we do not know why the Indian section should be differently treated. We, however, wish that Government should give a distinct assurance to that effect. [The paper in its subsequent issue remarks:—The non-official Indian members accorded, it is true, their consent to the measure in spite of its glaring defects as they did not want to place any hindrances in the path of Government at the present critical time. But we cannot help entering our strong protest against the narrow-mindedness exhibited by Government on the present occasion. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief not only gave no assurance for the grant of fresh concessions to the people in the future but on the contrary treated with contempt suggestions made by the non-official Indian members in that connection. It is to be regretted that Government have not yet given up their attitude of suspicion. The Indian members advocated enrolment of Indian cadets on the lines of the European units, and Government themselves knew that such a step would have powerfully helped in the recruitment of the Indian Defence Force, but the request was refused. What does it show? It only shows that Government is not yet prepared to trust Indians. Notwithstanding all this, we call upon Indians of all classes to run to the help of Government and enrol themselves as volunteers.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 27th Feb., Eng. cols., and 1st Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 27th Feb.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (75), 2nd Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 1st Mar.; *Gujaráti Panch* (15), 25th Feb.; *Indian Loyalist* (19), 1st Mar.; *Hind Vijaya* (60), 28th Feb.

11. "There is no doubt that great opportunity is accorded to India by Government's decision to constitute a Defence of India Force consisting of both European and Indian units, and we feel sure that it will be seized upon with alacrity and enthusiasm.......... The call has come and it must be responded to by the whole country. The present occasion has peculiar claims upon the educated and progressive classes. In proportion to their demand for rights and privileges, they must show a readiness to bear the burdens of Government, and if for any inadequate reasons they fail to respond to the call of duty, it will remain a paralysing and permanent reproach to them.......... Both the necessity of the moment and our future interests demand that we shall not be remiss in doing our duty by our King and Country to the best of our power and ability.........

But not in the hope of reward, and not in the spirit of calculation, do we make this appeal to our countrymen to rise for the defence of our Country and Empire. It must be done in the spirit of service, sacrifice and patriotism. .... We hope there will be recruiting meetings in various parts of the country, and young men will be exhorted to join the new army. Eager as they are for the regeneration of their country, their motto should be: 'The path of Duty is the way to Glory." [The paper in the subsequent issue wishes that Government had incorporated the suggestions of non-official Indian members in the Indian Defence Force Bill before passing it into law. It defends the action taken by the Select Committee in including Anglo-Indian, Parsis and Indian Christians in the definition of European British subjects so far as they are members of Volunteer Corps, on the ground of the emergency that has arisen to utilise the services of the volunteers on whose training so much money and time have been expended. It expresses a hope that Parsis who have already received military training will prove themselves worthy of commissions and that commissions may thus be thrown open to Indians through them. The *Sánj Vartamán* makes an appeal to educated Indians to enlist themselves in the Indian Defence Force in large numbers. *Shri Venkateshwar* also makes a similar appeal. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* exhorts young men of military age to join the Indian Defence Force and thus show their loyalty to the country and the King-Emperor. The *Gujaráti Punch* reminds the young men of the stirring appeal made by Mr. Tilak at Poona in this connection and asks them to enlist. The *Indian Loyalist* reminds the young men of the advice given by Shri Krishna to Arjuna in the Bhagwat Gita and asks them to join the Indian Defence Force. The *Hind Vijaya* also exhorts young Indians to enlist themselves and make the fullest use of the opportunity given to them by doing deeds of valour that would redound to the credit of India.]

Bombay Samáchár (55), 3rd Mar.

12. We had earnestly hoped that the Select Committee would find out some means of removing the distinction between the Europeans and Indians and it is but natural that the public should be disappointed to see their hopes frustrated by the rejection of all the suggestions advanced by the non-official Indian members. Some satisfaction will be expressed by the Parsis who were already Volunteers by the extension of the definition of the term "European British subjects" to make it applicable to them, but immense joy would have been felt by the Indian public in general if they had also been regarded as European British subjects, for by their exclusion they have been denied the pleasure of receiving commissions in the army. We very much wish Government had accepted the suggestion of admitting Indians to the Officers' Training School at Quetta. Be that as it may, we would ask all young men of military age to join the Indian Defence Force.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 4th Mar., Eng. cols.

*13. In the course of an article in which it exhorts the Parsis to join the Indian Defence Force in as large numbers as possible, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"With the improvement and expansion of the existing Volunteer Force which, the Commander-in-Chief said, the Government of India were doing with the help of the Indian Defence Act, about 200 Parsis will pass into and become members of the Indian Defence Force. Now that the racial bar which was keeping our men from entering the Army and giving their share in the defence of their country has been removed, we shall be surprised if the Parsee Community which prides itself on its education and advancement rests satisfied with this paltry quota to the need of the Empire.......... The Parsees are today a living, moving and forcible entity because of the British connection. That connection has lifted them up and imbued the remnants of a past greatness and glory with a spirit of freshness and vigour that has brought the Parsees into the hegemony of the Indian communities............ The Parsees' answer to that call is but one and that is to be true to that legendary lore which has marked them out as the sons of the valiant Rustom and Sohrab, true to those historic facts which record their descent from Jamshed and Kaikhusro, Gushtasp and Noshirwan, Cyrus and Darius, true to their gospel that lays down loyalty and allegiance to the Sovereign as one of its chief tenets. The fear of extinction need not trouble them.......... We trust the Parsees will rise to the occasion that has presented itself before them and in spite of their numerical weakness lead the rest of India in the matter of enrolment for the defence of the Empire as they have done in all other matters in the past."

Alleged recruiting disturbances at Kolhápur.

Message (6), 28th Feb.; *Kesari* (95), 27th Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 28th Feb.

14. "We learn, with regret, from the *Vishwabandhu* of Kolhápur, that on the 16th and 18th instant, the people in that city assembled in crowds near the *Foujdar Kacheri* with a view, as stated, to offer opposition to recruiting for the army. His Highness the Maharaja promptly put in his appearance there and took effective measures to disperse the rowdy crowd. In view of the possibility of the recrudescence of such spirit of opposition to the recruiting going on there, a notification has been issued by order of His Highness the Maharajah, forbidding the coming out of the citizens there with sticks, or even umbrellas. Forming of people into crowds is thereby forbidden,—cricket, tennis, dramatic and other shows even are for some days forbidden as a precautionary measure to prevent large crowds. Those who will oppose or try to oppose recruiting are threatened with prompt and severe punishment. A 'Punitive' Police Force will be formed, if necessary. In case any injustice is being done or inconvenience caused by the enlistment of a particular recruit or in case force is alleged to have been used in securing a particular recruit, people concerned should duly apply to the proper authorities, and they are promised justice and redress of grievances, if any are proved. From the account given above, it will be clear to the readers that Kolhápur is not quite in normal conditions now. We can only express the hope that these conditions will not last long." [The *Kesari* remarks :—We find no justification for the action of the Kolhápur authorities in ordering that every passer-by should salute a military officer. It is particularly to be deplored that peaceful and respectable persons should have been insulted under this ill-conceived order. The question of recruiting is rather delicate. Had the authorities handled it with tact, this disturbance could have been averted. We suggest that they should now make amends for the insults the peaceful citizens have received and also pardon those who joined in the disturbances, through a misunderstanding. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says :—Attempts should have been made to explain matters to the people and to conciliate them, but nothing appears to have been done in that direction. On the contrary, the steps taken are likely to increase the fears entertained by the people. Severe measures like the imposition of punitive police are justified only in the case of a grave situation arising, and their employment in the case of ordinary scuffles only gives rise to panic. It behoves the Kolhápur authorities to publish the facts of the case.]

The Indian War Loan.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 3rd Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 2nd Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 2nd Mar.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (75), 3rd Mar.; *Gujaráti* (13), 25th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (55), 2nd Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 2nd Mar.

15. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses approval of the terms of the new War Loan and particularly of the Post Office Cash certificate scheme which will enable even the poor classes to contribute their quota to the War Loan and expresses hope that the Indian people will show their loyalty to the Empire by subscribing to it and thus ensuring the success of the Allies in the war, which they are waging for a righteous cause. [The *Hindusthán* also expresses hope that the people of India will readily subscribe to the War Loan. The *Akhbár-e-Islam* exhorts mill owners and rich men among the Muhammadans to subscribe to the war loan and to offer facilities to their employés to do the same. The *Shri Venkateshwar* appeals to the rich to subscribe to the War Loan and thus hasten the victory of the Allies. The *Gujaráti* writes :—One main thing about the Indian War Loan is not made clear, namely, whether it is to be given as a loan or as a gift and whether India is to bear the burden of the additional debt. We would very much like the point to be cleared up.

The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses admiration at the able manner in which the Finance Minister has drafted his scheme for the 5 per cent. War Loan, 5½ per cent. War Bonds and Post Office Cash Certificates and for the facilities that have been offered for converting the old loans into the new one. It is fully confident that the rich as well as the poor will readily come forward to subscribe to the War Loan. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also approves of the terms of the War Loan and asks people not to mind the depreciation of the old 3 per cent. loan in the market owing to the high rate of interest offered for the new loan. It expresses hope that the prices of all the Government loans and securities will rise considerably after the termination of the war.]

Gujaráti (13), 4th Mar., Eng. cols.

*16. "This poor country has in the past borne more than its share of military expenditure even to the detriment of her moral, intellectual and material development and has so far done what she could to help the Empire with men and money at this supreme crisis. The donation of 150 crores represents two years' revenue of India before the war and we are glad she has seized the right opportunity to participate financially also in the mighty struggle, apart from the voluntary contributions she has made in a variety of forms.......... We cannot say that the method adopted by the Viceroy in committing the Indian people to an unprecedented financial burden without consulting their representatives on the Supreme Legislative Council beforehand was right or proper. His Excellency could well have afforded to treat their views and feelings with greater consideration. This precedent is open to serious objections. The scheme of the War Loan, however, is well conceived and ought to evoke a generous response. We congratulate the Finance Member on the lucidity of his financial exposition and on the courage, sense of justice and impartiality, and statesmanship he has displayed in tapping the right sources of income with one exception for meeting the annual charge of six millions. The whole fiscal and economic policy of the Indian Government has so far been largely dominated by powerful British interests and last year the poor Indian had his salt taxed further because of the tenderness shown by the Home Government to the interests of the British cotton manufacturers. This political and fiscal scandal, of which Japan and other well developed countries have taken the fullest advantage at the expense of this backward country, has at last been removed to the satisfaction of the whole country. We are grateful to His Excellency the Viceroy that he has not allowed his *festina lente* to come in the way of the removal of a long-standing and painful sore. We are sorry we can not approve of the surcharge imposed on firewood and other necessary articles of food which have already gone up in price. With this one exception we welcome the Financial Statement and gratefully congratulate the Government of India on the equitable, courageous and honourable policy they have adopted in adjusting their financial arrangements."

Message (6), 25th Feb.; *Sandesh* (103), 28th Feb.; *Sholápur Samáchár* (106), 27th Feb.

17. "Prospect of monetary advantage apart, it is the duty of every Indian to help the Empire with whatever money he can spare. A rupee given to the loan is a bullet more at the enemy. The Munitions Ministry *cannot* manufacture the 'silver bullets,' and therefore, it will enthusiastically welcome such addition to their output of munitions. A local bank has consented to accept payments to the loan by instalments, and we have no doubt that Indians—rich as well as poor—will take advantage of this, or any such facility offered to them and hurl their 'silver bullets' at the enemy of the Empire." [The *Sandesh* says:—Meetings are being held at several places to make the War Loan a success. This is a call to the whole country and will meet, we trust, with a worthy response. It is a well-known fact, however, that although we are strong in man-power our pecuniary resources are comparatively limited. Still each one of us should contribute his mite. India contains a population of 25 crores, and a very modest contribution of a rupee per head will make a decent total of 25 crores of rupees. The *Sholápur Samáchár* says:—By contributing liberally to the War Loan we shall be assisting our King-Emperor in winning the war. This is a golden opportunity which we should not lose.]

Indian Social Reformer (3), 4th March.

18. "Five years ago no one would have thought that India was in a position to make a free gift of £100 millions for any purpose. And even to-day, having regard to her slender resources relatively to other parts of the Empire and the manifold needs of her population, she is making it not out of her plenty but out of her poverty. But she is giving it in no grudging spirit. She gives it gladly out of gratitude for all that the British connection has done for her, and because this war is, so far as the Allies are concerned, a war for the ideals which she hopes to realise for herself within the British Empire. As compared with the vast expenditure of blood and treasure which Great Britain is pouring out, our contribution is as nothing. But we hope our critics will not lose sight of the conditions and the spirit in which it is made. They will then realise that small as our contribution is, it represents an immensely larger good will and sacrifice than greater contributions from other parts of the Empire.......... We hope the country will respond enthusiastically to the call that is made on her. It is the call of gratitude, of patriotism, of duty."

Comments on a speech delivered by the Collector of Sukkur at a Durbar in connection with the Indian War Loan.

Pársi Sansár (26), 17th Feb., Eng. cols.

19. Commenting upon the remarks made by Mr. E. L. Moysey, the Collector, at a Durbar held at Sukkur, on the subject of the Indian War Loan, the *Pársi Sansár* regrets that he should have belittled the contribution already made by India towards the war and continues:—"We believe the cause would have been served better, had no attempt been made to belittle India in the manner mentioned above. How can it be said that India is not paying enhanced taxes? She is bearing the enhanced taxation upon the income of every individual man quietly and silently. It is said that there has been no rise in prices prevailing in India. But those who say so are rather unaware of the conditions. Leaving aside the question of India, we would cite instances in our own midst; Sind is agitating since long regarding the heavy prices of foodstuffs, ruling at present......... How can then one say that since the war, people are not paying high prices? We admit that the people in England do pay higher prices than the people of India, but Mr. Moysey, while saying so, does not compare the income side of the question between the people of England and the people of India. A particular Zamindar or a wealthier class is not to be judged at, but the subject should be looked at from the common point of view. India is so poor and miserable in general that in proportion to her wealth she has played a fairly good part by way of paying money for the common cause. We ourselves, however, would certainly appeal to the people to contribute all they can towards the New War Loan, and we are sure they will; we only write this as it seems to us an attempt has been needlessly made to belittle India."

What the Indian representatives will have to do at the Imperial War Conference.

Message (6), 27th Feb.

20. "Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons that '*he would be the only representative of India who would be a member of the Imperial War Cabinet for the purpose of the special sittings*', ought now to set at rest all speculations as to the character of the 'Indian' representation at the Conference. Whatever one may have to say of the oddity of a Tory English gentleman, who has never seen India, never known India, except through the red-tape of the India Office carried on from a distance of 7000 miles and who has never professed in his past career any goodwill for India's well being—that is of course inconsistent with the jingo imperalism of the Tory party—one cannot help being utterly disappointed at the cold treatment of India by the 'push and go' Premier. Our readers will recall the recent interview which Dr. David Lloyd George gave a representative of the Australian United Service Cable, wherein he declared that he would rise above all precedents. To us, at any rate, this does not look like having risen above any precedent. On the other hand, whatever his past views may have been in regard to matters of common justice and fairness Mr. George has obviously given them the go-by at the machinations of his co-triumvirs Lord Curzon and Lord Milner and has thought that by giving a stone where bread was sorely needed he has satisfied the crying wants of the Indian subjects of His Majesty!

There would have been some excuse if British statesmanship had failed at other times. But at a moment when the whole Empire is faced with a severe crisis, it is hardly conceivable that any body, much less a man of Mr. Lloyd George's type, would allow himself to be led into a mirage by the blind prejudices and party cravings of narrow-minded Imperialists. And yet we are faced with the hard reality of his first great failure to rise to the full height of the occasion!......... Translated into the language of the experience of the past fifty years we shall not wonder if the intrigues of high Tory politicians with journalists and superjournalists succeed only too well in leaving India under the reconstructed Empire worse off than she is to-day under the ægis of Great Britain alone! Mr. Chamberlain's announcement takes away the bottom of all pretence which some people had for believing that the Ruling Princes had been given direct representation and that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner would represent them, as Mr. Chamberlain does 'India' at the Conference. On this point, too, there is no longer room for doubt, and His Highness, like His Honour Sir James Meston and Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, will be playing second fiddle to the Great Mogal who obviously holds in his palm not only the destinies of 250 millions of British India but now of the 65 millions who are the subjects of 'our Allies'. Mr. Chamberlain's 'colleagues' (or assistants?) would *accompany* him at the sittings and take such part (as may be graciously allowed) in the deliberations as the subjects under discussion required!"

Government should take steps to enforce economy and discourage the enjoyment of luxuries.

Sind Observer (10), 17th Feb.

21. "While Government are engaged in a strenuous endeavour to collect all the available money in the Empire through the medium of a very attractive war loan, the terms of which have been drawn up so that even small sums may be invested in the Fund, no attempt has yet been made to impose a sumptuary law to reduce expenses. This attitude is characteristic of the British Government which puts off compulsion to the eleventh hour, and is singularly timorous of grasping the nettle in a resolute manner. Germany is quick at recognising what action should be taken by the State at a certain juncture and the machinery is promptly set in motion, which compares very favourably with our lumberous methods of organisation. And we pay dearly for our drifting policy in the end. We have eventually to resort to the German way to successfully combat her organisation. When England saw plainly that she must summon and train her man-power in order to win the war she began to do so at her usual slow pace, so leisurely that in India in the thirtieth month of the great war registration of eligibles has commenced, and the bill to call them out has not yet been placed before the Legislature. Help the Empire to victory by lending your money to the country! cries the State, and two-and-a-half years after the outbreak of war floats a war loan in India. But what measures has the State adopted to curtail expenditure on luxuries and the various et ceteras on which so much money is wasted? *Nil.* The people are merely advised to save their money and invest it in the loan, the success of which is vital to the Empire. In the meantime luxuries of all descriptions are permitted to pass through the ports for the delectation of a nation at war. *Charity* and non-charity dances continue at the rate of about two a week, and bands or strolling comedians are allowed to exploit the country. We do not wish it to be understood that we advocate the abolition by law of all amusements. But if the people will not realise that the country is at war, and that unlimited expenditure on such matters is fatal to the commonweal, it is time for the State to prohibit them except within reasonable bounds. The public must eschew delights and live laborious days because the Empire is now in a life and death struggle with a powerful and determined foe whose victory will mean their domination of the world... While on the subject we may as well say a few words in respect of the charity dances which have attained such a vogue in this city. We think, from information which has reached us, that Government should demand accounts from the organisers and promoters of such entertainments. We do not mean to insinuate that these dances have not been run honestly nor do we desire to impugn the integrity of any body, but we assert that there has been much

wasteful extravagance and the amounts by which charities have benefited are startlingly small compared with the sums collected. Government having made up their minds that money is wanted and that every rupee counts, it is the duty of Government to see that the sinews of war are not frittered away in the idle pleasures and wasteful luxuries. It is the duty of all patriotic citizens to see that extravagance at a crisis like the present is wicked and a horrid mockery, and must cease, otherwise the Empire must be overcome by the enemy."

England is unable to combat the evil of drink even in these times of war.

Kesari (95), 27th Feb.

22. At a critical time like the present when provisions are running short, England has further restricted the import of certain articles of food. But strange to say the daily expenditure of 60 lacs of rupees on spirits has escaped the attention of Government! While the general public is being immensely inconvenienced by the curtailment of railway train services owing to the shortage of coal, liquor distilleries in England are daily cosuming five thousand tons of coal! The evil stars of England appear still to be in the ascendant in that she has failed to profit by the example of her allies France and Russia in this respect. Is it not strange that a man in England should be able to procure an unlimited quantity of drink at a time when a proposal for the issue of bread tickets is under consideration? Nay, it is considered unlawful to stand before a liquor shop and preach temperance! How long is this state of things to last?

Reflections on the progress of the war.

Hindusthān (17), 27th Feb.; *Hind Vijaya* (60), 28th Feb.

23. People ardently wish that peace may come by the end of this year and Sir Douglas Haig's utterances go to strengthen this wish. However, Lord Northcliffe is of opinion that the war will be protracted for five years. We cannot say which of the two conflicting opinions will prove to be true. Some signs, no doubt, go to prove that the end of the war is not far distant. The internal condition of Austria and Germany is not very satisfactory and people there seem to be clamouring for peace owing to scarcity of foodstuffs, but we must not count too much upon the reports of discontent in the enemy countries. We have reasons to believe that our offensive in the West will achieve great results and every advance in that field of action brings us nearer the end. We cannot possibly expect much in the Eastern sphere. Large tracts are still to be retaken from the enemy and we cannot depend much on Russia which cannot provide munitions for its own army. England's wealth is not inexhaustible and we should bear in mind the speech recently made by Mr. Bonar Law. The question of the Navy is causing some perplexity and the opinion is shared by the generality of public that the task of meeting the submarine menace is extremely difficult. The question of foodstuffs is the most important of all and though our position is much better than that of the enemy we cannot be indifferent to the difficulties that stare us in the face. We know that the future of France and Belgium is assured. What then are we fighting for? Have we now to fight for enabling Russia to get Constantinople? The reply given by the Allies to the German overtures of peace gives us no indications as to the terms on which they want to conclude peace. We wish the reply had expressed a desire to know what terms the enemy was willing to offer. The Allied reply did not ask the enemy his terms of peace in spite of the suggestions of the Liberal Press. The public is fully aware of the present situation and some people expect greater hardships in future. We, therefore, cannot but admire the courage and patriotism of the Allies in making up their minds to defeat the enemy in spite of adverse circumstances. We would conclude by expressing a hope that the war may cease by the end of this year. [Commenting upon the progress of the war the *Hind Vijaya* writes:—It is a gratifying feature of this year's campaign that the Allies have commenced to gain ground before the commencement of the spring offensive and as the enemy has to fight in various directions he will soon be placed in an embarrassing position. The enemy, in despair, has resorted to ruthless submarinism and though it may not affect the issue of the war it will no doubt create fresh difficulties which will have to be surmounted. Mr. Lloyd George has made a weighty pronouncement in this respect. The relations between America and Germany have been estranged but if the latter gives an assurance of not sinking American steamers it is probable that America will abstain from entering the war.]

Appeal to Government to grant their menial servants some increase of pay to make up for the abnormal rise in prices brought about by the war.
Phœnix (7), 28th Feb.

24. "An anonymous correspondent, writing to the *Phœnix,* dwells on the general rise in prices and points out that while the Railway authorities, the Karachi Port Trust and the Karachi Municipality, whose peons are paid at a higher rate than menials in Government service, have granted increments ranging between Rs. 1-8-0 and Rs. 30 to their menial staffs, Government, who usually take the lead in such matters have done nothing yet for their inferior servants. Is it possible, he asks, for a man with a family to live on Rs. 10 which is the monthly pay for the most part of these servants of Government? 'These are hard times,' he concludes, and Government should come to the aid of these people."

Comments on the re-capture of Kut-el-Amara.
Bombay Samáchár (55), 2nd Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 28th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 3rd Mar.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (75), 1st Mar.

25. The *Bombay Samáchár* hopes that the congratulations offered by His Majesty the King-Emperor to General Maude on the re-capture of Kut-el-Amara will encourage him and his army in bringing to a happy termination the task on which they have embarked. It believes that victory will greatly help to wipe off the slight adverse effect that might have been produced upon the spirits of those connected with this expedition by the fall of Kut in April last. It is of opinion that regard being had to the condition of the expeditionary force at the time when Kut fell and to the difficulties and conditions amidst which our army had to make its way at that Front, the period of ten months that has elapsed since the fall of the place can scarcely be called long and remarks that the shortness of the period only proves the greatness and glorious character of the victory achieved by the British generals in charge of the expedition. The paper confidently hopes that our troops will now soon be in a position to accomplish the objects with which this expedition has been undertaken. [According to the *Hindusthán* the defeat of the Turks at Kut is a sign of the growing inability of Germany to help her Allies at the different fronts, as she was once able to do. It, however, remarks that we have no cause for joy at the re-capture of Kut. It maintains that it will gladden the hearts of the Indians to learn that Indian troops had a hand in the present victory, a fact which has greatly enhanced their glory. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* notes with gratification the re-capture of Kut. It regards the synchronisation of this victory with the successes of the Allied armies on the Western front as the beginning of a successful offensive against the enemy. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also expresses jubilation over the victory at Kut.]

Reflections on the official account of the German atrocities in the Cameroons.
Gujaráti (13), 25th Feb.

26. Remarking that the book supplied to it by the Bombay Government containing an official account of the atrocities perpetrated by the Germans in the Cameroons (Africa) affords gruesome reading, the *Gujaráti* observes:—But to us the question arises what would be the object of circulating such a narrative here in India where the Colonists and the Anglo-Indians made distinctions between the white and the black and tried to build up their prestige on the alleged superiority of the white European nations over the Indians. Are these people *now* convinced that man has two eyes, two ears, one nose, one month, two hands and two feet everywhere and that superiority does not lie in the whiteness or blackness of the skin or in the fact of a one's belonging to Europe or India? In fact, Germany's grievance is that England and France have taught the black and uncivilised nations of Asia and Africa to confront the white people of Europe and have lowered the prestige of these whites among the black people of Asia and

[illegible] by exposing the German atrocities. Just as the Germans have indulged in inhuman practices in the present war, accounts submitted in the British House of Commons have contained instances of similar inhumanities practised, before the war, in Belgian Congo and other colonies, in connection with the rubber trade, etc., and, therefore, the belief of the Indians that superiority does not lie in the colour of the skin is not incorrect.

Comments on the orders excluding Mr. Tilak from the province of Delhi and from the Punjab.

Kesari (95), 27th Feb.

27. Following upon the order of the Punjab Government the Chief Commissioner of Delhi has ordered Mr. Tilak not to enter the province of Delhi. We shall not be surprised if yet another administration pays the same attention to Mr. Tilak. One would suppose that as the orders are issued under the same Act they must all be similarly worded with only change in date, place and signature. But there is rather an amusing difference between the two orders served on Mr. Tilak. While the Punjab Government charges him with the 'intention' of acting in a manner prejudical to public safety, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi goes a little further and says that Mr. Tilak *has* acted in that manner. Of course the Local Governments can say anything they like so long as the law does not compel them to disclose the ground on which they act. Such orders are indeed defamatory. In our opinion it is most unbecoming that Government should try to accomplish their illegitimate ends by taking shelter behind the Defence of India Act. But at present Government have become so very indifferent that they do not care about public opinion. Mr. Tilak's activities are confined at present to two objects, *viz.*, to educate public opinion on Home Rule and to induce people to enter the military service. Surely Government does not regard the latter object with displeasure. It is evident, therefore, that his Home Rule movement is distasteful to Government. The Government of India and the High Court of Bombay have already recognised that the demand for Home Rule is not unconstitutional. We humbly pray, therefore, that notice should be taken of the arbitrary acts of these Local Governments. We would remind Government that they are pursuing an unwise policy at the present moment. The people have expressed their disapproval of these acts in the press and from the platform in no uncertain terms.

Message (6), 25th Feb.

28. "If the other Governments and Administrations erred a little on the side of moderation, Mr. Hailey, the Chief Commissioner of the Province of Delhi, has outdone them all in asserting that Tilak has acted prejudicially to public safety. Granting that it is so, we have a right to know whose public safety it is that has been prejudiced, whether it is that of the Delhi Province or that of the whole of India. If it is the latter, it was more fitting that the Government of India should have taken action and saved the unpleasantness and inconvenience to the various administrative units of the Indian Empire. But as regards the action of Mr. Hailey, we do not want to protest any more—there is no longer any value in protests and prayers. We will content ourselves by merely asking in the name of common sense what all this means. We will even grant that Tilak has acted in a manner prejudicial to public safety. Is it not reasonable to suppose that a man who has prejudiced public safety would be dealt with in accordance with the laws of the land and punished according to the measure of his guilt? If, as Mr. Hailey says, Bal Gangadhar Tilak has acted thus, does not the order leave him free to go on acting in that manner outside the sacred limits of the Delhi Chief Commissionership? It is difficult to assume that this order could have been issued without the knowledge or consent of the Viceroy, if not of the Viceroy in Council, and we wonder if even he, who is himself a member of the English bar, has been so lacking in ordinary fairness and justice which the meanest standards of English public life demand......... If as the cumulative result of these ill-conceived, ill-advised acts of repression, intensified discontent is completely driven underground, it would be a day of dire misfortune—which God forbid—both to India and the Empire. It is high time that an immediate brake should be put upon the unrestrained tendency of the bureaucracy towards repression.

These acts are increasingly becoming a riddle to all thoughtful people and if the Government of India are sincerely anxious to help at least the Empire, if not India, in reaching its ideal, it is their primary duty to solve this riddle."

Young India (11), 28th Feb.

29. "Before the public has had time to recover from the shock which was administered to its feelings by the Punjab Government's order of prohibition against Mr. Tilak and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, there comes another order from the Chief Commissioner of the Delhi Province directed against Mr. Tilak. This order is the more remarkable for the positive assertion of the Chief Commissioner that in his opinion Mr. Tilak has prejudiced public safety. This is going as far as any authority could under the array of legal and illegal powers vested in him. But what about the consequences to the aggrieved party? He is without a remedy, while his adversary is safely entrenching himself behind the Defence Act in taking away his character. Even in England, where a kind of general martial law is the order of the day, the subject has got open to him certain safeguards. But in this country where we are frequently reminded that we have not felt the burden of war, can there be a greater burden of war than the one which has been imposed in the shape of the Defence Act? The bureaucracy, if it so chooses, can establish a veritable reign of terror and lawlessness and yet point with impunity to the Defence Act as a justification."

Message (6), 28th Feb.

30. "We had been led to think by the recent order of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb against Lokamanya Tilak that His Honour was sitting on a volcano which might be in eruption at any moment. It is comforting, therefore, to learn from the latest administration report of the province that '*Those who knew the Punjáb and the people* while they felt the anxiety which is natural when passing through critical times, *saw no cause for alarm.*' This sets one thinking as to what might be the cause of the panic-stricken order which he issued. On his own admission the Punjáb is not a surcharged volcano and the community there is as peaceful as any other community elsewhere. Therefore, no question of danger to public safety, if it means public peace and order, can arise. As for the safety of the State, we cannot assume that it was ever threatened and that the threat would come from Lokamanya Tilak. No one outside a lunatic asylum willl ever venture to say that against the Lokamanya. Why was the order issued at all? Did the Lieutenant-Governor, then, lose his head like some of his colleagues? This is a matter which needs explanation even in the interests of official 'prestige'."

Gujaráti (13), 25th Feb.

31. We are at a loss to know whether our rulers want to enlist the sympathy of the Indian people or to estrange them. Orders have recently been issued prohibiting Messrs. Tilak and Pal from entering the Punjáb and the province of Delhi on the ground that they would disturb public peace. But the irony of it is that both these gentlemen had no intention whatsoever of entering the provinces from which they have been banned. We only wish no one has played a joke on the rulers of these provinces. Mr. Tilak's reply-paid telegram asking for the name of the Government informant remains unreplied! The incident illustrates how the Defence of India Act can be misused. In former days the opponents of Government were allowed liberty of speech and were taken to task if they exceeded the bounds of honest criticism. But now our rulers have become hasty and intolerant and gag the mouths of people on the assumption that they would do something to disturb the peace.

Reflections on the mentality of the English and the character of English rule in India.

Young India (11), 28th Feb.

32. Mr. L. G. Khare writing to *Young India* quotes the following from a public utterance of Lord Ronaldshay's in London :—"The English community in India was a very small drop in a very large ocean. It was living in exile among strange surroundings, and somewhere back in their sub-conscious minds there was the instinct of self-preservation" and remarks :—"One is justified in explaining to oneself from this that the English [illegible] of years as the masters of India have failed to create for themselves a position of trust in this country. They cannot feel that among the Indians without arms over whom they rule they enjoy a position of security. To keep their present position of political dominance as a ruling caste, they must hedge themselves round with artificial barriers, barriers which sometimes insult the intelligent section of the ruled, who are willing to exhibit their loyalty to the Empire and their appreciation of the British principles of justice and fairplay by volunteering their services for the cause of that Empire. But the English attitude is one of aloofness, of a kind of *hauteur* which the Indian cannot understand, as it is neither Oriental, because of its lack of dignity, nor natural, because intimate intercourse with individual Englishmen convinces him that it is not so. This English attitude, we would like Young India to understand, is not peculiar to the English in India. It is exhibited in the English governing classes in England, in the Colonies, in fact wherever the Englishman finds himself in a position to administer the affairs of others. ...... One is struck sometimes very sharply by the honesty and the stupidity of the British. The Briton always means well, it is in translating his excellent intentions into practice that he so singularly fails. He earnestly wishes that his Government of India should not be a slur on that British honesty of intention, so he tries to govern as best as he can, but he governs by his prejudices, not by the principles which he once cherished. Indians of all shades of political thought will agree that the British Government in India means well. It is a good government in so far as in the India of to-day there is far more freedom of speech than in the England of Mr. Lloyd George; but this is a very cold consolation, as the C. I. D. menial on Rs. 12 a month has the initiative of deciding what that freedom of speech is: it is a government which attempts to be just, in that it deals out justice between *brown and brown* almost with meticulous care: it is an efficient government, the presence of pompous Inspectors-General of this and that flitting about the country to produce dreary blue-books, leaves no doubt of that efficiency. Yet in the back of the British mind along with the 'instinct of self-preservation' discovered by Lord Ronaldshay, there is the feeling that his rule does not make the ruled feel happy; it does not catch their imagination, as the rule of the French in Anam and Morocco fires the imagination of the inhabitants of those territories, and makes them enthusiasts for France.......... The Briton has a horror of the obvious. If the ineptitude of the present administration in India is brought to his notice directly, in simple unvarnished form, he is inclined to disbelieve the tale; but tell him that the Indians are so incensed that there is an actual fall in the imports of British goods in India, and his eyes get opened. It is notorious that on the subject of indentured labour, the view that strikes him most forcibly, is that the pockets of his cousins the Colonists will be heavily and suddenly pinched, if he interferes with it, not the Indian view about the gross insult to Indian womanhood. If we, Indians, have to prosecute any propaganda work in England, we have to take into full account this British horror of the obvious.......... A point more, before we conclude. Young India must clearly understand that in the ultimate resort it is not the Briton who rules either himself or India. It is his oligarchy.......... It is of the ignorance and the obstructive tendency of the British oligarchy in India, that we Indians, must convince the Briton in England."

Comments on the orders of the Central Provinces Director of Public instructions for watching the conduct of students.

Mahrdtta (5), 4th Mar.

***33.** Referring to certain instructions issued by the Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces, to Head Masters of Schools to keep a watch on the conduct of students, the *Mahrdtta* says:—"How can the Head Master do this except by making a division in the boy's camp and employing a corps of raw pupil-detectives to watch and report the doings of their brother school-fellows? The Central Provinces Government has issued instructions which prohibit not only *attendance* at a political meeting, but goes much further. They prohibit 'participation in any form of political agitation whatsoever or in arrangements connected with political meetings, whether prior to or subsequent to such meetings'. What this means in practice is that the right of the parent to guide his son in his extra-school activities is rudely taken away and vested in the Head Master who if he falls in entirely with the queer views of the Government will be a terrible tyrant with a force of boy spies at his disposal. These boy-spies are likely to consider—and likely to be taught to consider—their spying duty as the most important one falling to their lot and in their zealous discharge of this duty are likely to pay little attention to their studies. Their promotion will come about in spite of their unfitness as students if they satisfy the 'school authorities' in their 'detective' capacity. Thus will the schools be places of an unhealthy atmosphere, teaching nothing but spying......... We have indicated above the dangers of a successful execution of the order by a teacher falling in with the views of the Government. But we have our doubts in regard to the carrying out of the ludicrous circular. We expect that many Head Masters will refuse to take up the spying upon themselves and resign their posts. We expect that many others will be very slack in their performance of the new un-teacherlike unwholesome task—and will in due course (as a result of police reports) be made to resign their posts. So if Government insists on making spying the chief function of the school-teacher, Central Provinces schools will soon be manned by new teachers specially chosen for their spying enthusiasm. How will the parents and guardians act under these circumstances? There are two ways: One is to submit to the hard conditions and teach the boys—sons or wards at home to think ungenerously about a Government that bars them from learning patriotism by participation in public meetings. The other is to make a united protest boycotting the schools until the circular is taken back. We don't know which way will recommend itself generally to the parents and guardians of Central Provinces boys. We have an idea, however, that the first one will be followed in many homes. And if it is followed in right earnest, the intention of the circular will be frustrated. How will the Government of Central Provinces prevent parents and guardians from following the first method of counteracting the effects of the prohibition circular? But where was the necessity for the order? What is happening in Central Provinces? Nothing dangerous so far as we know. The Home Rule Movement is the only movement against which the Central Provinces Government can be supposed to be acting by the circular under notice. This movement is a unique one in that all repression and attempt at repression, direct or indirect, serves and can serve—only to spread it with more speed. *This does not seem to be realised by the authorities.*"

Kesari (95), 27th Feb.

34. It is well-known that most of the provinces have not adopted the famous Risley Circular. This Circular was so comprehensive that it was almost impossible to give effect to it. Its universal application would have involved an enormous increase in the police force and the taking over by school masters of the functions of the C. I. D. This question has lately cropped up again in the Central Provinces. The *Maháráshtra* of 21st February publishes an account of a private meeting which is both interesting and instructive. Both officials and private individuals were present at the meeting where the Circular was fully discussed. It was adversely criticised by Europeans and Indians alike. Dr. Robertson, Principal of the Hislop College, declared that the Circular was vague and that it was very difficult to enforce it. How could the boys, he asked, be expected to respect their teachers if the latter spy upon them? Another European Professor of the same College argued that teachers could not legitimately be entrusted with the duty of maintaining discipline among boys out of school hours. After some discussion the Educational Inspector who presided gave a vague assurance that he would communicate to the Chief Commissioner the opinions expressed at the meeting. In our opinion the question of the attendance of students at public meetings should be solved by Government and the guardians of the boys in any way they like, but the poor teachers should not be needlessly involved in it. We agree with our contemporary the *Maháráshtra* that parents are more anxious about the welfare of their children than Government.

The duty of Indians not to embarrass Government at the present juncture by political agitation.

Political Bhomiyo (new), 2nd Mar.

35. The *Political Bhomiyo* dwells at great length on the duty of not embarrassing Government at the present juncture by political agitation, public discussion of grievances, and pressing Government to grant such privileges as *Swarajya*, free and compulsory education, equal rights with the Colonials, abolition of indentured labour, etc. It alludes to the large number of public meetings held in support of such demands and remarks that in doing so the Indian public make an unfair use of the rights they possess as British subjects, of demanding concessions from Government. It then goes on to exhort the Indians as follows:—The present is not the time for making demands but for rendering all possible help. If you are really loyal to Government, refrain entirely from making demands. Do not embarrass or confuse Government at the present crisis by making one demand after another. To tell the truth, you want to take advantage of the present situation of Government. Is this proper? Should you render help or annoy Government at such a critical time? Why do you want to lose the confidence which Government placed in you and which has been redoubled by the help rendered and loyalty displayed by you in this war? It behoves you to give up your present activities. Therein lies the true good of all parties. Government should remember that the demands made by the various meetings that are being held at present are not the demands of the mass of the general public but only of certain agitators who have made a name for themselves by their learning and oratory. We tell you (Indians) again and again that the path you have chosen is not the royal road, but it is one beset with thorns and thistles which will lead you not to the kingly palace but to the dens of the lions. We speak thus because we see that in such a course lies the good of India as well as that of the Indian Government.

The new Budget in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 3rd Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 1st Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 2nd Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 2nd Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 3rd Mar.

36. The *Bombay Samachár* characterises the Budget recently presented by the Honourable Sir William Meyer to the Imperial Legislative Council as a really popular one. It remarks that it constitutes the brighest page in the financial history of India and believes that the Indian public will receive it with acclamation. It expresses its satisfaction at the manner in which the Finance Minister has proposed to raise the additional revenue required, without imposing any fresh burden upon the people. The paper congratulates Sir William and thanks him and the Viceroy for the deep sympathy they have evinced for the Indian public by refraining from increasing the salt duty. It wishes that those concerns and businesses which have earned large profits on account of the conditions created by the war had been made to bear their share of the new burden. It regards the raising of the import duty on piece-goods as a concession to the popular demand and considers it to be the most welcome feature of the new Budget. It remarks that the abstention from making a corresponding increase in the excise duty on indigenous cotton goods will be regarded not only as an act of justice to India and her important mill industry, but it will materially help that industry to flourish even after the war. [The *Sánj Vartamán* observes that the Finance Minister has been scrupulously careful not to impose any fresh burden of new taxation upon the poor and that, therefore, the present Budget will prove highly popular. It also strongly believes that the increase in the import duty on foreign piece-goods will be highly appreciated by the public. It trusts that the contribution of one hundred million pounds which Government propose to make on behalf of India to His Majesty's Government as her share in the war expenditure will be regarded by all as a substantial one, regard being had to India's pecuniary position and resources. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers the raising of the import duty on piece-goods to be the first step towards the grant of financial autonomy for which India is so anxious It declares that the Finance Minister has exhibited great far-sightedness and has earned the blessings of the poor by not enhancing the existing duty on salt. It remarks that India's proposed war contribution is calculated to maintain her

prestige in the eyes of the wold. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regards the Budget as extremely satisfactory. It observes that no loyal Indian will grudge, in the slightest degree, the help India has volunteered to render to England in meeting the expenditure in the present war. The paper remarks that the Indians have placed this slight gift at the feet of England with feelings of overflowing gratitude. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also writes in a similar strain in appreciation of the new Budget.]

Mahrátta (5), 4th Mar.

37. "The Finance Minister has discharged his onerous duties in a laudable manner. He has avoided the temptation of enhancing the salt tax or levying a special cess on land and has tried to distribute the burden amongst the richer classes. Further, we have the satisfaction of seeing an important principle conceded in the doubling of the import duty on cotton fabrics. The educational grant, very modest though it be, is another item for satisfaction. The most prominent item of all is, of course, the announcement of the new princely gift of India. India has till now contributed in men and money and material in a lavishly liberal manner. And the new gift, added to the help already given to the Empire, ought to awaken in the British statesmen a genuine sympathy for the aspirations of India. Time will show how far our self-sacrificing liberality has appealed to our masters! Whatever other effects our generous attitude and actions in these anxious times of war may or may not produce, they undoubtedly have this one most satisfactory effect. They stiffen our attitude in regard to *the one* question which is agitating enlightened India and compelling the attention of the masses—the question of Home Rule. The more liberally we give, the stronger becomes our claim to receive *our rights*. Thus work our minds, and this working, we repeat, is the most satisfactory effect of Indian contributions to the war.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on the working of the Defence of India Act.

Hindusthán (17), 26th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 28th Feb.

38. Commenting upon the debate that took place in the Imperial Legislative Council over the resolution brought by the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy on the subject of the administration of the Defence of India Act, the *Hindusthán* endorses the complaint raised by the Honourable member against the present procedure under which evidence is collected against a person for his offence or supposed offence after his being interned under the said Act. It also believes that the Criminal Investigation Department wields an authority higher than that of the Courts of law inasmuch as it can arrest and intern a person immediately on his stepping out of a law court after having been declared innocent. The paper expresses itself in favour of appointing advisory committees as suggested by the Honourable Mr. Chanda to consider cases falling within the purview of the Act. It then refers to the statement made by Sir Reginald Craddock to the effect that no case could be pointed out in which a person was unjustifiably arrested and remarks that the elected members are not so foolish as to waste the time of the Council with such propositions and amendments if they were not convinced of the correctness of their position. It cannot comprehend what weighty reasons prompted Government to reject the original proposition as well as the Honourable Mr. Chanda's amendments which were brought in the Council in order to remove the belief correctly or incorrectly entertained by the public that the Defence of India Act is being administered in an arbitrary and unjustifiable manner. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* dwells on the desirability on the part of Government of taking such measures as would remove any false notions entertained by the public with regard to the working of the Act. It observes that the declaration made by Mr. Tilak and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal that they never intended to go to Delhi or the Punjáb and that Government had been put on the wrong scent in issuing the prohibitory orders against them under the Defence of India Act has created misapprehension even among well-informed circles. Is it desirable, inquires the paper, that such misapprehension should remain permanently in the minds of the public? It is of opinion that as suggested by the Honourable members, Government would do well to employ means to reconcile the public mind in connection with this subject.]

Comments on the Honourable Sir Shankar Nair's opposition to free and compulsory primary education in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 3rd Mar.

39. The *Dnyán Prakásh* characterises the Honourable Sir Shankar Nair's speech in opposing the Honourable Mr. Sarma's motion in favour of free and compulsory primary education as most disappointing, and observes that though he was bound to oppose the motion as its principle has not yet found favour with Government, it was surprising that he should have done so on the ground that there had been no distinct demand on the part of the public for such a step being taken. It argues that when measures of a compulsory character are to be undertaken, Government does not wait for a public demand in that behalf, but at the same time points out that the Indian public have already pronounced themselves in favour of compulsory primary education as they have done in no other matter. It, therefore, regrets that the Honourable Sir Shankar Nair should, as the representative of the Imperial Government, have gone out of his way to speak against Indian aspirations.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on the subject of the Calcutta University Commission.

Sánj Vartamán (29), 24th Feb.

40. Dwelling upon the urgency of tackling various problems affecting University education in India and referring to the proposition brought by the Honourable Mr. Shrinivas Shastri urging the desirability of asking the Commission proposed to be appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Calcutta University to include the Bombay, Madras, Punjáb and Allahabad Universities within the scope of its inquiry, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that the whole of India endorses the demand made by the Honourable member. It expresses dissatisfaction at the reasons given on behalf of Government for the rejection of the proposition and regrets that Government have not accepted this demand made by the public. The paper maintains that if the abovementioned Universities or the respective Provincial Governments did not make any such demand as was made by the Honourable Mr. Shastri, it was because their opinions in this connection were not invited by the Imperial Government. It further considers this silence on their part immaterial in view of the fact that the present demand had the support of the entire Indian public as could be seen from the strong backing up the proposition of Mr. Shastri received from the elected members of the Council. It expresses its disapprobation of the principle of accepting a suggestion only if it has emanated from a Provincial Government, pointing out that no demands were made by Provincial Governments in connection with the appointment of the Public Services and Industrial Commissions. The paper, in conclusion, suggests the appointment of a separate Commission composed of capable independent Englishmen to consider the questions affecting other Universities in India.

Comments on the resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council requiring one month's notice before the introduction of a private Bill in the Council.

Gujaráti (13), 25th Feb.

41. In the opinion of the *Gujaráti* it was a sorry blunder on the part of the Honourable Mr. Bhupendranath Basu to have supported the resolution moved by Government prohibiting non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council from bringing any Bill before it unless they have submitted to Government the full text of the bill, with the statement objects and reasons, one month prior to moving it and Government have granted permission to do so. The paper considers it rather anomalous that non-official members should be required to give one month's notice before moving a particular Bill instead of one of three days as heretofore, while Government can bring in a measure at any time and can even get it passed at a single sitting, when Bills brought in by elected members have to pass regularly through the various stages of discussion laid down by the regulations. It maintains that by the passing of the present resolution even the privilege of entering into a preliminary discussion of the objects of a Bill hitherto enjoyed by the elected members will depend upon the fact of Government granting the necessary permission.

Comments on the Secretary of State's reply to the Government of India's despatch of 1915 on Indentured labour.
Message (6), 28th Feb.

42. "The light-hearted reply of the Secretary of State to the Government of India Despatch of 15th October 1915 on the question of Indentured Labour cannot but rouse the keenest indignation in this country. It is an outrage on the national feelings and sentiments of the people of this country, whose honour is assailed by the infamous system.......... The infamy of the system has been recognized by the Government in this country and by the Secretary of State himself. It is remarkable, therefore, that the latter should presume to tell the Government of India that 'the recommendation you have made for the abolition of the indenture system is one for which I had not been prepared by a perusal of the correspondence that followed the report of the Sanderson Committee.' But is he prepared to do so in the light of what has taken place since? 'No.' On the other hand we have his statement in the House of Commons on Thursday last that '*he was glad to say that the condition of indentured labourers had been greatly ameliorated by recent changes in the Colonial laws.*' *Mr. Chamberlain paid a tribute* '*to the spirit in which Colonial administration had met the Imperial Government in the matter.*' It is indeed remarkable that the great Mogul at the India Office should be cow-towing to the petty little administrations of the Crown Colonies. And for what? For their extreme generosity in abolishing the imprisonment of a freeman and an equal subject if he wished to change one absentee employer machine for another? What appears even more remarkable is the utter ignorance of Mr. Chamberlain in regard to the recent development of Indian feeling in this matter. Are we to understand from this display of ignorance by the Secretary of State that the Government of India has failed to keep him duly apprised of what is going on in this country or has the Secretary of State wilfully ignored what he has been apprised of in order to obtain the goodwill of the 'Colonial administration'?......... In his reply, the Secretary of State reluctantly admits that the 'growing feeling in India must be accepted as a fact,' but he seems to labour under the belief that this feeling is due 'to a confusion between the Dominions that exclude free Indian emigrants and the Colonies that still import indentured labour.' It is the obvious duty of the Government of India to tell the 'know-nothing' Secretary of State that there is not and there cannot be any confusion in the Indian mind. The Indian mind is distinctly clear as to what is the issue and will not rest until that issue is decided in the only way that is acceptable to it, and that is consistent with the national honour and sense of self-respect of this country. We want no more belittling of that honour.......... The Government of India must realise that it is here no more to tinker with the sense of self-respect of a whole people, simply because it would suit the convenience of the Colonial planters, who, thanks to the obliging nature of the party politician who is at the helm of the Government of India in England and the Government on the spot, have persuaded themselves to think that they can, and have a right to, buy as much Indian humanity as they can through the unscrupulous agency of recruiting agents, under the ægis of an obliging Government. Whatever its sins of commission and omission in the past, the Government of India must now stand up for the down-trodden rights of Indians and emphatically tell the Secretary of State that it is no longer here to countenance the legalised sale of the free and equal subjects of His Majesty by perpetuating for however short time a system of serfdom. It must frankly and unequivocally tell him that in view of what has taken place since its despatch of October 1915, it is not at all prepared to advocate the policy of co-operation with the Colonial Office—co-operation not for ending this disgraceful blot on the British administration in India but for mending it, '*with due consideration to the interests of the Colonies affected.*' There can be no mending, no compromise whatever. And unless the Government of India wants to drive the people of this country to the last constitutional resort, which is open to a helpless people, we expect that it will give its solid, unwavering support to the demand of the people and get the system ended *by the 31st May 1917*, the date which the people have with characteristic generosity agreed upon. If the Government fails to bring home to the dull comprehension of the *burra sahib* of the

India Office the full strength of the feeling in this country, it will stand condemned in the eyes of God and man for a grave omission, whose consequences are not very alluring to contemplate."

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's statement in Parliament with regard to the question of Indian indentured labour.

Young India (11), 28th Feb.

43. Referring to Mr. Chamberlain's recent statement in Parliament on the subject of indentured labour, *Young India* declares that it is characterised by callousness towards the feelings of the vast mass of people in this country. Mr. Chamberlain, thinks the paper, ought by now to know the depth of feeling aroused on this subject, and it is his duty to see that the infamy is not perpetrated again. It then continues:—"There cannot be a more humiliating spectacle than that of a member of the British Ministry bowing before the petty Colonial administrations, in all gratitude for small favours shown. Is the India Office then so impotent that it must needs go on its knees before the planting interests of the Crown Colonies and beseech their pleasure for the abolition of an indisputably pernicious system, a system that degrades men and women, may be coloured men and women, to the level of beasts? Mr. Chamberlain must realise at once that Indian opinion is no longer prepared to tolerate the continuance of the system, be it for a short length of time.......... So far as we, the people of India are concerned, we will not submit any more to this shameful treatment which exalts the sordid interest of unscrupulous exploiters of human labour above all considerations of justice and righteousness. If the Secretary of State thinks that the security of *his* seat in Parliament will be jeopardised by his taking up the matter in all earnestness on behalf of the voiceless millions of this land, and he, therefore, fails to act up to the true interests of the country, the people will be compelled to resort to the only alternative that lies before them and that is to offer a kind of 'Passive Resistence' and make it impossible for the unscrupulous recruiting agents, in this land, of the moneyed planters to spirit away our unfortunate brothers and sisters. Mahatma Gandhi's words are still ringing in our ears as if they were being now uttered. 'Remember the 31st May 1917', he said in his deep, emphatic voice at the Excelsior Theatre, 'you have taken great responsibility'. If we fail to realise our responsibility and allow our ignorant and illiterate people to be sold into slavery, we shall be answerable to God and man for our acts of omission."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 28th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 26th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 27th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 26th Feb.

44. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its disapproval of the reply of the Secretary of State for India to the despatch of the Government of India on the subject of indentured labour. In its opinion the slight changes which the Colonies importing indentured labour have made for the improvement of the lot of the Indians and with which the Indian Secretary appears to be satisfied will neither remedy the anomalous character of the indenture system nor will they be likely to allay the strong feeling aroused in the public mind in connection with this subject. It maintains that so long as the question of the self-respect of the Indians which is involved in the present system remains unsolved, any commendation of the Colonies' readiness to co-operate with His Majesty's Government in the tackling of the Indian labour question, as was indulged in by the Secretary of State in the House of Commons, would be too premature from the Indian point of view. The paper believes that the confusion which the Secretary in his abovementioned reply charges the Indians of making between the question of indentured labour and the question of the prohibition of free Indian immigration to some of the Dominons really exists in his own mind inasmuch as the Indians, though they attach more importance to the former question as affecting their national self-respect, keep both these questions quite apart. It concludes with wishing that Lord Chelmsford will place before the Secretary of State the Indian feelings on the subject in their true perspective and remove this delusion from his mind. [The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that the public will be sorry to read the Secretary of State's reply. It regrets to declare that he has failed to comprehend why the Indians are so keen on urging the total abolition of the indenture system at an early date. It expresses dissatisfaction at Mr. Chamberlain's solicitude for safeguarding the interests of the Colonies. The paper believes that the Indian public will not consent to the continuance of the present system till another more satisfactory one is introduced. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* wants to know if the feelings expressed on the subject in public meetings held at numerous places in India have been brought to the notice of the Secretary of State and the British authorities. The anxiety of the British authorities to please the Colonials and safeguard their interests leads the paper to infer that the Conference which is going to be held in May to consider the question of indentured immigration will only result in protecting the interests of the Colonies. It wishes that in that Conference the Secretary of State may give the question of protecting Indian interests precedence over all other considerations. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the Colonial Secretary is competent enough to safeguard the interests of the Colonies and that what Indians have often to regret the most is that the Indian Secretary who is appointed to protect the interests of India plays the role of an advocate of the opponents of Indian interests. It observes that the belief of the Secretary that the immorality among the Indian labourers in the Colonies is due to the recruiters collecting women of an undesirable type is mistaken and regrettable and asks, if that be the truth, how is the very large proportion of suicides among them to be accounted for. The paper believes that all the Indian difficulties would disappear if the Secretary of State for India would present a bold front and once for all let the Colonies know through the Colonial Secretary that effective steps would henceforth be taken to deal out the same treatment to the white colonial settlers in India as is accorded to the Indians in these Colonies.]

Alleged extravagance in connection with His Excellency the Governor's recent visit to Gujarát.

Message (6), 28th Feb.; **Rást Goftár* (28), 4th Mar., Eng. cols.

45. "Readers are aware that Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon have lately been visiting Baroda and other Native States. On this occasion, in two of the States—Baroda and Rajpipla—'the catering has been in charge of the able and popular manager of the Taj Mahal Hotel.' 'Some idea of the *extensive arrangements involved*', says the paragraph in a morning contemporary, 'may be gathered from the fact that four-head-waiters, one head cook and two assistant cooks, three hamals, 15 waiters and five wine waiters, were despatched by the Gujarat Mail last Wednesday, while a similar detachment left on Friday for Rájpipla, while the functions for which these two small armies had to cater included a banquet for 60 persons and breakfast, lunch and dinner on two days at Baroda, breakfast, lunch and tea at the shooting camp, and a banquet for 40 persons at Rájpipla.' While it no doubt reflects on the popularity of the Taj management, we are constrained to ask why those who are in a position to set a better example to society should tolerate this puerile extravagance. And having done that, is it necessary to advertise that fact broad-cast? If really there was so much money to throw away on fleeting pleasures in employing '*two small armies*' to cater for a day or two's convenience which could have been easily given up, would not that money have been better spent in giving it away to some War Fund? There is at present before the public the appeal from Mrs. Abbott, the representative of the Scottish Women's Hospitals. These good women are admittedly doing excellent work in attending to the relief of the sick and the wounded. When such useful institutions are going abegging for more public support, why should not those who lead set a better example of practising strict economy and giving away the saving to those institutions which are in urgent need of help? At least His Excellency ought to give society in the city and the Presidency a better lead." [The *Rást Goftár*, on the other hand, though it declares that there is much room for economy in the expenditure incurred in gubernatorial tours in the various provinces of India, dwells on the utility of these tours and urges that reduction in expenditure should not be carried so far as to mar the benefits to be derived from a closer acquaintance between the rulers and the ruled. It then continues:—"During their recent sojourn in Baroda, Their Excel-

besides, the Governor and his consort, have seen, for example, enough to direct their thoughts to beneficial channels. After all which Their Excellencies saw and learned and the friendships that were cultivated on the tour, who can say that the expenses incurred on these tours are simply frittered away without any return in kind to the people of the State?"]

Comments on the Bombay Excise Administration Report for the year 1915-16.
Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 26th Feb.

46. Commenting upon the Excise Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1915-16 and referring to the contention of the opponents of the Abkári policy of Government that the reduction in the strength of country liquor, instead of keeping down its consumption, has only resulted in increasing Government revenue, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the authorities should institute an inquiry into the subject and that they should revert to the former system if the present reduction in the strength of country liquor has, as a matter of fact, resulted in enhancing its consumption. It declares that Government should place considerations of public health above those of revenue. It expresses gratification at the rise in the consumption of toddy in some districts of the Presidency during the year under report and, with a view to prevent adulteration of toddy, suggests that some measures should be devised for examining toddy at the shops where it is sold for ensuring its purity on the lines of the systematic examination of the liquor sold in country liquor-shops carried out by Excise Inspectors. In view of the high prices of sugar and treacle prevailing at present, the paper commends the action taken by the Abkári Commissioner in permitting the manufacture of treacle out of toddy though the carrying on of this industry on a large scale is likely to affect adversely the Abkári revenues.

Suggestion for starting salt depôts in the Ratnágiri District as has been done in the Punjáb.
Satya Shodhak (104), 25th Feb.

47. The abnormal rise in the price of salt in the Ratnágiri District is pressing very heavily upon the poor. It is now almost on the same level as that of rice. We will not attempt to explain the cause of this scarcity, but humbly suggest a remedy for the consideration of Government. They should open depôts for the distribution of salt at reasonable price to consumers. Similar scarcity was lately experienced in the Punjáb and Government have consequently decided to open depôts of salt there. Government recognise the necessity of making salt available to the people in sufficient quantities. Instead of relying on dealers, therefore, they should take up the question of distribution themselves. The population on the western coast mainly depends for its supply of salt on the uncertain movements of small country craft. We invite the attention of Government to this matter and trust that they will soon open depôts in the Ratnágiri District to ensure a regular and plentiful supply of salt.

The Defence of India Act and the Police.
Indu Prakásh (36), 24th Feb.

48. The Public Services Commission has recommended that the majority of higher appointments in the Police force should be filled by Europeans. This shows that in spite of our numerous sacrifices in the present war the Commissioners, and indirectly the Government, are still sceptical about our devotion to the British Empire. This attitude is particularly unsatisfactory when responsible statesmen declare that Britain has now changed her 'angle of vision' in respect of our aspirations. We are sure the operation of the Defence of India Act would have been more satisfactory if there were more Indians holding higher appointments in the police. In order to show their smartness the lower ranks in the police who are generally an ignorant lot report any rumours they hear to their European officers whose knowledge of the vernaculars is necessarily imperfect. They in their turn pass on their information to the higher authorities and thus the law is eventually set in motion on information which, to say the least, is most un-reliable. If Government are bent upon not removing the Act from the Statute book they should be very careful to see that it does not involve any unnecessary hardship. In our opinion this object can only

be attained if at least half the higher appointments in the Police are held by Indians. We are sure Government will then get more trustworthy information and then there will arise no necessity for enforcing the Defence of India Act.

Comments on the policy of the new non-Brahmin paper *Justice* issued at Madras.

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 3rd Mar.

49. Referring to the new daily paper ***Justice*** started in Madras on behalf of the non-Brahmins in Southern India, the *Dnyán Prakásh* says that though the editor has announced that the paper is intended for the elevation of the backward classes and not for dragging down the advanced communities, there appear to be strong grounds, from the tone adopted by the paper in the issues already published, for the apprehension that it is sure to come in the way of the political advancement of the country. It points out in support of this view that the paper has expressed itself in opposition even to the suggestion for an increase in the number of Indian Fellows in the Madras University Senate and has also indirectly disapproved of the appointment of the Honourable Mr. Rajgopalachariar to the Madras Executive Council. It expresses its apprehension that the paper will only serve to further embitter the relations between the different castes.

EDUCATION.

If the Englishmen in India were to part with their authority in educational matters to Indians the results would be marvellous.

Sind Journal (9), 17th Feb.

50. "We are sorrowfully reminded of the fact that western education as it is imparted in the schools and colleges of today, is an exotic plant foreign to the soil of India. We find some glaring defects of the system, which will be the first evils to be remedied if the heads of the Education Department were Indians. At first sight, we find that the status of the teacher has considerably gone down. The fault is not of the student but of the system.......... Unfortunately for the country our educational authorities are blind to the spirit of the East and its ideals and consequently this degradation of the teacher and the waning of the ancient splendour. Let natives control the affairs of the department. Let the European authorities sacrifice voluntarily the leading strings and transfer their power to their Indian brethren and lo! the change will be simply marvellous. What stronger demonstration of the ability of Indian educationists do we require than the wonderful work of the institutions organised and founded by the Arya Samaj such as Gurukula of Hardwár, Rabindranath Tagore's school in Bengal and several other institutions managed by Indians in the Madras Presidency? We realize that progress is the natural result when the leading strings are entrusted to Indians. A system of education will then be substituted which will conduce to the prosperity of the family and of the nation, which will raise the intellectual and spiritual status of the nation and restore her to her ancient place of glory and splendour when she shone among the nations of the world. Political liberation, social salvation and intellectual emancipation of the nation can then alone be attained when Indians have a hold on the sacred as well as the secular education of the nation."

Muhammadans and the question of compulsory primary education in Bombay.

Muslim Herald (123), 2nd Mar.

51. The *Muslim Herald* discusses the expediency of making primary education free and compulsory in Bombay, and besides repeating the old arguments against the proposed measure such as the fact of young boys earning at least a part of their living of which compulsory educatiotion will deprive them, the paper is anxious to be enlightened on the point as to whether recalcitrant boys and girls will, under the scheme, be taken away forcibly by the peons to the schools. It is of opinion that that might be suitable in the case of boys, but that Muhammadan parents at least are not prepared to see that peons should lay hands on their daughters, and that the employment of means such as the one indicated above might cause a riot similar to that which took place when patients suffering from plague were compulsorily segregated.

The D. J. Sind College principalship.

Sind Advocate (8), 15th Feb.

52. "The College Board resolved the other day to inform Government that Mr. Hampton, whose services the Government wanted to lend to the Sind College, not being the History and Economics man, would not be useful as a Professor and that Government might therefore select another man. Is it right, is it decent, to insist on the appointment of a European, when the man, is required only during the pendency of the war, after which Mr. Ludlow, the permanent Vice-Principal now at the front, is to succeed to the Principalship? Professor S. C. Shahani who is now acting as Principal is, from all credible accounts, doing excellently well and in these days when there is so much talk and so much promise of a much larger employment of Indian talent in higher offices in their own country, it is, to say the least, very depressing to find the Sind College Board or the Government grudging even a temporary Principalship to an Indian—an Indian too who has served the college for a lifetime, and an Indian who not only possesses the requisite academic qualifications but who has proved his fitness in a practical manner.......... We believe Professor Shahani is a History and Economics man and if one like him cannot be entrusted by Government with the charge of the college and that even temporarily, then farewell to all hopes of Indians getting anything like their due. We are being told that *after* the war, there is sure to be a rich recognition of Indian talent and ability. But does this mean that *during* the war when Europeans are not even easy to spare, the talented Indians are to be parsimoniously dealt with?"

A Moslem complaint about God being styled "mother and father" in one of the lessons in the Third Gujarati Reader.

Sánj Vartmán (29), 23rd and 28th Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 1st Mar.

53. In the course of a letter addressed to the *Sánj Vartamán* one Saiyed Pirmia Badamia, an assistant teacher in Minara Masjid School, Bombay, invites the attention of the Muhammadans to the fifth line of lesson 8th in Book III of the Gujarati Readers Series. The lesson is a short poem in praise of God and the line taken exceptian to if rendered into English would run "Oh, God, you are my mother and father". He raises the question whether a Moslem student can call God his father and mother without being guilty of *Shirk* (belief in a plurality of deities) which is the greatest of sins according to the tenets of Islam. He also refers to the second line on the third page of the first book of the Urdu Readers Series issued by the Anjuman-e-Himayat-ul-Islam of Lahore, which says "The Lord has got no parents nor is He the father of any one" and asks the Muhammadans to consider what confusion would be created by such conflicting notions about the Creator in the minds of their young children. The writer also refers to the Surat-e-Ekhlas (a chapter in the Holy Koran) which among other things says "God is one. He need not supplicate anybody. He gave birth to none nor anybody gave him birth nor has he got any relations." He observes that it is the duty of every Muhammadan to bring the line in the Third Gujarati Reader to the notice of the Vernacular Text-Books Revision Committee with a view to getting it suitably altered. He concludes with exhorting Moslem leaders to save hundreds of thousands of Muhammadan children from the sin of *Shirk* by getting the necessary alteration made in the poem as soon as possible. [In its issue of the 28th February the paper publishes the substance of a communication from a correspondent describing the proceedings of a meeting of the Anjuman-e-Islam, Ránder, held on the 26th February, in which meeting a resolution was passed requesting Government to get a suitable alteration made in the line above referred to in the Third Gujarati Reader. It was stated in support of the resolution that the said line was likely to create an impression antagonistic to the tenets of Islam upon the tender minds of Moslem children, who ran the risk of committing *Shirk* by reading such matter, and also to injure the religious feeling of the Muhammadans. The communication also states that the Honourable Saiyed El Edrus is going to put a question in this connection in the local Legislative Council. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also publishes a substance of this communication.]

RAILWAYS.

Treatment of high class Indian railway passengers by Europeans.
Mahrdtta (5), 4th Mar.

***54.** Referring to the reported case of some members of the family of the Honourable Nawab Chowdhari having been ejected from a first class railway compartment in Bengal by Mr. Ross, S. D. O., the *Mahrdtta* gives the following quotation from Sir Henry Cotton's book *New India*:—" There are few Indian gentlemen even of the highest rank who have not had experience of gross insults when travelling by railway because Englishmen object to sit in the same carriage with a native. This form of insolence generally takes the shape of forcible ejection with all goods and chattle. In a *Times* review of the *Leaves from the diaries of a soldier and sportsman* by the late Sir Montagu Gerard, I read as follows:—A subaltern gets into a railway carriage where to his disgust he finds a couple of Hindu gentlemen. He quietly waits till the train is in motion and then as he expressed it 'fires them out of the door'. A petty Rajah going on a state visit to Agra, takes his seat in a first class compartment, with a magnificent send-off by his loyal subjects. On his return he sneaks out of the third class and explains to the expectant crowds that on the former occasion he had been boxed up with a couple of sahebs muddy from snipeshooting, who had made him shampoo them all the way." [The paper remarks:—" This was written before 1907, but the insolence, this incident reminds us, has not died out and the officer, be it remembered, is of the rank of an S. D. O. While such S. D. O.'s and other white men go about insulting Indians, all talk of mutual good understanding and closer relations is futile. We hope the Honourable Nawab will take the necessary steps and bring to book this truculent officer and show that Indians cannot brook such insults any longer."]

A Railway complaint.
Message (6), 28th Feb.

55. " We have received a complaint to the effect that an Indian lady passenger was *not* admitted in the 2nd class Ladies' Compartment, though she possessed the necessary ticket. The obstruction in this case came from a European lady. The guard was requested to interfere, but he would not. The gentleman accompanying the lady—his wife—asked the lady passenger inside why she did not admit the Indian lady, but the former refused to give any reason. There was room for three passengers more in that compartment. The gentleman could not enter the ladies compartment, the lady was too much afraid of the European amazon to assert her right and the guard would not interfere. The correspondent asks us what he ought to have done in the matter to secure a seat in the ladies' compartment for his wife. We simply refer him to the railway authorities and give publicity to the affair only because, we think, it is typical of several such cases."

MUNICIPALITIES.

A complaint against the Chairman of the Notified Area Committees of Santa Cruz, Borivli, etc. (Thána).
Gujaráti (13), 4th Mar., Eng. cols.

***56.** " The newly appointed executive officers of the bigger municipalities are fairly on the way to become the dictators and over-lords of their masters but Government pay little attention to such complaints. The Notified Area Committees, dominated as they are by officials and nominated members, furnish one more illustration of the way in which high officials think it fair and proper to discharge their duties. These bodies are formed under the provisions of the Bombay District Municipal Act by Government for some of the rising suburbs like Santa Cruz, Andheri, Goregaum, Malad, Borivli, and other places. Towns and villages separated by a distance of more than one mile of uninhabited land must have a Committee of their own according to law and one Committee for all these suburbs is not allowable. But all these Committees have one Assistant Collector, one Mamlatdar, and one Magistrate as a permanent feature of their personnel, while the two other members are nominated by Government from amongst the local landholders. The Committees, so formed and officialised, command no confidence of the public. The nominated members, even if they [illegible] to be independent and courageous, are always in a minority and therefore practically powerless to represent the wants and wishes of the ratepayers and safeguard their interests. But the most extraordinary feature of the working of these Committees is that the Assistant Collector, who is their ex-officio Chairman, thinks that his own convenience is the supreme consideration. He has his office at Palli Hill, Bandra, which is two miles distant from the Bandra station. The rate payers have to go to this office for paying their annual tax, obtaining forms of applications for permission to build or repair their buildings or for getting any business done in connection with their lands or houses. Several ratepayers have been served with notices, calling upon them to urge their objections against the increased letting value put upon their houses and bungalows. The Chairman has intimated that the objections must be urged in person and not in writing, though written objections are quite permissible under the Act. The notices issued by the Chairman are, therefore, illegal and calculated to entail a good deal of hardship upon the ratepayers who are required to spend money on railway fare and carriage hire and expected to run the risk of having to wait for some hours and attend some other day, if all the cases are not disposed of on one and the same day......... The absurdity and cruelty of calling upon all house-owners including professional and businessmen and officials to attend at Palli Hill at 8 or 9-30 A.M. must be patent to all fair-minded persons, though not to the Notified Area Committees with the Assistant Collector for their Chairman. Why they cannot condescend to meet at different suburbs and listen to the grievances and objections of their respective ratepayers altogether passes our comprehension. Such a reasonable procedure used to be followed before. As a matter of fact, when the houses and bungalows were assessed years ago, written objections were allowed to be urged and Mr. Turner visited the towns in order to give a personal audience to the house-owners. But now that sensible procedure seems to have become very antiquated and it is regarded as more just and reasonable to force all people to attend at the bungalow of the Chairman at a very inconvenient time and at considerable expense and trouble only to see their objections rejected in almost all cases......... Indignant protests have already appeared in the press. Some ratepayers have, we are informed, complained to the Chairman in writing but he has not condescended to give them any reply whatsoever! And yet we are told that educated Indians feel no sympathy for their less fortunate countrymen and that it is the alien officials whose hearts go out for them!......... We think the present anomalous and selfish system of administering the affairs of the suburbs from the Chairman's comfortable bungalow at Palli Hill ought to be put an end to as soon as possible and that the Notified Area Committees made to understand that the ratepayers are not created for them but that they are constituted for the sake of the ratepayers and that they ought to consult the convenience and interests of hundreds of people rather than the convenience and comfort of their Chairman. We understand that the nominated members are themselves dissatisfied with the present system but are altogether powerless. The two official members have of course no opinion of their own in the presence of the Assistant Collector and that the latter is the supreme master of the whole situation. This is what is called local self-government within a few miles from Bombay and such is the treatment meted out to ratepayers in spite of past precedents and of protests addressed to the Chairman and published in the press."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 9th March 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 10 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 10th March 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:
- Comments on the action of the Belgaum police in stopping Mr. Khadilkar from delivering a speech at Belgaum on Home Rule . . . 30
- England's duty towards India at the present juncture 29
- Government service does not afford sufficient scope for patriotic service 32
- Sátára should organise a Home Rule League 31

District Conference: The Belgaum — and the Mamlatdar of Chikodi (Belgaum) 40

Excise: Question of the early closing of liquor shops in Bombay . . 42

Imperial Legislative Council:
- Comments on the debate in the — over the Honourable Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution regarding primary education 33
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy's resolution in the — on the working of the Defence of India Act 35
- Comments on the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution in the — on the subject of India's contribution towards the war 34

India in Parliament: Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's refusal in the House of Commons to raise the Excise Duties 36

Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the Secretary of State's reply to the Government of India's despatch on indentured labour 37

Judicial matters: Comments on the High Court's decision in the Jain Vijaya Press forfeiture of security case . . . . 38 & 39

Press Act: Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Indian Press Association . . . . 21—28

Public Service Commission: Comments on the Honourable Mr. W. C. Madge's minute of dissent appended to the Report of the — . . . 41

Revenue matters: Contradiction of the allegation that both the instalments of land revenue are being simultaneously recovered in parts of the Sátára District 43

War:
- China and the Allies 20
- Comments on the — Loan meeting at the Town Hall . . . . . 7—13
- India's war gift to England . . . . 14—17
- Reflections on the present situation of the — . . . . . 18 & 19
- The Indian Defence Force . . . . 1—6

PARAGRAPHS.

[illegible] and the Super-Tax Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council 44

EDUCATION—

Alleged objectionable line in the Third Gujarati Reader from the point of view of Muhammadan religious sentiment 48

Comments on the permission given by the Bombay Government to Messrs. Macmillan and Company to raise the prices of the cloth edition of the vernacular readers 47

Gloomy prospects about primary education being made free and compulsory. 46

India is not yet fit for the compulsory system of education 45

MUNICIPALITIES—

Need of a mosque in the Chowpati and the Malábár Hill Quarters in Bombay. 49

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The Indian Defence Force.

Young India (11), 7th Mar.

1. In the course of the second instalment of his article in *Young India* on the Indian Defence Force, "V. R." writes:—"We are tempted to enquire why the Government of India should have wasted so much valuable time in drafting the Bill and then taking it through a number of meaningless formalities. Thanks to an over-generous legislature, it has obtained in the past unlimited power and authority by which it can commandeer, by the simple expedient of a Viceregal ordinance, the entire resources of India both in men and material. But then, we presume 'capitalistic imperialism' would not countenance that expedient in the present instance. Such a course, however, would have been preferable to bad legislation, from our own point of view. Those who have 'conceded' to Indian opinion would consider us guilty of 'ingratitude', if we express our keen disappointment at the outcome of the Bill so far as it concerns Indians. But it appears to us, in the light of what has taken place, that neither the Government of India nor the military authorities could be charged with being guilty of much earnestness in the matter of raising voluntary units of Indians outside those classes which furnish recruits to the Indian army. It seems a mere matter of expediency. For if compulsion had been applied to Europeans and all those who had to be brought within the definition of European British subject so as to ensure that 'persons who had undergone some form of military training at the expense of the State might aid the State at the time of need' and if Indians had been left out in the cold, there would surely have been bitter feeling and criticism, impossible to be ignored, particularly 'at the present juncture'. Assuming that the authorities were prompted by the best and highest motives, those motives have practically been nullified by the unhappy turn which subsequent events have given to the grudging measure of concession to Indian feeling and sentiment. It had been fondly expected that even if nothing were done to remove the bar of race under which we have been suffering for ever so long a time, it would not in common fairness, at least be accentuated. But because there was no 'Indian Abbott' before the select committee to god-father the forlorn cause of Indians, not only has the existing bar been maintained but also a new one added.......... What would be the exact position or status of Indians in this force is still shrouded in mystery. The Commander-in-Chief has not shown to the best advantage as a great tactician, at any rate in the Council, though in the Select Committee he succeeded with commensurate (?) skill in warding off the ineffectual blows of the Indian members.......... The choice that has now been offered to us is Hobson's choice. Whether we take the chance or leave it alone, we do not benefit much. Looked at from the point of view of self-interest, the Defence Force has no attractions to offer to us. But as Mr. Tilak opportunely told us at the mass meeting on Friday, we cannot regard it from the point of view of self-interest alone. There is the higher consideration of the duty we owe to the Motherland. The Force will, there is no doubt, be called upon to be ready for the defence of India against external aggression and if the instinct of patriotism is still left in us and if we are not altogether dead to the martial traditions of our past, this last consideration alone should suffice to inspire us to a worthy and fitting response to the call to arms. In responding in large numbers, it must be remembered that we are doing this both for the sake of the Government and in fulfilment of the duty to our Motherland. And this one consideration alone must prove of potent force in inspiring us to sacrifice personal interests and offering ourselves in large numbers with a generous sincerity for whatever service we may be called upon to perform. We view the chorus of approval which in the end greeted the passing of the Bill in this light and we trust the country will do the same and demonstrate to our rulers and to the world outside that in spite of disadvantages we can appreciate our responsibilities and rally round the defence of the Motherland. In

[illegible] is the measure of our fitness for Home Rule. We are not *children* deceived by specious reasoning and shows of arguments; we are *men* who will march up to our posts of duty. We shall fight because the honour of our Mother is involved and where that comes in, all other considerations vanish."

Kesari (95), 6th Mar.; *Dnyánodaya* (33), 8th Mar.; *Sandesh* (103), 6th Mar.

2. We revert to the Indian Defence Force Bill which has now been passed into law. This measure materially differs from the Volunteers Act of 1869 which debars both Hindus and Muhammedans from enlisting as volunteers and does not repeal it. That disability still exists and Hindus and Muhammedans cannot get themselves enrolled as volunteers. Volunteers enlisted under the Act of 1869 undergo training for a certain number of days during the year without being required to give up their ordinary avocations and are only called out in case of need, but recruits for the Indian Defence Force are to be immediately trained and entrusted with the defence of the country during the absence of the standing army on active service. So far the Government of India, for reasons best known to themselves, generally excluded the educated classes from the army. An Indian could not, and still cannot, aspire to higher rank than that of Subedar Major. Perhaps this involved no hardship so long as the army was recruited from the lower classes of the people. Men of education and social standing cannot, however, be expected to be satisfied for ever with subordinate positions. In our opinion Government should have taken this opportunity to throw open the higher appointments to Indians. The Commander-in-Chief burked this question by declaring in the Imperial Legislative Council that the Act was only a war measure and that, therefore, the larger issue of granting commissions to Indians did not come within its scope. The legitimate demands of the people, he added would be satisfied in due course and that they should be content with the present opening. We do not regard this vague assurance as satisfactory; it will only have the effect of chilling the enthusiasm of thousands of possible recruits. The authorities surely know that anything that tends to check the flow of recruits at this critical time seriously militates against the true interests of the Empire. Although we protest most emphatically against this attitude of Government, our own duty in this matter is quite clear. We are asked to take a share in the defence of our own country and cannot, therefore, ignore the call. It is true Government have not conferred any new rights on us. But their attitude has undergone an appreciable change. Up to this time every action of ours was viewed with distrust. If a man practised riding on horseback or applied for permission to carry arms he was suspected to be a seditionist. The Home Rule movement will also gather additional strength by the entry of a considerable number of educated men into the army. We do not urge our people, however, to join military service permanently until higher appointments are thrown open to them. The present call is only for temporary service and every one is free to quit the army after the prescribed period if he finds the conditions of service unsatisfactory. We cannot shirk our duty on the plea that Government have not yet conceded our just demands. The present opportunity of acquiring military training, if now lost, will not occur again. In conclusion we enter an emphatic protest against one invidious and in our opinion needless distinction made in the Act. It has been decided to place the present Volunteer units on a level with the European section of the Indian Defence Force. This means that Eurasian, Parsi and Native Christian Volunteers will be classed as Europeans and will receive better treatment than their comrades in the Indian section of the Defence Force. Whatever the expediency for this step, it is sure to offend the susceptibilities of Indians. If Government were anxious to improve the status of these men they could have done so by other means than that of dubbing them as 'whites'. We wish Government had not fallen into this error. [The *Dnyánodaya* declares that the passing of the Indian Defence Force Act marks the dawn of the future glory of India and calls upon Indian Christians to join the force at once without raising the question of the grant of commission to Indians. The *Sandesh* writes:—We

welcome the decision of Government not to employ Japanese troops for the defence of India, but to entrust it to Indians and Englishmen in India. As this is a sign of the future rise of India, Indians should make all haste to join the Defence of India Force. Indians would never like to see even the Colonial forces employed for the defence of India, much less would they, therefore, approve of the employment of Japanese for the purpose. Had the wishes of India been consulted in the matter no treaty would have been made for the employment of Japanese troops in India in case of necessity. Indian public opinion did not, however, count in these matters. But it is no use discussing past things. Fortunately for us, Government have decided to give us military training, and we should take advantage of this golden opportunity without delay and lay the foundation of Home Rule. Home Rule will receive more help by people enrolling themselves in the Defence Force than by joining the Home Rule League.]

Bombay Samáchár (55), 6th and 9th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 3rd Mar.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 4th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 5th Mar.; *Arya Prakásh* (12), 4th Mar.

3. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the enthusiasm that is being expressed in all quarters at the passing of the Indian Defence Force Act. It expresses regret that the organisation of the Force being a temporary war measure, Indians will not have sufficient opportunities to qualify themselves for commissions. It, however, regards the assurance given by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with regard to the future prospects of Indians in the matter of commissions as satisfactory and asks young Indians to register themselves without any delay so that they may not have to experience disappointment afterwards owing to the limitations that will be placed on the number that will be enrolled in the Indian Defence Force. [In a subsequent issue the paper refers to the recruiting meeting held in Bombay under the presidentship of Mr. Tilak and expresses hope that Government will give no cause for complaint to the Indians in the matter of the organisation of the Defence Force and that they will give them opportunities for qualifying themselves for commissions. The *Sánj Vartamán* identifies itself with the protest made by the Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council against certain inequalities to be observed between Europeans and Indians enlisting in the Defence Force and wishes that Government had not unnecessarily given cause for complaint to the Indians by considering Volunteers of all races as European British subjects. It, however, feels sure that Indians will, nevertheless, come forward to enlist in the Force and thus show their loyalty to the country and the Empire. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes in a somewhat similar strain. The *Hindusthán* endorses the opinions expressed by various speakers at the public meeting held in Bombay under the presidentship of Mr. Tilak and expresses hope that the rules under the Act will be so framed as to foster the enthusiasm of the Indians and to give them encouragement to enlist. It strongly urges upon educated men the necessity of joining the Defence Force and thus showing their fitness for Home Rule. The *Arya Prakásh* does not like the idea of Indians being made to enlist in their own units as in its opinion such a course will put a premium upon their religious prejudices. It suggests that all Hindus should be enlisted together irrespective of caste or creed, excepting that vegetarians and non-vegetarians may be separated for the sake of messing arrangements. It exhorts Gujarati youths to join the Defence Force.]

Prakásh (102), 7th Mar.

4. Not only was the Indian army, which was trained at the expense of the poverty-stricken Indian subjects, sent to the front at the beginning of the war, but many Indians offered their services to go to the front to fight with the enemy. Their offers, however, were not then accepted as Government were suspicious about the loyalty of Indians. But those suspicions have now been removed and Government are also feeling the want of men in an increasing degree. This has induced the authorities at the eleventh hour to form the new Indian Defence Force and to allow Indians to join it. Paucity of men is the only explanation of this concession. England is finding itself in a similar difficulty with

[illegible] to money. It has indeed grown rich by the money which has been flowing into it from India and other parts of the world. But how long can she suffer the terrific drain of money that is going on account of the war? India, therefore, must loyally assist England, though it is being unjustly treated in the matter of indentured labour and though its legitimate ambitions are being suppressed by the operation of laws like the Press Act and the Defence of India Act. We are sure, therefore, that the War Loan of one hundred millions will soon be taken up by the people even though they have to do it with much difficulty. The terms offered to the public are liberal and even poor people can help in making the loan a success.

Gujaráti (13), 4th Mar.

5. It is on account of the war that Indians have been allowed the privilege of raising the Defence Force. The future of India will depend largely on the response Indians make to this new call and it will go a great way in deciding whether the Arms Act is to be repealed and whether Indians are to be given Commissions in the army. Besides, the Act will enable those races who have been stigmatised as unfit for military service to get the stigma removed by putting their spirit to the test. The Indians want to have Home Rule, but it must be remembered that those who want to govern their country must be able to defend it. We hope the young men of Gujarát will in no way lag behind their brethren in other provinces in the matter of responding to the call to arms. Students in schools and colleges should join the Defence Force and secure the benefits to be derived from military training. A time will come when Indians will have to defend their own country and the Indian Defence Force may be said to be the first small beginning of the permanent Defence Force that may have to be formed in future. The martial spirit needs to be fostered in the Gujarát and we hope the Defence Force will give our youths the training that will convert them into sturdy warriors. We hope college students and graduates will come forward in large numbers to join the Force throughout India.

Message (6), 6th Mar.

6. Commenting on the Kandewadi meeting, the *Message* remarks:— "Circumscribed as are the conditions of recruitment, readers will do well to bear in mind that in responding to this call in large numbers, they are not responding to the call of reactionary or narrow-minded officials who are on the stage to-day but disappear to-morrow. But they will be responding to the call of the Motherland and the Empire. We trust that the honour of our city will be fully upheld by all those who are of military age readily coming forward to join the ranks, and playing their part as *men*.......... After all what is it that we want? A paltry one hundred thousand or thereabouts. Can we not have among our educated classes 100,000 people willing to join to the colours? Will the educated classes allow a curse to fall on their education and enlightenment by keeping back at such a supreme moment as the present? Will they have studied in vain the great epics of Ind, the gallant achievements of Akbar and the soul-stirring deeds of Sivaji?"

Comments on the war Loan meeting at the Town Hall.

Message (6), 7th Mar.; **Mahrátta* (5), 11th Mar.

7. "The well-deserved tribute which His Excellency Lord Willingdon paid yesterday to the voluntary effort throughout this Presidency will we feel sure be appreciated by the people. The voluntary contributions of our Presidency towards war relief and other funds are by no means negligible. The tremendous sacrifice involved in the present war has not been realised by thousands of people, because nothing has been done in that direction.......... If some of our well-to-do and patriotic citizens had only followed the example of the English plutocrats and arranged for the distribution broadcast of lucidly written pamphlets in the various Vernaculars regarding the various phases of the present struggle, we think they could have rendered great service to the cause they in common with the rest have so much at heart. There is another part of His Excellency's speech, to which we are constrained to take some exception. This is in regard to his reference to 'a considerable section of

our citizens under influential leaders, who since the war began have been promoting a strong political agitation.' Whether political agitation is good or bad is another matter and those who are concerned with it know best which way their interest lies. As Mr. Srinivas Sastry remarked the other day in the Imperial Council, they are not all children, who deserve to be brought up in leading-strings lest they should go astray. His Excellency's reference to them and their agitation was, we submit with all deference, irrelevant to the occasion. We should like to point out in this connection that those who organized the meeting have all along fought shy of this section of people, for reasons best known to themselves. They have neither sought their co-operation nor accepted it, we believe, when it was forthcoming. Notwithstanding their coldness, many of those whom His Excellency characterized as doing harm to the cause they have at heart, were present at the meeting in the hope their co-operation would be sought even at the eleventh hour. But nothing of the kind was done, as we now know. We can speak with personal knowledge of these political 'agitators' that ever since the terms of the Loan were announced, it is they who are first in the field without seeking any self-advertisement, doing individually and collectively, the work, which the promoters of yesterday's meeting are still contemplating to do.......... Whatever view they may take of politics and political agitation, in this matter as in the winning of the war, they are thoroughly at one with the Government and the rest of the Empire. His Excellency would perhaps have shown better his broad-minded sympathy for 'the political hopes and aspirations of our citizens' by asking the promoters of the Sheriff's meeting why they had not secured the presence of the people's trusted leaders like Mr. Tilak'." [Elsewhere the paper remarks:—"We trust the Committee which has now been appointed will do its best to reach every class of people, even the poorest. In this direction it is necessary to enlist the whole-hearted co-operation of the popular leaders and we hope that the members of the Committee will sink their political differences in the higher cause of the Empire and join whole-heartedly with those who are already doing silent and unostentatious work in educating the masses as regards the moral and material advantages in subscribing to the War Loan. If the committee proceeds in the right direction and enlists the co-operation of the leaders of the people, we have no reason to doubt that the response of our Presidency will be the most magnificent of all." In another column the paper again remarks:—"While speaking on the War Loan, His Excellency the Governor thought it fit to read a sermon to the audience on the advisability at the present time of abstaining from promoting political propaganda. Frankly, we are not yet convinced of the advisability. But we should like to be convinced by His Excellency. If His Excellency would kindly enlighten us as to whether or not, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have eschewed all political agitation, we shall reconsider our position. Again, we should like to know whether Lord Chelmsford has or has not recently sent a despatch to the Secretary of State, on a *political* subject? Thirdly, is there no political activity carried on by men like Mr. Lionel Curtis and Sir Valentine Chirol? Fourthly, were they not helped in their political studies by some officials?" The *Mahrátta* remarks:—"When even Governments indulge in unnecessary law-making and unnecessarily irritating the people by uncalled for orders and prosecutions and so forth, it is too much to expect the people to keep silent—it is unreasonable to expect them to open their mouths only to praise the authorities and their pockets only to fill the War purse.......... As His Excellency remarked, we Home Rulers think with all sincerity that by our 'agitation' (we should use the term 'education'), we are doing good service for our country. His Excellency differs. We are doing very bad service, we are told. And what are the arguments? His Excellency fears that 'the impression conveyed to the minds of the people of the rest of the Empire and particularly to those in the Mother-country will be'—highly unfavourable. But what are the people of the Mother-country and those of the rest of the Empire doing? Have they stopped all political talk save that of 'war-war-war'? We know that it is not so......... It is not many days now that the Curtis-correspondence convulsed the Indian community by its never-to-be-forgotten revelations. How *can* we rest quiet when our house is in danger?"]

Young India (11), 7th Mar.

8. "While whole-heartedly supporting the object of yesterday's War Loan meeting at the Town Hall, we are constrained to say that we regret that his Excellency Lord Willingdon should have found it necessary to direct some remarks at 'one other class of the public' who are engaged in political activities....... What we fail to understand is why, when every other part of the Empire is busy revolving schemes of the concessions they can wrest from the 'Mother Country' for what they have done, India alone should be singled out for counsels of inaction. And after all, India is not asking for any reward or boon, but only that the most elementary rights of free citizenship be restored to her sons. Why should this 'prejudice' what his Excellency holds to be 'the just claims of India to a fuller and fairer partnership with the rest of the Empire?' In the very 'mother country which is bearing so much of the strain and stress and the privation of the culminating efforts of this war,' big things, very big things indeed, are in the air and multitudinous schemes of far-reaching and vital reforms are being assiduously promoted. Because England is at war, we have never heard it even whispered that her people should put on sack-cloth and ashes and think no more of the future. The Dominions have been told authoritatively by the Colonial Secretary 'to strike while the iron is hot'. Yet such is the angle of the vision of people in authority that where Indian aspirations are concerned, her people are told that they must stand silent during the war. Moreover, the way to stop all agitation regarding vital questions of the future is in the hands of the authorities themselves. If they would only take the people into confidence and declare their intentions regarding the post-war changes, which, we have been told, over and over again, in a vague sort of way, would be fully in accord with the popular demands, the people would have nothing more to say. This view has been put forward on all hands and his Excellency himself had it placed before him through some of those to whom he had spoken privately about this matter. His Excellency, we are told on excellent authority, himself had agreed with this view. The Government has, we are told, forwarded a despatch to the Secretary of State on post-war changes but they have consistently refused to make the terms of it public. In this condition of affairs, the people feel that the only way to keep their claims present before the minds of those in whose hands our future lies, is to continually harp on the need of change and state clearly our view regarding the nature of the change. We feel therefore that His Excellency's reprimand was not justified by circumstances."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 11th Mar.

*9. "We are bound to say that the method adopted by the Government of India in making the offer of the gift to the Imperial Government, was not the best calculated to bring out the fact of the real enthusiasm which the people of India feel for the principles which Great Britain has espoused in this war. To a large extent, it is true, they were handicapped by the limitations of our political constitution whose inadequacy could not have received a more conclusive demonstration. This consideration, we may say in passing, might well have deterred Lord Willingdon from the sweeping condemnation which he passed on the prosecution of movements of political reform during the pendency of the war.......... If India is to take a larger share of her responsibilities, in a manner which will not obscure her genuine attachment to the Empire, the constitution of her Government will have to undergo change so as to make it in a more recognizable manner than at present the mouthpiece of India's loyalty and and devotion to the Empire. This is nothing but political reform, and we do not think that Government either here or in England are likely to be embarrassed by an effective and urgent expression of our desire to have it carried out. We remarked above that the Government of India was handicapped, to a large extent, by the limitations of our political constitution, in the selection of a method of making India's patriotic offer to the Empire. Even with these limitations, however, it was possible to have found a way which would have had less of the appearance of five or six gentlemen at Delhi summarily disposing of the resources of the Indian people. The Government of India is not a responsible Government, in the sense that it is responsible to the people of India, but it is mere affectation for it to pose as an Oriental despot who is bound by no considerations of constitutional decency......... The hole and corner manner in which the Government of India has elected to convey the country's response to the call of the Empire illustrates Lord Morley's remark that the British lion sometimes betrays a curious preference for masquerading in the skin of a quadruped more renowned for its stolidity than for its majesty."

Gujaráti (13), 11th Mar., Eng. cols.

***10.** "The Hon. Mr. Carmichael pointed out that the Cash Postal Certificates can be availed of even by the poor who can spare Rs. 7½. Unfortunately the masses are ignorant and it will be some time before all their suspicions or doubts are dispelled and they become convinced of the perfect security of the amount they advance....... As suggested by a District Officer, the Revenue Officers from the Mamlatdars upwards should be entrused with the task of popularising the loan and collecting subscriptions from the people within the limits of their jurisdiction.......... In his speech His Excellency called upon the leaders of the Indian people to give up political agitation and to 'join with us in our united effort' to secure victory. Whilst agreeing with His Excellency that nothing should be done to embarass Government at this moment, we fail to see how all political activities can be abandoned when measures are being taken by Government more or less calculated to produce controversy.......... Does His Excellency expect the people to remain silent, whilst grave questions are being officially considered behind their back? The India Defence Force Bill raised questions of fundamental importance to the Indian people. Were they to remain silent and not speak out their views? We do not think even His Excellency realises fully and correctly the position of the Indian people, or is quite conscious of the fact that with all his sympathy with their aspirations he has not been able to impress his individuality upon the administration and to enforce that 'broader outlook in many branches of our administration to which he referred.......... We are really sorry His Excellency was led to strike a jarring note on an occasion when all were of one mind in regard to the main subject which had brought all the communities together."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 8th Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 8th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 7th Mar.

11. Referring to the speech delivered by His Excellency Lord Willingdon as Chairman of the public meeting recently held at the Bombay Town Hall in support of the Indian War Loan, the *Bombay Samáchár* assures His Excellency that the Presidency will give "a ready, generous and warm-hearted response" to the call of the Motherland of the Empire to help her in her need. It exhorts the capitalist class not to miss the present opportunity of ensuring future safety by largely subscribing to the loan, and strongly appeals to them to come forward and make the best use of their money to avoid precious blood being uselessly spilt, which is being done at present on account of the vain obstinacy of a defeated enemy. The paper congratulates His Excellency on his resolve to reduce the scale of living at the Government House during the war, and hopes that it will serve as a very good example for the people to practise economy. It also endorses the Governor's admonition to the educated sections of the people to eschew all political agitation during the present crisis and hopes that they will respond to His Excellency's appeal for co-operation with Government to secure victory. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* regards Lord Willingdon's speech as a very valuable and noteworthy pronouncement. It expresses disapproval of the activities of some of the Indian political leaders who have been making efforts for securing either Home Rule or self-government for India, and of others who are pressing for the repeal of the Press and Defence of India Acts and, supporting His Excellency's belief that they are doing disservice to India by their present political agitation, remarks that this is the time when the Indians should demonstrate their loyalty by utilising all means in their power. The *Hindusthán* remarks that the advice given by His Excellency to the public leaders to give up all political agitation at the present juncture was ill-timed looking to the occasion on which it was given. While appreciating the sympathy of His Excellency for the aspirations of the [illegible], the paper observes that the public leaders have to do their duty by their country side by side with discharging their obligations towards the Empire. It maintains that the Indian public have, in the present struggle, given a response in proportion to the confidence reposed in them. It refers to the efforts of Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant in collecting Indian recruits for the Defence of India Force and inquires if His Excellency does not know of a meeting, larger than the Town Hall one, held in the heart of the city under the presidentship of Mr. Tilak for the purpose of encouraging people to volunteer and of enlisting those who were ready to do so.

Muslim Herald (123), 9th Mar.

12. The *Muslim Herald* publishes an account of the meeting held at the Town Hall, Bombay, to exhort the public to subscribe to the Indian War Loan. It is of opinion that those who subscribe to the loan are not making a tithe of the sacrifice made by those who have been wounded or who have died on the battlefield. It admits that India is a poor country; at the same time it maintains that the true measure of the value of the sacrifice is not the total amount of money which might be subscribed but the spirit in which self-denial is practised by the people. It hopes that the Indians, particularly those living in the Bombay Presidency, would lose no time in demonstrating that their loyalty is not of the lip variety, and it concludes by reminding the public that their leaders can formulate demands for larger political rights only when the people play their part well.

Akhbár-e-Islám (52), 10th Mar.

13. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* exhorts Moslem leaders to make strenuous endeavours to induce the members of the Muhammadan community to subscribe largely to the new Indian War Loan. It remarks that the present is not a religious war but one influenced by considerations of territorial acquisition and consequently it is of opinion that if the Moslems are slow to help Government on the present occasion on the ground of Turkey being involved in the war, it would be a blot upon the loyalty of the Muhammadans. India enjoys peace and comforts even during the present crisis, observes the paper, and it is the duty of every Muhammadan to wish safety, prosperity and victory to the British rule. It suggests that the leading Muhammadan citizens of Bombay should busy themselves in initiating movements for creating an awakening in their community as to the desirability of taking up the new Loan on an extensive scale.

India's war gift to England.

Message (6), 4th Mar.

14. "The people directly and immediately concerned have been treated with a studied disrespect and disregard, opposed in every way to the declarations of trust and confidence in the people and their representatives. Sir William Meyer suggested as the main reason for this magnificent generosity the resolution which Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis moved in the Council in September 1914, *with the approval of the Government of India*, in respect of direct contribtion to the war, and added that in their view 'the time has now come when we can safely put our wish into effect and thereby gratify still further the patriotic feelings unanimously expressed in this Council'. We do not wish to express any opinion whether this 'gift' is just or unjust or whether it is in consonance with public feeling in this country. But, it must be pointed out that an altogether new meaning has been read into Sir Gangadhar Rao's resolution, which it originally never contemplated and to which the members did not certainly give their assent. Even assuming for the moment that the interpretation put upon it by the Viceroy was correct—we think it is not—it must be remembered that may of the members of the present Council were not there then and they had not committed themselves to any such course. Was it not fair, therefore, to have consulted the Council beforehand, before the Government decided upon any course of action? Had not the Viceroy and his colleagues many opportunities of meeting the Council before the Viceroy sent his telegram to the Secretary of State? Why were they not consulted at all, before a surprise was sprung upon them? We are not exaggerating in the least when we say that it came to the public as a veritable bolt from the blue. The justi-

fication which Sir William Meyer has given is the least convincing and gratuitously insulting to the intelligence of the people. Now, what is this justification that has been put forward? Sir William Meyer said in his speech: 'We have been subjected to much criticism in certain quarters for not contributing more than we have done.' We know what these quarters are. They are the organs of the Tory Press in England, which are the tools in the hands of the Northcliffe deal and that section of the press in this country which is in the leading-strings of that deal......... The Government of India have no manner of excuse to be influenced to far-reaching decisions by the mean, misinformed and misdirected criticisms of the Northcliffe deal in England and India and the people have treated its venomous "outpourings' with absolute contempt as it so richly deserved......... There is the class of critics to which we have referred above. We do not think it will ever be satisfied until the last drop of India's blood is sucked. And then there are the British Government and the Parliament. We do not doubt for a moment their sincerity or integrity, and they have both recognized the value of India's services. If the situation is sufficiently made clear to them, we cannot believe that they will ever willingly consent to any arrangement that will still further weaken India's capacity to bear the already heavy burden. The duty of acquainting the Home Government primarily rests with the Government of India. But, we say it with extreme regret that it has proved too weak in the hands of its blind critics. The Government could have assumed sufficient boldness to withstand its malignant critics, it could have done much to dispel the erroneous impression created by their mischievous activities. While it has shown remarkable activity in unjustly putting down the Indian press and platform, an impression prevails largely, that it is helpless before the strong and influentially backed organs of the English and Anglo-Indian Press. Whatever that may be, the fact remains that the Government has committed the country to a course, without even a show of formal consulation, and we believe it is the duty of the Indian public to submit to what is now inevitable with silent resignation."

Kesari (95), 6th Mar.

15. Our Finance Minister was able to show a substantial surplus at a time when a huge deficit was expected on account of the war. He also announced the Government's intention of handing over a sum of 150 crores of rupees to the British Government for carrying on the war. It would be a puzzle to many to account for this unexpected financial prosperity of India. The explanation, however, is not far to seek. The surplus is arrived at by a skilful manipulation of figures. While framing the budget our Finance Department under-estimates the revenue and over-estimates the expenditure thus securing a handle for imposing new taxes and enhancing old ones on the ground of a possible deficit! The balance thus made available is devoted to meet Police or military charges or to Railway construction. The recognised principle of sound finance of levying just enough taxes to cover the ordinary expenditure is unfortunately ignored in framing our Budgets. Government always raise more taxes than are necessary and then devote the surplus to objects the expenditure on which ought properly to be met by loans. We particularly object to their decision to pay the interest on the War Loan from the surplus. The contribution of India towards the expenses of the war may not appear to be very large when compared with the huge sacrifices of England. But it will appear to be very heavy indeed when her limited resources are taken into consideration. India certainly ought to have fiscal autonomy in return for her splendid contribution. One feature of the budget is, however, eminently satisfactory, *viz.*, the decision to increase the import duty on the cotton goods without a corresponding increase in the excise duty. Nay, the Finance Minister has held out an assurance of entirely abolishing the latter at the first favourable opportunity. There is thus reason to hope that this unjust impost will shortly be done away with. The super-tax on large incomes is also equitably distributed. We wish, however, that Government had fixed the taxable minimum for super-tax at 20 or 25 thousand rupees instead of Rs 50,000. This would have brought a considerable number of fat-salaried officials within the limit of the tax. We trust Government will consider this suggestion at the time of framing their next Budget. We would also point

[illegible] surcharge on railway goods traffic at the rate of two pies per [illegible] heavily on the poor. It should have been so adjusted as to [illegible] necessaries of the poor such as *bajri*, *jowari*, etc. The Budget [illegible] whole, although not free from objectionable features, is gratifying.

16. The Government of India have announced a gift of 150 crores of rupees to the Imperial Government on behalf of India. Our leaders are right in complaining that they should have been consulted before Government came to this momentous decision. We are aware it is not usual to consult non-official members while framing the Budget, but it was clearly the duty of Government to take the popular leaders into their confidence before taking this step and imposing an annual burden of 9 crores of rupees on the Indian exchequer. We are, besides, of opinion that this is too heavy a burden for a poor country like India and will assuredly arrest our progress for a number of years. Government need not have been in a hurry to determine our share of the total war expenditure. That question could have been settled later on in consultation with our leaders. We do not wish, however, to engage in fruitless discussion now, and urge our people to support wholeheartedly the War Loan. [In a subsequent issue the paper remarks :—We are glad to note that Government are resolved to devote the whole resources of India to the successful prosecution of the war. We were never of opinion that India should not bear her legitimate share of the burden. We maintain, however, that every part of the Empire should contribute according to its means. This does not appear to have been the case. Whereas we are taxed to the utmost of our capacity the contribution of the Colonies is proportionately much less than ours. It is unfair to expect India to contribute liberally without calling upon the Colonies to make a similar sacrifice. We would also urge our Government to adopt a more sympathetic attitude towards this country. At present our prospects are not very cheerful. We doubt very much whether the Imperial Government ever remember India except when they want to impose a new burden on us. It may perhaps be argued that they are too much occupied with the conduct of the war to devote any attention to us. How is it then that they are always so eager to please the Colonies? We have a right to expect the Secretary of State for India who is our spokesman in England to watch over our interests. As a matter of fact he appears to be against us. Fortunately the war has given us an opportunity to take a share in the defence of our country and prove our worth. Government were not well-advised, however, in discriminating between Europeans and Indians in the matter of pay, prospects, etc. Although people have demanded with one voice the abolition of the indentured labour system and the repeal of the Defence of India Act, Government are unwilling to make any concession to popular sentiment in these respects. We hold that we shall not be adequately recompensed for all our sacrifices in the war unless we get self-government on colonial lines.]

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 5th and 6th Mar.

*17. The *Gujaráti* gives full particulars about the War Loan and Post Office Cash Certificates and adds :—The facilities offered by the War Loan are such as can be availed of by even the poor and middle class people and so it should be widely advertised all over the country not excepting small towns and villages. It would not be wrong on the part of Municipalities to levy a special cess on motor cars and on marriage festivities with a view to raising funds for subscribing to the War Loan. Government are the protectors of their subjects and people could not make a better and safer investment than by placing their savings at the disposal of Government. We feel sure the War Loan will be largely subscribed by the Indian people.

Gujaráti (13), 11th Mar.

18. Commenting upon the progress of the war, the *Gujaráti* writes :—The Germans are reported to have retreated some miles and have evacuated some villages but it seems that they had planned this retreat inasmuch as they have taken up new positions without suffering any loss. One would naturally ask why the Germans

Reflections on the present situation of the war.

Gujaráti (13), 6th Mar.

have retreated and some people are of opinion that the German retreat was effected with a view to frustrating the plans of the Allies by making them change the position of their artillery which they had arranged in accordance with the observations made by aircraft and to gain time by compelling the Allies to make fresh observations for directing the artillery fire and thus fight on a battle-field of their own choice. It is to be seen whether the Germans succeed in their designs. In Mesopotamia Kut has been occupied by the British and their army is advancing towards Baghdad and the Turks are being routed. It is to be seen whether the British army proceeds as far as Baghdad or stops short somewhere on the way to it. A large army will be required to lay siege to Baghdad and arrangements must be made on a large scale to supply all its requirements at the proper time. In Russia a difference of opinion has arisen among political leaders. Some are in favour of peace though public opinion is against it. The Czar is determined to fight till victory is achieved, but political differences adversely affect military preparations. There is no lack of men in Russia, but there is a great scarcity of munitions felt there. Japan is no doubt helping Russia in this respect but its help is not sufficient to meet Russia's requirements. Besides, Japan is more intent upon capturing new markets than supplying Russian requirements. Russia has therefore to depend on England and America for the supply of munitions and German submarines have created fresh difficulties in its way. The submarine menace has not greatly affected England, thanks to the vigilance of the British Navy. The ruthless submarinism has had some effect on Europe as a whole, and England is now trying to supply all its needs. Strenuous action is undertaken when the necessity for it is brought home to any nation. When will the necessity of prohibiting indentured labour be brought home to our rulers?

Sánj Vartamán (29), 5th and 9th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 6th Mar.

19. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the retreat of the Germans on the Western front and is of opinion that they have retreated to a more secure position with a view to avoid wastage in men. It expresses gratification at the fall of Kut and the subsequent rout of the Turks with great losses in prisoners and war material, etc., and believes these events will tend to encourage the Allies and add to their enthusiasm to carry on the struggle. It quotes the figures of imports to and exports from British ports and avers that the infinitely small number of ships sunk by the enemy submarines greatly redounds to the vigilance and efficiency of the British Navy. In conclusion it asks the Indian people to help the Government to bring the war to a successful termination by subscribing to the War Loan and by enlisting themselves in the Indian Defence Force. [In a subsequent issue the paper gives extracts from Mr. Lloyd George's recent utterance on the general situation and exhorts the Indian people to avail themselves of the opportunity offered to help the Allies to win victory and reminds them that their position in the Empire depends largely on the part they play in the present war. The *Hindusthán* quotes the opinion of the *Times of India* regarding the falling back of the Germans in the Western front and the possibility of their making a rush for Petrograd and opines that the recent retreat of the Germans affords a positive proof of their increasing difficulties.]

China and the Allies.
Message (6), 7th Mar.

20. "It was disconcerting enough to learn at one time that the Chinese Government was employing the Germans in the docks, harbours, etc.......... From the recent developments, it appears that the Chinese Government has not allowed itself to be deceived. It has taken up a strong attitude in regard to the aggressive intentions of Germany. The Allied Ministers have presented the Celestial Government a memorandum sympathising with this attitude. The memorandum is very friendly and has offered to suspend the question of Boxer Indemnity payments during the war, in the event of China effectively severing her relations with Germany and Austria. In the present unsettled state of affairs, the country needs strong friends and the 'Celestial Empire' cannot have better friends than the Allies."

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Indian Press Association.

Message (6), 8th and 9th Mar.

21. "His Excellency's reply, which is a carefully prepared and lengthy document, leaves one under the impression that Lord Chelmsford, and much less his advisers in this matter, had any (*sic*) inclination to give a fair hearing to the deputation. At any rate, the reply is as one-sided as it could be, and the tone of it was needlessly harsh and certainly not reassuring, considering the time and place of its delivery. We were under no circumstances prepared for the curt, minatory tone which the Viceroy adopted in his utterance towards the deputation. If he did not want to repeal the Press Act, because his 'predecessor saw no reason to relax the restrictions it imposes,' he might have said so without unduly giving offence. Those who waited on His Excellency on Monday were not children to stand in need of rebuke for protesting against what they and the rest of the 'Indian' press conceive to be a gross injustice. We have emphasized here the term 'Indian' as distinguished from the 'Anglo-Indian' press, because it is not the latter that has felt the lashes of the Act and could therefore afford to smile at it complacently. .... Lord Chelmsford deemed it expedient to indulge in a kind of rhetoric, which is unusual in the Viceregal atmosphere and which has not been repeated save and except during the *regime* of Lord Curzon, since the memorable Viceroyalty of the late Lord Lytton. He commenced by reminding the deputation somewhat superfluously that 'the Empire is in the throes of a life and death struggle and that such a time is hardly the moment at which to raise even such an important matter as this'—a sentiment, by the bye, which was faithfully and loyally echoed a few hours later by another high authority somewhere far removed from Delhi. He proceeded, however, to say: 'I put aside this consideration (that the time was inopportune) though it has meant that precious time has had to be devoted to a matter which might have awaited a more convenient season.......... I want to show that in a matter like this I am always ready to meet those who feel they have a grievance to advance.' We have never entertained any doubts in regard to His Excellency's desire to meet readily 'those who have a grievance' just in the same manner as he has always been anxious to take Honourable Members of his Legislative Council into his confidence on matters of vital importance such as India's War Gift and the Indian Defence Force Bill. He might have well spared himself the trouble of the reiteration of this fine sentiment. His Excellency readily met the deputation and treated them to a heroic effort at self-justification, by quoting extracts apart from their original context and then pronouncing an *obiter dictum* on the duties of journalists and judges. The journalists have perforce to bow before it in all humility. But not so the judges. Thanks to the farsighted statesmanship of our earlier rulers, the judiciary has been placed in a position which cannot be assailed.......... We respect Lord Chelmsford for his courage and frankness in not sparing even the Judges for what he considered to be their departure from the legitimate province of determining what the law is to that of saying what that law ought to be. He is himself a lawyer and has claimed with pride that he belongs to that much abused profession—the profession of law. He should have therefore remembered that the judges have at all times and in all climes, except perhaps in Russia, enjoyed the right of doing both.......... The line of reasoning adopted here by the Viceroy is too specious to deserve refutation. His argument amounts to this in effect that 'because this journal or that offended against the law, so brand the whole race of Indian journals.' Even at the risk of being considered bad analogists we shall venture to think that this appears to us like a particular German case in Belgium. Because some one fired at the German troops as they were entering a certain village, the German commander gave the order for the sacking of the village and the shooting of every Belgian, whether armed or unarmed, found in the village.......... We would pray His Excellency to consider dispassionately whether his reply to the deputation does not amount to something of this character. There are no doubt times and circumstances which justify the curtailment of popular liberties. If when the Press Act was enacted, circumstances demanded a special arbitrary legislation of this character, those circumstances, we venture to assert most emphatically, do no longer exist. There may be and there is

unrest in the land and that is only an outward manifestation of the surging tide of life within. Our rulers instead of being upset by this manifestation ought certainly to welcome it as the crowning triumph of their labours in this land and give shape to it." [In the next issue the paper writes:—"As poisons in the hands of good physicians lose their evil character, so even the most obnoxious laws will have no terrors for the people, *if* they were always administered by good '*physicians of the body politic.*' When the patients are sure that their physician is an expert in his line and is not given to fits of passion, they do not complain even though they see some bottles on his shelf labelled '*poison*' in red ink. But when some of the hospital assistants are known to be given to alcoholism or worse, they do not quite relish to see that poisons are always near at hand to persons, *all* of whom are not models of virtue.......... When some Honourable Members of Council complained, while the Press Act was on the anvil, that there was not adequate provision in the Act against any possible abuse of power by the executive, they were told by the Government apologists that the aggrieved party could go to the High Court for a redress of its grievance. When one such aggrieved party went to the High Court, he was told that his appeal was useless, as the High Court could not rescind executive orders, issued under the Act.......... Now, when the Press deputation goes to the Viceroy to amend the law so as to give the High Courts *real* and more *effective* power to hear appeals, it is again referred to the High Courts! It is told that the High Courts *have* power! If the mother persists in refusing food to the child and if the father persists in not allowing him to go out to seek food, what is the child to do?"]

**Mahrátta* (5), 11th Mar.; *Young India* (11), 7th Mar.

22. The *Mahrátta*, referring to the complaint of the Viceroy that the Press Association had asked for an interview at a time when the Empire was in the midst of a life and death struggle, remarks:—"This was a wonderful cut. Was not the Viceroy at liberty to chose his own time to receive the deputation? They were not children who waited on him for personally explaining matters. They realise the situation of the day, as the most loyal heart can possibly do it.......... How came the difference when the realisation of the present situation is, as we claim it, equally intense in either party? Our idea is that the difference in *positions* brought about the difference in *judgments*........ Indians are the direct sufferers and the sufferings are of a grave character. The deputation represented the sufferers. They represented the Indian public generally and the Indian Press specially. This was the position of the deputation.......... His Excellency's position is that of ruler who, however sympathetic he may be himself, has to depend upon advisers for the material to form an opinion. The material that those advisers supplied to Lord Chelmsford was, as the reply of His Excellency amply proves, defective in the extreme. That may excuse His Excellency's view of the importance of our grievances to a certain extent. But we do think that after all that can be said in explanation of the rebuke which Lord Chelmsford administered to the deputation for choosing a moment which he himself considered inopportune—we do think that the rebuke might well have been spared. An Englishman with an extremely strong bias in favour of a free press, as His Excellency declared himself to be, would have acted differently. [The paper then tries to answer some of the points touched upon by the Viceroy. and with reference to His Excellency's remarks about the picture of 'official terrorism' drawn in the memorial says:—]The Council of the Press Association is going to issue a detailed statement dealing with the Viceroy's reply and we expect that in that statement the charge of using 'general terms' in regard to the fact of terrorism which the Viceroy brought against the Memorial will be wiped off *as far as possible.* We say as far as possible advisedly, because many a press and many an humble newspaper will think a hundred times before giving their consent to the publication of the petty tyrannies which they have confided to the Association. And this for obvious reasons.......... As to the next point we shall simply say that we have more reason to rely on facts and the opinions of eminent High Court Judges than on the isolated opinion of His Excellency." [*Young India*, referring briefly to the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Indian

[illegible] Association, remarks :—"We shall return to this speech in our next issue. For the present we shall content ourselves by expressing our regretful protest against the attitude and tone adopted by His Excellency towards this vital subject."]

Indian Social Reformer (3), 11th Mar.

*23. "We are not inclined to adopt the view that the reply which His Excellency the Viceroy gave to the deputation of the Press Association of India is altogether disappointing. We are sure that the Press Association did not expect that Lord Chelmsford was only waiting for the deputation to announce the repeal of the Press Act. Short of this, we see a good deal to justify a hopeful interpretation of His Excellency's words. The very fact that he took pains to answer the Press Association's formidable indictment with such fulness of detail, shows that Lord Chelmsford recognises the existence of a grievance. More than that, His Excellency declared that, as an Englishman, his education, his training and inherited instincts, biassed him in this matter in favour of the case presented by the Press Association. He admitted that the Press Act was a measure which cannot but be regarded as a slur on the good name of the Press. He assured the deputation that Government had issued definite instructions to the effect that the Act should not be administered with harshness and without discrimination. In his concluding sentence, His Excellency definitely held out the hope that the need for the Act will be gone when the Press itself will have taken the matter into its own hands. Whatever may be the intrinsic merits of His Excellency's arguments to prove the necessity of the Act at present, these are certainly the sentiments of one who realises that the Press of India labours under a just grievance, though he may not see his way immediately to redress it. The arguments in favour of the Act reduce themselves to three: there are newspapers in India which write in language which the Executive Government consider inimical to the interests of good government; the provisions of the Act have been sparingly used and the increase in the number of printing presses and newspapers since the commencement of the Act show that it does not operate as a deterrent to the growth of journalism. The Press of India should be judged not by the few black sheep but the many white ones. The number of presses and newspapers which the executive found objectionable is a small proportion of the total; and even if the printing press be totally prohibited in India, there will be some bold spirits which will run the risk of prosecution and imprisonment in order that the people may not die of mental inanition. We ask His Excellency if he thinks it fair, just and English that a measure, which is a slur on the whole Press, should be retained in the statute book because a few papers are found to use language which Government consider objectionable? His Excellency asked that Government and Government officials should be given credit for honest intentions. May we not ask that the Press and its conductors should be given credit for honest intentions also? Government ought to do towards the Press as it would be done by, by the Press."

Gujarâti (13), 11th Mar., Eng. cols.

*24. "The Viceroy's reply to the deputation, which waited on him on behalf of the Press Association of India, is reported to have disappointed the members of the deputation. And well it might......... No right-minded person will object to the executive being armed with powers to punish attempts to preach disaffection and violence, but freedom of honest criticism is curtailed by the provisions of the Press Act which may come down upon a writer and printer at any time. The Viceroy quoted figures to show that the number of presses and periodicals had increased since the the passing of the Press Act and drew from them the conclusion that the Act had not interfered with legitimate freedom. It is the anxiety, the mental worry and the pecuniary loss from which pressmen suffer that have to be taken into account in estimating the merits of the Act and not the statistics of increase in presses and periodicals......... Lord Chelmsford observed that the present was not the time when such a controversial measure should have been discussed. Certainly all the energies of the country must be concentrated on the prosecution of the war and public attention ought not to be diverted to other matters. But is this not also the psychological moment when the fetters should be removed from the Press and it should be encouraged to exhort the people to co-operate with Government in making a supreme sacrifice for winning the war?"

Hindusthán (17), 8th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 7th Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 9th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 9th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 7th Mar.

25. The *Hindusthán* remarks that the whole Indian Press and the people of this country will deplore the narrow-minded reply given by the Viceroy to the deputation of the Press Association of India. It characterises His Excellency's reply as unstatesmanlike and maintains that instead of receiving the deputation to give such a reply he could well have declined to receive it at all. It compares the reply of the Viceroy to the action of a host who slaps his guests after inviting them. The paper argues that if the number of the occasions on which the provisions of the Press Act were brought into operation is as suggested by the Viceroy to be considered small, regard being had to the long period of five years during which the Act has existed, that very fact goes to establish the undesirability of continuing the existence of such a severe measure on the Statute Book of the country merely for the sake of keeping in order a small number of newspapers and presses. It advises the journalists of this country not to be disappointed at the Viceroy's reply and, significantly reminding them of the fact of the succession of Lord Ripon after Lord Lytton, expresses the hope that if they persist in their agitation against the Press Act it is sure to be repealed by the British authorities after the termination of the war. [To the *Sánj Vartamán* the Viceroy's reply appears as if it had issued from the lips of Lord Curzon rather than from those of Lord Chelmsford. It remarks that the reply is indicative of political short-sightedness and is totally devoid of all political wisdom. It is of opinion that the High Court judges have every right to criticise the defects or severity of a legistative enactment and that the Viceroy's action in delivering a sermon upon what should be the duties of these judges was one ill-befitting his high position. Who else can expose the blemishes of a law the paper inquires, but these High Court Judges? The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand considers the Viceroy's reply to the deputation to be very farsighted and statesmanlike. It dwells on the justifiability on the part of Government of using all the means necessary for exercising a healthy check upon the Press of the country and the activities of public leaders during a crisis like the present. The paper remarks that a large section of the Press in India is not in favour of securing a repeal of the Press Act at the present juncture and expresses its disapprobation of the policy of the so-called public organs of endeavouring to secure greater liberty for the Press in order to enable them to raise a storm of agitation for obtaining all possible rights for the Indians. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* has no cause for complaint against the Viceroy's reply. It remarks that in view of the extracts quoted by His Excellency from some papers in support of his position, the Viceroy would be an angel if he did not express himself in the language that he did. The paper, however, points to the alleged defective nature of the Act and suggests the appointment of a "Press Committee", composed of officials and non-officials, to consider the articles which are regarded as objectionable and to demand explanations from the journalists concerned before taking proceedings under the Press Act. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* observes that the passages quoted by the Viceroy are indefensible from the point of view of their highly objectionable nature and, therefore, regards His Excellency's reply as justifiable. While admitting that the duty of judges is not to criticise the law but to administer it, the paper considers it to be natural that the lay public should come to hold an adverse view about the working of the Press Act in the absence of the publication of full information, when men learned in law like High Court judges are found inclined to share such a view. It, therefore, suggests that inquiries into important cases under the Act might be held *in camera* but that the judges at least should be given the opportunity of knowing all the facts concerning those cases.]

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 8th Mar.; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 7th Mar.; *Sandesh* (103), 7th Mar.

26. We are thankful to His Excellency the Viceroy for his frank reply to the deputation from the Press Association. We do not mean to say that the deputation was satisfied with his reply or that it was in any way satisfactory. It enables us, however, to understand the grounds on which Government seek to justify the existence of the Press Act. The authorities seem to have convinced the Viceroy that it was impossible to ensure the good behaviour of the press in this country without keeping it under strict control and that a marked improvement had been noticed in the tone of the press after the amendment of the Penal Code in 1898. We are unable to reconcile His Excellency's ready acceptance of these doubtful assertions with his avowed sympathy for a free press. He seems to be under the impression that the authorities cannot make mistakes while enforcing the provisions of the Press Act. In our opinion it is futile to attempt to stamp out sedition by gagging the press. The provisions of the Act are so vague that it is not at all a difficult task to bring any well-conducted journal within its operation. We do not think the Viceroy's reply will satisfy anyone who demands the repeal of the Press Act. [A correspondent writes in the *Indu Prakásh* that the Viceroy's reply has cast a gloom over the entire Indian press. The *Sandesh* remarks:—The Viceroy's reply is most disappointing. We wish the deputation had not at all waited on him. The reply is unbecoming a Government which calls itself 'Supreme'. We hear much of late of a change in the angle of vision regarding our aspirations, but unfortunately our experience does not prove this to be the case.]

Prája Mitra and Pársi (24), 10th Mar., Eng. cols.; **Rást Goftár* (28), 11th Mar., Eng. cols.

27. "The effect of Lord Chelmsford's exhaustive and vigorous reply would be, we are afraid, to take the wind out of the sails of those whose privileges and grievances the deputation went forth to advocate and represent. Of course, many points in the Viceroy's speech can be controverted, and we believe will be controverted by the Press Association; but the effect of the whole speech seems calculated to destroy the case which the deputation tried to make out. The facts and figures quoted by Lord Chelmsford, as they stand, show that the agitation over the Press Act is largely hollow and artificial.......... We believe the least satisfactory feature of the speech is the animadversions upon judicial opinions upon the character and working of the Press Act......... The Act is so framed as either to shut out all inquiry into its working in a court of law, or to deprive the court of the power to interfere with executive action. That circumstance by itself is, in the British Constitution, a grave invasion of the primary and fundamental rights of a subject.......... His Excellency apparently is not well pleased with judges going out of their way, as he believes them to do, to make extra-judicial remarks against the executive or the legislature. "The function of a judge is not to say what the law ought to be, but what it is." That is, of course, strictly true. But the laws are not made in heaven.......... If judges go out of their way to condemn an Act while administering it, it must mean that the Act is really unsatisfactory.......... On the whole, we believe that at a time like the present, Lord Chelmsford would have been better advised to give the usual formal and civil reply which expressed sympathy and held out no definite promise, than to make a studied and elaborate speech calculated to create controversy and bitterness." [The *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"It was a mistake—a diplomatic blunder—to have given the deputation a hearing and then to have sent it away with a cool and curt reception. The same sentiment, the same ideas, the self-same determination to hold on with the present machinery for the control of the Press could have been expressed without leaving on the personnel of the deputation a sense of resentment. If the time was not fit for receiving a long and laboured representation on a subject at once so thorny and delicate as that of the freedom of the Press, it would have been a better course to have accorded a polite refusal to the leaders of the deputation than to have granted them the honour of an audience and then to tell them that the moment they had chosen for the representation of their grievance was not at all opportune for the purpose. The deputation was admittedly ill-timed

and could have been well deferred for a more apposite moment, preferably at or after the end of the war. It was therefore an error of judgment on both sides, which, on the side of the Government was further aggravated by the stern candour of His Excellency's reply. Considerations of the influence which the modern Press of India exercises on public opinion and the very satisfactory account that it has rendered throughout the war as a loyal and law-abiding body ought well to have weighed with His Excellency as an overwhelming reason for the use of the most guarded and diplomatic language......... If he had apprised the members of the deputation with the difficulties of the Government and told them that relaxation of the control over the Press at a time like the present might be abused by the extremist and irresponsible section of the Press, and, if he had but stopped short there except it may be with a pledge for its modification, and an appeal to their patient co-operation till at least the war was over, the deputation would not have felt hurt at the declension of their offer and might have seen their way to be less importunate in their demand."

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 11th Mar., Eng. cols.

***28.** "Frankly speaking we are disappointed at the reply given to the Press Association deputation by His Excellency the Viceroy. No true journalist will rejoice over the sentiments which, the Viceroy showed, appeared in some newspapers of 1916. But we ask with all respect whether it is right to muzzle the whole class because of the whinings of some stray rabids. That in spite of the operation of the Press Act, presses, newspapers and periodicals have increased in numbers cannot be gainsaid. The question is not whether their numbers have increased but whether the increase has been in proportion to the country's advancement in other directions. We are glad that the Viceroy has been so frank in his reply. We still hope that it will be the lot of Lord Chelmsford to effect 'the removal from the statute-book of a measure which cannot but be regarded as a slur on the good name of the Press.'"

England's duty towards India at the present juncture.

Mahratta (5), 11th Mar.

***29.** The *Mahratta* approvingly quotes from a recent article in the *Times of India* on "National Service" and remarks:—"If the State deserves the 'best' out of a citizen, it must take a shape and form itself and create conditions in its territory, such that every citizen will have *something* to give. In India what are the conditions? Even in these pressing times of war, many, many of us are so poorly equipped that they don't know that there is a war going on which affects India! Many others are unable to give anything beyond good wishes. Many are unable to give any decent portion of their best, because the *best* cannot be given simply for the asking to any and every applicant. There must be a 'title' in the applicant to such a 'best' or a portion of it. When there is a continuous stream of unpleasant and oppressive measures flowing from the fountain-authorities, it is too much to expect that the subjects will *forget* all—even the *present* festering sores—and say a hearty 'Yea' to every demand of the Government. 'Yeas' no doubt fill the air whenever they are required to, but there is not as much of the heart in them as would be found in the 'Yeas' of the members of a self-ruling prosperous country. We must go on repeating incessantly that the conditions in which England has chosen to keep India—despite the swayings of the new wave of Democratic spirit which has made a tour of all 'benighted' lands—are unfortunate, exceedingly unfortunate! We call upon England to be up and awake. Reckless sleeping in a house which is infected in multifarious ways can do no good to the sleeper. And suppose a peculiarly made member or two of the family escape infection, is that a ground for neglecting the sanitation of the house? India is full of 'insanitary' public measures. Some laws are bad in every letter. Some are 'unfortunately' worded and thus despite their worthy objects fall into line with those of the first category by reason of the *wary Executive* stretching them too far......... We have endeavoured to make it clear that India is suffering from 'neglect' and from 'over-meddling'—from want of salutary measures and from the existence of contrary ones. This part of the Imperial House is, we assert, badly infected in the above way. Will not England look to it that before long the disinfecting of this vast area shall take place? The last Congress has asked for a Pledge that this shall be done soon. Why is not the Pledge coming? A Word of assurance—that surely cannot be an impossible task. Does England mean to be fair towards us? If yes, why not say so? What is the difficulty—we repeat, what is the difficulty?......... Is India not entitled to a mere word of assurance even after the stupendous sacrifice it has made for the Empire? What logic is this that teaches England to consider all sacrifice on our part as reasonable and *all demands* proceeding from us as *unreasonable?* We appeal to the British statesmen to brush up their soiled logic and to read times aright and to read things aright. India expects them to do their duty."

Comments on the action of the Police in stopping Mr. Khadilkar from delivering a speech at Belgaum on Home Rule.
Mahrátta (5), 11th Mar.

***30.** "The purport of Mr. Khadilkar's lecture at Dhárwár surely does not indicate that anything 'pernicious' would have been said by him in his lecture at Belgaum. But the authorities who issue notices scarcely ever seem to reason that way. They are served with 'information' which often distorts facts in a most ingenious manner. Upon the basis of such information are notices issued. The orders of the Punjáb and Delhi 'Durbars' are ever memorable instances of this blind way of the authorities. May it be that the 'frank' opinion of our Governor has been taken by lower officials as 'an order' on the part of the Bombay Government? We hope not. We are inclined to believe that His Excellency is anxious to see that our Home Rule propaganda should not be misinterpreted by other parts of the Empire including the people of the Mother-country. We believe that his 'advice' flowed from this 'sincere conviction'. But surely His Excellency cannot say that he would take it upon himself to 'silence' the educative propaganda *for the sake of the propaganda itself*.......... The authorities ought to know that 'Rights make might.'......... The Russian Government showed an appreciation of this truth when they issued the memorable proclamation that the Russian authorities had made up their minds to do justice to Poland and that Poland need no longer fear that she would remain a dependency of Russia after the war. We know that the effect of this proclamation was unique—that the Polish people rushed forward with unprecedented eagerness to help the State which had acknowledgedly oppressed her in manifold ways. A mere pledge of the Czar that Poland would be free after the war was sufficient to rouse burning enthusiasm. Why should not this *proved remedy* against listlessness and apathy be tried here in India?"

Sátára should organise a Home Rule League.
Prakásh (102), 7th Mar.

31. The *Prakásh* considers it derogatory to the reputation of Sátára, once the centre of the Mahrátta Empire, that it should not have up till now taken any serious steps for the organisation of a Home Rule League though the rest of the Maháráshtra has been alive with the movement all the time. It, therefore, calls upon the local leaders to move in the matter and considers that if the different talukas of Sátára divide the work between themselves through the Taluba Sabhas, where they exist, the district will be easily able to secure three thousand members.

Government service does not afford sufficient scope for patriotic service.
Message (6), 9th Mar.

32. "If a high court Vakil earnestly working for his country is given a High Court Judgeship, then he leaves his patriotic work altogether and forgets everything about his country. Service under Government does not afford sufficient scope for patriotic service. This is clearly explained in a Nationalist paper thus: 'Every man who enters the Government service forfeits his birthright as a child of the soil, and he can no more serve the true interest of the Motherland. His career can serve only to tighten the foreign hold and prolong our present political serfdom. But oftener, to serve his alien master, he has to go against his country, for the interests of the Government are in some cases not the interests of the people. The rulers and the ruled in India stand face to face in opposition and who deserts his post and goes over to the hostile camp loses for ever the right and privilege of living and dying for the land of his

birth. What to think of that education which has bred no spirit of independence? They keep their body but lose their soul. Is bread so dear and manhood so cheap? Behold the birds in the air and beasts in their den!—they too feel for their kith and kin, but we in our struggle for existence never feel the least hesitation in going against our country'. We want a body of Indians whose chief and prime business in life should be political work. This is the greatest need of our present situation."

Comments on the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council over the Honourable Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution regarding primary education.
Young India (11), 7th Mar.

33. Commenting upon the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council over the resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. B. N. Sarma on the subject of making primary education universal, compulsory and free throughout the country, *Young India* makes the following remarks on the views expressed by Sir Sankaran Nair:—"One wonders, while one is reading this, whether it is the Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council or some versatile alien bureaucrat that is speaking. It is indeed remarkable that in these days when the South Indian Association, Limited, of Madras, claiming to speak for 40 million non-Brahmanas of the Presidency from which both the mover of the resolution and his esteemed opponent hail is working for the education of the masses, Sir Sankaran should have urged that there is no popular demand. He held that the objections which prevented the acceptance of Mr. Gokhale's Bill held good even to-day and, therefore, he very 'sympathetically' opposed the resolution.......... What was very striking in the debate was the manner in which official members made the late Mr. Gokhale a convenient peg to hang their pet views on. One official member said most authoritatively that Gokhale did not want this and did not ask for that. Another said that Gokhale wanted a particular course to be pursued and a third said that Gokhale's ideal was less ambitious. But nobody cared to bear in mind, in the first place that five years have already rolled by since Mr. Gokhale attempted to bring about by legislative pressure a quickening of the tardy processes of educational progress.......... It is impossible to believe that the Government of India is labouring under the impression that the chariot of Indian progress has come to a standstill since 1912. During the last few weeks, a large number of meetings has been held in this city alone, not by the intellectual classes but by extremely backward classes, who have been insistently demanding free and compulsory education from the Corporation. A similar desire actuates the people elsewhere.......... The Honourable Mr. Sharp said that the Government of India could lay down a broad policy, and this they had done. This, we presume, is the policy which was outlined in the now famous Resolution of February 1913. But has any local Government followed it or even tried to do so? It did not seem to us from the recent debate on Mr. Patel's resolution in the local Council that any such broad policy existed. The Honourable Mr. Chaubal pleaded, we still remember, that any favourable action his Government might take, would militate against the declared policy of the Supreme Government, and he therefore declined on behalf of his Government to accept it. Will some one kindly explain the apparent discrepancy?"

Comments on the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on the subject of India's contribution to the War.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 10th Mar.

34. Commenting upon the resolution moved by the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at a recent meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council suggesting a modification in the arrangement as regards India's share in the burden of the war and his protest against the procedure adopted in the matter in not consulting the Council, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The resolution was not quite in keeping with the views of the Indian public and we are, therefore, glad that it has been withdrawn. We, however, sympathise with the contention that the Government were wrong in arriving at a decision without consulting the Council. We wish the Finance Member had deemed it wise to explain the situation. If India's contribution to the War had been made with the consent of the Council, it would have tended to raise the posi-

[illegible] of India in the eyes of the Colonies who now might point their finger at the fact that Government did not deem it expedient to consult the representatives of the people in such a matter of Imperial importance. We are constrained to say that the Honourable Member showed narrowness of mind by suggesting a decrease in India's contribution to the war. We feel sure that with the increase in our commercial activities we shall in a few years be able to pay off the country's liabilities.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council on the working of the Defence of India Act.

Hindusthán (17), 9th Mar.

35. Referring to the resolution brought by the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy in the Imperial Legislative Council on the subject of the administration of the Defence of India Act, the *Hindusthán* remarks that Government's attitude in rejecting even such a modest resolution was one of obstinacy and that the joint appeals of all the non-official members of the Council had failed to produce any effect on them. The paper then goes on:—Who is to blame if, as the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy says, the rejection by Government of his request for submitting cases coming under the Defence of India Act to a body including, among others, a judicial officer, spreads disappointment among the public? Where would be the wonder if it made the people of Bengal, who complain most against the working of the Act, more discontented than before? The demand was not one for a repeal of the Act in question. It only urged that every case coming within the purview of the Act should be placed before judicial officers. Some of the members were prepared not to press for the inclusion of an Indian barrister in the body proposed to be established for dealing with such cases, and yet the placing of this very slight check upon the powers vested in the Executive was refused. Those who wish Indians to refrain from bringing forward for discussion important questions will judge for themselves whether such a policy on the part of Government is farsighted or not.

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's refusal in the House of Commons to raise the Excise Duties.

Mahrátta (5), 11th Mar.

***36.** "As a grateful nation we are thankful that the Government of India and the Secretary of State exhibited a laudable firmness in refusing the unjust request of the Manchester magnates to raise the countervailing Excise duties to the level of the Import duties. The imposition of the Excise Duties has been so bitterly deprecated by Indian public opinion that no amount of sophistry would afford it even a semblance of justification. To have raised the duties would in the circumstances have amounted to an unmitigated sin. We are glad that Mr. Chamberlain stood firm, and refused to be bullied. But we regret his attempted explanation. He said that to have raised the countervailing duties would have created so much indignation in the country as to have marred the prospects of the help India was giving. Here a motive of give-and-take has been attributed to India. Mr. Chamberlain did not maintain the justice of the Indian demand. His words convey that India has escaped an unjust tax not because Parliament was averse to it, but because they did not want India to be displeased at this critical time. Utterances such as these from the lips of responsible officials create in the mind of the guileless journalist an impression that leaders of English political life are governed by motives which are not necessarily altruistic. It is impressions such as these that he paraphrases. Bureaucracy has, as shown above, a hand in creating these impressions for which the poor journalist is at times made to suffer."

Comments on the Secretary of State's reply to the Government of India's despatch on indentured labour.

Hindusthán (17), 3rd Mar.

37. Commenting upon the reply of the Secretary of State for India to the Government of India's despatch on the subject of indentured Labour the *Hindusthán* remarks that Mr. Chamberlain has not understood the forces underlying the agitation against the indenture system and that he has in his above mentioned reply made an exhibition of his great ignorance of Indian affairs. It remaks that that agitation is not influenced by any motives of retaliation for the disabilities the free

Indian immigrants have to labour under in the Colonies. Is it not surprising, inquires the paper, that such confusion should arise in the mind of the Secretary? In its view this very erroneous belief on his part establishes the truth of the opinion that administration of India from a distance of six thousand miles is almost an impossible or at least an extremely difficult task and it only strengthens the demand of self-government for India. Referring to the Secretary's belief that the status of indentured women in the colonies, *per se*, does not expose them to ill-treatment to anything like the extent represented in some quarters, the paper wishes that an English translation of a book published by Pundit Totaram Sanadhya, wherein he has drawn a graphic picture of the condition of indentured Indian labourers, may be sent to Mr. Chamberlain for perusal. It believes that such a course will give this ignorant Indian Secretary the necessary enlightenment on the subject and will induce him to instantly abolish the system. It concludes with remarking that, whatever may be the length of the period of indentures, the Indian public opinion will not accept the system under any conditions whatever.

Comments on the High Court's decision in the Jain Vijaya Press forfeiture of security case.
**Mahrátta* (5), 11th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 8th Mar.

38. "The forfeiture of the first security of the Jain Vijaya Press at Surat, and the rejection of the application of the printer, adds another sufferer to the long list of victims of the octopus of the Press Act. Of course it is impossible in every case to criticize the judgments of the highest tribunal on merits and when a question of principle is concerned the views expressed on either side would inevitably be divergent. In this particular case opinions might differ as to whether a particular passage falls within the scope of the Press Act. We are concerned not so much with the over strict view taken by the law Courts, as with the vagaries of the Act itself which has made such cases possible. A most objectionable Act creates such cases and the Act in its turn is sought to be justified on the strength of those unfortunate instances of wich it was the origin. We have thus a vicious argument in a circle. Even astute men like Lord Chelmsford could not escape the fallacy which certain English papers have been endeavouring to elevate into a strong argument in favour of retaining an Act which every principle of English justice must reprobate. What is the propriety of the proud boast of the freedom of the press if the vaunted freedom cannot allow free expression of opinion?" [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The unanimous finding of the High Court judges will tend to strengthen the position of those who are opposed to the liberty of the Press. The pamphlet in question issued by the Jain Vijaya Press is an outcome of folly and its publication during the time of the war when people are expected to help Government financially and by military service shows the morbid condition of the minds of its writer and publisher. The publisher, instead of pleading for mercy, had the audacity to appeal against the order of Government. The appeal will be an eye-opener to many and convince them of the necessity of compelling certain sentimental visionaries to sever their connection with the Press and of taking steps to maintain its prestige and strengthening the relations between the rulers and the ruled. The Press Association would do well to appoint a Vigilance Committee to help Government in purging the Press of undesirable elements.]

Indu Prakash (36), 10th Mar., Eng. cols.

39. "The recent Press Act case decided by the Bombay High Court was an unfortunate one from more than one point of view......... The Hon'ble Justice Macleod's judgment, short as it is, is objectionable in more than one way. It is a great boon to all the righful political educators that Justice Shah was a judge junior to Mr. Justice Macleod so that he could at once correct a mischief that was likely to spread by a greater part of Justice Macleod's judgment. What we have in mind is the interpretation of the word 'Swaraj.' Justice Batchelor scrupulously abstains from saying anything on the point. Then comes Justice Macleod who says it means nothing short of independence, and inasmuch as he was told that nowadays the word Swaraj meant 'self-government within the Empire' or 'self-government on colonial lines', Justice Macleod claims to go behind or enter into an imaginary ignorant reader

[illegible] says that the word should mean only what he understood it to mean in the mind of that imaginary reader. Now what is Justice Macleod's title to say anything of the kind? Justice Macleod knows little outside the town and island of Bombay. If Justice Batchelor had said anything of the kind there was some meaning in it, as that learned judge did work in the mofussil. But there is not the slightest warrant for Justice Macleod's entering into what can most safely be called speculation of a dangerous kind. His argument on the point is astounding. It shows ignorance of ordinary convention. Can he say that he uses every word of his judgment in its root meaning?......... He says an ignorant reader would understand in the way he did. Perhaps that is so. But, then, where does he get it that an ignorant reader of the type he creates would read the pamphlet? It is only the person who does take some interest in these movements, who breathes the air of political progress and political thought that is expected to read this pamphlet.......... The word *Swarajya* has a history behind it of more than ten years. Dadabhoy Naoroji used it for the first time within the memory of the present young generation in the year 1906, and then the word went up to the High Court of Calcutta and was accepted as meaning nothing more than 'self-government within the Empire.' The word has since then been used, as Justice Shah says, and in the eyes of the public used with the sanction of the judicial tribunals, in that sense alone. No Indian now understands it in any other meaning. If Justice Macleod had asked for evidence on the point, he would have got witnesses of all positions and of all shades of opinion to testify to that. Mr. Justice Macleod appears to possess Chamberlainite ignorance of political writings.......... We are glad that there was Justice Shah—an incomparably more competent judge to say what he did say—to correct Justice Macleod's mistake.......... All thanks are due to Justice Shah for his rare courage and promptness in nipping in the veriest bud a mischief that would have sorely disturbed all right political education."

The Belgaum District Conference and the Mamlatdar of Chikodi (Belgaum).
Kesari (95), 6th March.

40. Preparations are being made to hold a District Conference at Chikodi (Belgaum) next month. We learn from a correspondent that the Mamlatdar of Chikodi has issued the following order to the village officers:—"We understand that the District National Congress will meet at Chikodi next month. You are not to help it in any way. If you do, you will be duly punished." We welcome the Mamlatdar's definition of the Conference as the "District National Congress" although it is a misnomer. How could the poor village officers possibly help the Conference? Or was the order indirectly meant for others? The Mamlatdar could very well have spared himself the trouble of issuing the order. The Indian National Congress is an institution recognised by Government as being conducted on strictly constitutional lines and it is a mistake to treat suspiciously the District Conference which is being held under the auspices of the District Congress Committee.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. W. C. Madge's minute of dissent appended to the Report of the Public Service Commissions.
Young India (11), 7th Mar.

41. Mr. L. G. Khare contributes an article to *Young India* in which he criticises the views expressed by Mr. W. C. Madge in his minute of dissent appended to the Report of the Public Service Commission. In the course of his article, the writer observes:—"For this community Mr. Madge claims special consideration. Why? because some members of it have a tendency to 'revert to the British type'. It is very unfortunate, I am sure, as I have come into personal and intimate touch with many real gentlemen among Eurasians, but, I say, it is unfortunate that the average Indian's idea of an Anglo-Indian is that of a ticket-collector on our Indian railways. The Indian very often cannot understand his English. He looks a 'Sab,' but his vocabulary consists largely of the words 'man' and 'b.l.y' and the Indian shudders at this Sab's aptitude in mental arithmetic, when he has to pay excess fare. The Indian notices that the community to which this 'Sab' belongs, considers the Railway services as its monopoly, and when individual members of it are rude to him and call him a 'nigger' he cannot understand how the result of the *amours* of a Tommy Atkins and a scavenger woman can insult a pure Aryan, and bear arms in the bargain. That is the situation: it is no good blinking it: yet says Mr. Madge, the community has been deprived of "its former place in the sun' and he notices with regret that 'the great bulk of the expenditure on Anglo-Indian education has come from private sources and not from State grants, which have been lavishly given for Indian education'. After this, we must really recommend Mr. Madge for a K. C. I. E., so lavishly erroneous are his ideas about the State support of Indian education. Mr. Madge complains that 'the exclusion in recent years of the domiciled community from appointments to which they ought to be eligible because they have rendered excellent service in them is to be lamented' and he has the temerity to observe its injustice and the *political danger* it is brewing. So this is a whine for more loaves of office, coupled with the threat that the refusal of the request will spell political danger!......... According to Mr. Madge the atmosphere of British institutions impregnated with the collateral home associations of Britain is preferable to that found in India. Thank you Mr. Madge: but many of us here are now earnestly engaged in making young Indians feel that the real 'home' atmosphere is to be found in India, and we are going to trust to the atmosphere of the land of our birth, not to the land which a mixed race will fondly call its 'home'."

Question of the early closing of liquor-shops in Bombay.

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 5th Mar.

42. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the petition recently submitted by the wine merchants and retail license holders of Bombay to the Collector of Bombay protesting against certain suggestions of the Advisory Committee. It rebuts arguments of the petitioners and tries to uphold the suggestions of the Advisory Committee and asks the Collector to make the rule for the early closing of liquor-shops applicable equally to the foreign and country liquor-shops, as any preferential treatment given to foreign liquor-shops tends to encourage the use of inferior foreign liquors to the great harm of those who make use of them. It asks the Collector of Bombay to give a fair trial to the suggestion about opening toddy shops early and closing them late, but at the same time requests him to consult the wine merchants before taking any steps that are likely to affect their interests.

Contradiction of allegation that both the instalments of land revenue are being simultaneously recovered in parts of the Sátára District.

Prakásh (102), 7th Mar.

43. The *Prakásh* publishes the following in connection with the statement contained in paragraph 43 of Weekly Report No. 7 of 1917:—We published a letter in our issue of the 14th February 1917, under the heading "Land assessment" from a correspondent who says that both the instalments of land assessment are being simultaneously recovered. The attention of the Collector having been drawn to that letter he informs us that the statement of our correspondent is erroneous. We are thankful to the Collector for this information.

LEGISLATION.

The Income-tax and the Super-Tax Bills in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Gujaráti (13), 11th Mar., Eng. cols.

44. "The Income-Tax Bill called forth some just criticism. We are afraid the penal provisions now introduced in case returns are not filled in are somewhat stringent and having regard to the attitude of the income-tax authorities in the moffussil they will be productive of not a little hardship and dissatisfaction. The Income Super-Tax Bill also evoked criticism, in so far as it affects undivided Hindu families. The income-tax, even as it is, works grave injustice in the case of undivided Hindu families consisting of a large number of dependents, as no such circumstances are taken into account in the determination of the tax on the income it may be, of a single earning member. The administration of the new provisions relating to the super-tax will necessarily hasten the division of treatment which has been accorded [illegible] undivided families. We wish the Finance Member had taken this circumstance into consideration and accepted some modified proposal. No doubt the tax will affect very wealthy families only. But we do not think the State should by any action of its own interfere with the integrity or the domestic traditions and arrangements of old and respectable families that do not like the idea of partition. Undivided Hindu families have been placed on the same footing as firms and will be liable to the payment of the super-tax to the same extent and on the same principle as the latter."

EDUCATION.

India is not yet fit for the compulsory system of education.

Surat Akhbár (71), 5th Mar.

45. The introduction of a system of compulsory education in this country is an impossibility. They are revolutionists who wish to implant all European institutions into India. Think of the wide gulf that exists between India and Europe! Education in Europe is 300 years old, whereas in India it dates back 75 years. In the latter country it is, thus, in its infancy and it has not yet attained proper development and, therefore, those who make a precipitate demand for compulsory education do not seem to have any experience of educational institutions. Irresponsible persons have strained every nerve to raise a hue and cry against the British Government for their having flatly refused to introduce compulsory education in India. From the beginning we have expressed our disapproval of compulsory education which we regard only as a white elephant. [The paper here refers to the order issued by His Highness the Gaekwar to close 300 schools in the Baroda State as a sign of the failure of the compulsory system in that State and remarks:—We hope the advocates of the compulsory system will, after this experience, no longer trouble the British Government at the present juncture.]

Gloomy prospects about primary education being made free and compulsory.

Prakásh (102), 7th Mar.

46. Recent events have shown that the attitude of Government with regard to education is most illiberal. When the Honourable Mr. Patel moved his resolution about free and compulsory primary education last year in the Bombay Legislative Council, he was told that the matter lay in the hands of the Government of India. But now we find that when the Honourable Mr. Sarma brought a similar motion before the Imperial Legislative Council, the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair, who opposed the motion on behalf of Government, declared that the matter lay within the purview of the different Local Governments as conditions differed in each province! The upshot of all this will be that the people will have to rot in illiteracy.

Comments on the permission given by the Bombay Government to Messrs. Macmillan and Company to raise the prices of the cloth editions of the vernacular readers.

Young India (11), 7th Mar.

47. Commenting upon the permission recently given by the Bombay Government to Messrs. Macmillan and Company to raise the prices of the cloth editions of the vernacular readers and to reduce the discount on them to the trade, *Young India* remarks:—"It is natural for the firm to have suggested such a course; it was in their own interest. But the Government has not merely to look at the convenience of one party. It does not seem as if Government considered the interests of the public in complying with the request of the firm. Apart from this, we do not think the agreement entered into between the Government and the firm provided for any periodical increase of price. If the cost of paper and cloth had gone up, it does not alter the agreement by one whit. As a matter of fact, Messrs. Macmillan hold the monopoly in this matter and any loss which they might be put to during the period of stress would be insignificant compared with the profit they must have made in previous years. Even if the firm were working at a loss, it is most unreasonable that the agreement should be revised to suit the convenience of one party. We cannot at any rate commend the favoured treatment which has been accorded to the firm by the Government."

Alleged objectionable line in the Third Gujarati Reader from the point of view of Muhammadan religious sentiment.
Akhbár-e-Islám (52), 10th March.

48. One Haji Dawood Hyderabadwala addresses a letter to the *Akhbár-e-Islám* wherein he refers to the protest raised by a meeting of the Anjuman-e-Islám, Rander, against a line appearing in the eighth lesson of Book III of the Gujarati Reading Series (*vide* paragraph 53 of the W. R. No. 9 of 1917). He remarks that whatever may be the opinion of the learned members of the aforesaid Anjuman, he for one cannot understand how the line in question can be regarded as objectionable. He believes that it would be more advisable if the attention of the authorities were to be drawn to it after somebody has proved by facts and figures that the line is really objectionable. The writer also requests the editor of the paper to publish his own views in the matter.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Need of a mosque in the Chowpatty and Malábar Hill quarters in Bombay.
Akhbár-e-Islám (52), 7th Mar.

49. In the course of a* leading article, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* deprecates the cooling down of religious ardour among Muhammadans of the present day and greatly regrets the absence of any mosque to serve the Chowpatty and Malábár Hill quarters which, while having some places of worship for the Hindus and Parsis, are otherwise only studded with grand and lofty buildings belonging to different communities including the Muhammadans. It considers it to be the duty of rich Muhammadans residing in those two localities to erect a mosque in the vicinity to be used as a place of public worship by their Moslem servants and the poor Muhammadan working people residing in those parts. The paper is confident in its belief that if a charitably disposed rich Muhammadan comes forward to erect a mosque in these localities he will, in all probability, be able to secure the requisite site free of charge either from Government, the City Improvement Trust or the Bombay Municipality.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 16th March 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 11 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 17th March 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:
  Comments on the Bombay Budget . . . . 25—28
  Comments on Government's reply to the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri's interpellation regarding the C. I. D. . . . . . . 29—31
  Comments on the Honourable Mr. Upasani's resolution against the appointment of a lecturer in Geography at the College of Commerce 32
British Rule:
  Comments on the action of the police in prohibiting Mr. Khadilkar from delivering a lecture at Belgaum 39
  Comments on the agitation of Lancashire against the increase in the import duties on cotton goods . . . . 36 & 37
  Comments on the exodus to the hills 40
  Comments on the Press Note on the substitution of *Modi* by *Balbodh* in Government offices 41
  Comments on the Punjab Government's reply to Mr. Tilak's inquiry about the grounds of his exclusion from the Punjáb 38
  India's case for Home Rule stronger than that of Ireland . . . . 34 & 35
  The super-tax should also be levied on the profits made by the various Turf Clubs in India 42
Excise:
  Comments on the Abkári prosecution in the Thána District . . . 57
  Suggestion for manufacture of cashew spirit in the Ratnágiri District . 56
Imperial Legislative Council:
  Comments on Government's reply to an interpellation in the— regarding subsidised newspapers 24
  The Indian Budget . . . . 18—23
Indian students in England: Adverse comments on the work of the Indian Students Department in London 51
Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the recent orders of the Government of India prohibiting labour emigration . . . . . . 48—50
Judicial matters:
  Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the case in connection with the powers of the Muncipality under the Weights and Measures Act 55
  Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the *Jain Vijaya* Printing Press Security Case 54

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Press Act: Comments on the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Indian Press Association . . . . 43—47
Public Service: Comments on the appointment of Sir H. Butler and Sir R. Craddock as Lieutenant-Governors of the United Provinces and Burma respectively. . . . . 52 & 53
Sind: Complaint about European lads going about shooting pigeons and other birds in Sukkur (—) 58
United Provinces Legislative Council: Comments on the discussion in — on the restrictions placed on the recruitment of certain castes for the Police force 33

War:

Alleged apathy of the Indian Government in taking steps to check extravagance and enforce economy in view of the — . . . 11 & 12
Alleged dangers of belittling the enemy's strength and resources . . 15
Attitude of the Principals of the Engineering College and the Fergusson College towards students wishing to join the Indian Defence Force contrasted 6
Comments on a speech of Dr. Allan, Principal of the Engineering College, Poona, exhorting students to join the Indian Defence Force 5
Comments on the formation of a Moslem Committee for entertaining wounded Indian soldiers in Bombay 17
Defence of India Force . . . . 1—4
India's — gift to England . . . . 7—10
Reflections on the progress of the — 16
The fall of Bagdad . . . . 13 & 14

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Local Boards Act Amendment Bill . . . . . 59 & 60

EDUCATION—

Comments on the concession made to Muhammadans in educational institutions in the Bengal Presidency in the matter of reciting Jumma prayers 63
How students' minds are being trained in the Central Provinces . . . 61
Muhammadans and compulsory primary education in Bombay . . . 62

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Defence of India Force.
Gujaráti (13), 11th Mar.

1. We are aware that the Indian Defence Force Act does not satisfy a thousandth part of the aspirations of the Indian people. The attempts of non-official members to effect modification in the Act have failed and the inequality existing between the Indians and Europeans in the army has not been removed. But the Act has afforded a very small opening for Indians to enlist themselves as Volunteers. We do not know when the doors of the military service will be fully opened to the Indians. But we trust that now that the progress of events have given Indian sepoys the opportunity of fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Allied troops against an European enemy and have given the Indians a chance of enlisting themselves in the Defence Force, a time will certainly come when the doors of the military service will be thrown open to Indians. But before such an event comes to pass we should fully avail ourselves of the present opportunity offered to us and enlist ourselves in the Defence Force in as large numbers as possible. If many young men do not respond to the present call the officials will say that the Indians are lacking in war-like spirit and that they are not fit to govern themselves inasmuch as they have not the zeal to defend their own country. We should lay aside our grievances and should overlook our disabilities in the matter of commissions and should take the military training that will be given to us so that we may be qualified for officers' posts. There is at present no immediate danger of India being invaded, but can we guarantee India's immunity from such an invasion? Who will defend our homes in the event of an invasion if we do not possess any military training? Shall we at that time allow our motherland to be plundered and violated? The mettle of the Indian people is now going to be tested. We shall not be required at present to shed our blood in the defence of India. But in future other nations might cast longing eyes on India and try to take possession of it. Indians should therefore, freely enlist themselves in the Indian Defence Force in order to be able to defend their mother country from foreign invasions. We hope our young men will not hesitate to take the full advantage of the opportunity offered to them. You are at liberty to find fault with Government for not giving you all that you require, but by no means refrain from joining the Defence Force in a spirit of sulkiness.

Indian Loyalist (19), 15th Mar.; *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (64), 14th Mar.; *Political Bhomio* (New), 16th Mar.

2. If our young men do not join the Force on the score of their having not been given an assurance of being treated on a footing of equality with Europeans they will be merely making an exhibition of their weakness. We feel confident that the British Government will never be backward in bestowing political privileges on us when they are convinced of our fitness for them. The present time is not the one for asking rights but for preparing the way for the concession of political rights to our country by enlisting ourselves in the India Defence Force. [The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* expresses disappointment at the principle of compulsion not having been applied to Indians in the formation of the Defence of India Force and at the differential treatment given to Anglo-Indians. It appeals to the young men of Gujarát and Káthiáwár to enlist themselves in the Defence Force. The *Political Bhomio* writes in a similar strain.]

Akbár-e-Islám (52), 14th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (55), 15th Mar.

3. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses surprise at the indifference shown by Muhammadan leaders in not calling public meetings for exhorting young Muhammadans to enlist themselves in the Indian Defence Force and exhorts them to lose no more time in organising such meetings. It expresses hope that if an appeal is made to Muhammadan young men for enlistment a large number of them will respond to the call as the martial spirit is ingrained in them. It asks political leaders to refrain from taking part in political movements and to direct their energies to popularising the war loan and encouraging enlist-

ment in the Indian Defence Force. A 'Jain' writes to the *Bombay Samáchár* exhorting young men belonging to the Jain community to enlist themselves in the Indian Defence Force. He tells them that the Jain religion does not in any way prohibit its followers taking up arms in self-defence. He, however, asks those who have conscientious objection to shedding blood to form themselves into a Jain Ambulance Corps and to help Government by relieving those in pain and suffering. He concludes by asking the Jains to subscribe to the war loan.]

Mufid-e-Rozgár (122), 14th Mar.

4. Referring to Mr. Chamberlain's utterance in the Commons regarding the granting of commissions to Indians, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* regrets that neither the Viceroy nor the Commander-in-Chief made such an announcement and that such a momentous declaration was made out side India. It suggests that a Cadet College for Indians should be established quickly whence Indians, on completing a course of necessary training, may be gazetted to commissioned ranks direct.

Comments on a speech of Dr. Allan, Principal of the Engineering College, Poona, exhorting students to join the Indian Defence Force.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.; *Mahrátta* (5), 18th Mar.

***5.** "The public has been favoured with many an instance of the idiosyncracy of the Principal of the Engineering College by our esteemed contemporary, the *Chronicle*. One more instance has been added to that long list. In the little speech which Dr. Allan made to exhort the students of his college to join the Defence of India Force, he was pleased to make some irritating and uncalled for references to the kind of work which those who join the Force are expected to do. Dr. Allan appears to be endowed with little imagination. He tells his students that their services are required 'not simply to fight the outside enemy but to put down civil disturbances like the joining of all Mill-hands of Bombay at strike or a railway strike at Poona'. In a Machiavelian tone he says 'Non-obedience to any orders of the Government on your part is a mutiny.' Not content with these remarks, Dr. Allan goes to the extent of attributing to some of his students ulterior motives of 'forcing the Government to give up certain rights and privileges at the point of a bayonet.' We wonder whether the speech had its desired effect upon the students. Far from being encouraging, it is beyond doubt calculated to create disaffection amongst those who had the misfortune to listen to Dr. Allan's oratory. We would be surprised if the Educational Department which is well-known for its vigilance should pass over this mischievous speech of the head of the Engineering College." [The *Mahrátta* writes :—" The Principal must be congratulated on his frankness. But we feel that this plain speaking was not necessary. An educated youth, as the Principal inwardly feared, cannot think, without a twitching of the conscience, of the possibility of his having to fire on his own countrymen. But he will solve this problem in one of two ways. He will either keep away from volunteering or having volunteered will, if his conscience so dictates at the moment, politely decline to obey an order to fire on his fellow-countrymen. The martial law is there to take care of such a conscientious objector. There is no reason why educated Indians should keep away from joining the Indian Defence Force, simply because there is a possibility of their having to face martial law for breach of dicipline in a delicate moment. The possibility may never turn into actuality."]

Attitudes of the Principals of the Engineering College and the Fergusson College towards students wishing to join to the Indian Defence Force contrasted.

Message (6), 13th and 14th Mar.

6. "It is surprising that the Principal of the Poona Engineering College has had the extraordinary temerity of delivering an extraordinary address to his students in connection with volunteering. Whatever one's individual feelings may be in respect of certain matters, it is absurd that one should address a community of young men in the manner chosen by Mr. Allen. He is not an ideal principal; there cannot be much doubt about it. But it was not certainly within his province to tell those who were anxious to volunteer that there was some ulterior object at the back of their minds about forcing the responsible Government to give up certain rights and privileges at the point of the bayonet. Such insinuation is not only mischievous but also derogatory to the self-respect of the students. The way chosen by Principal Allen is not the best method of making the students understand the measure in the right spirit. We trust Government will put a little restraint on the mischievous propensities of Mr. Allen and kindly tell him to mind his own business." [In the next issue the paper writes under the heading "Look at this Principal and that":—"Principal Paranjpye of the Fergusson College, we understand, is trying to induce several college-students to offer themselves as recruits for the Defence of India Force. He has given appropriate facilities to Professors Bendale, M. R. Paranjpye, Kelkar and others of his staff so that they too might join and set an example to students which they might follow. But we hear that in the same city of Poona, another Principal of a College—Dr. Allen of the Engineering College, speaking at the recruiting meeting, conjured up such an imaginary but lurid and doleful picture of another mutiny and the horrid slaughter of Indians by Indians that some students who meant to join the Force were to a certain extent discouraged by the speech. Some of them, we hear, postponed, if not relinquished, their noble purpose, which the Viceroy said was as *patriotic* as it was for the good of the Empire. Who is fostering patriotism more, Dr. Allen or Professor Paranjpye?"]

India's war gift to England.
Message (6), 11th Mar.

7. The *Message* expresses agreement with the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution in connection with the hundred millions war gift to England and remarks:—"If the Viceroy, the Indian Government and the Secretary of State ignored public opinion, His Majesty's Government should have at least ascertained before gratefully accepting the offer whether the responsible public opinion in this country had been consulted. Such a course would not only have 'touched the warm heart of India' but it would have also made the Government in this country show a little better regard for it in future. This is one more instance of Mr. Lloyd George's omission to show adequate regard for India, and he should realize that it is not these omissions which touch the warm heart of India.......... The right thing for the Government to do at this stage, would have been, as our contemporary of the *Times of India* has very rightly observed, to raise the largest possible sum, both by increased taxation and by loan, for the prosecution of the war.......... Such a course would not only have commended itself to Indian opinion as a thoroughly equitable arrangement but would have evoked its heartfelt gratitude for the same. Now that Government have committed us definitely to a course without even an effort at previous consultation, may be of a formal character, if we submit to it, it is quite a different thing. But in principle, belated as it may seem, we are constrained to enter our respectful but emphatic protest against the course pursued by the Viceroy."

Young India (11), 14th Mar.; *Kesari* (95), 13th Mar.

8. "The unceremonious manner of the Government of India in springing upon the people of this country the surprise of the 100 millions war gift provoked a warm and perfectly dignified protest from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya....... Before the 'gift' was decided upon there was not even the show of a formal consultation with the representatives of the people in Council. The Imperial Legislative Council was all the while in session and if the responsible authorities had the scantiest consideration for the opinion of the people's representatives they would have availed themselves of the earliest opportunity to obtain their approval before the bargain was closed between the two Governments. Having regard to the fact that the Council had registered two resolutions previously 'to support the honor, dignity and prestige of the Empire' the Government of India had no reason

to think that on this occasion when they were definitely committing the country to a very serious responsibility, they would not get the support of the people's representatives. The policy pursued by them in this matter indicates that in the dealings of the executive with the people, trust plays but little part. When Pandit Malaviya lodged his formal but emphatic protest, it was expected that Sir William Meyer or some other responsible Member of Government would meet the charge fairly and squarely. Nothing of the kind was done and Sir William Meyer, who spoke for Government, simply evaded the points raised by the Pandit by telling him that he should not have made a speech—why? Is it because it left no room for the Government of India to reply? [The paper here takes the *Pioneer* to task for its 'mean and undignified attack' on the Pandit in this connection and for calling upon the people of the United Provinces to disassociate themselves from him, and concludes:—] May we add that not only the United Provinces, but the whole of 'Indian' India associates itself in every particular with its revered and tried leader. We know that in the direction that he leads would be found the best interests of the country, the Government and the Empire." [The *Kesari* remarks:—The Honourable Mr. Malaviya was right in contending that the Imperial Legislative Council should have been consulted before Government contributed a sum of £100 million towards the expenses of the war, as the revenues of India cannot be devoted to any particular object without the consent of the Council. It is impossible of course that this consent would not have been forthcoming from a Council which contains such amiable gentlemen as Sir G. Chitnavis and Mr. Das! Any further discussion on this subject, however, is unfruitful and we allude to it simply with a view to preventing a similar irregularity in the future.]

Bombay Samáchár (55), 17th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 15th Mar.;

9. The *Bombay Samáchár* thanks His Excellency the Viceroy for his message to the people of India reminding them of the opportunity presented to them of proving their loyalty by subscribing to the war loan. It dwells upon the benefits India has derived from British Rule in India and on the sympathy evinced by Lords Hardinge and Chelmsford in the solution of Indian problems and expresses hope that India will enjoy commercial prosperity and increasing political rights in the near future. It makes a strong appeal to the Indian people to hasten the day of the Empire's victory and the return of peace by subscribing generously to the War Loan. [The *Sánj Vartamán* dwells upon the protection offered to Indian commerce by the British Navy and exhorts the people to subscribe to the War Loan with a view to ensuing an early peace.

Gujaráti (13), 11th Mar.; *Kesari* (95), 13th Mar.

10. Commenting upon the speech delivered by His Excellency Lord Willingdon at the War Loan meeting held at the Town Hall, Bombay, the *Gujaráti* writes:—We are of opinion that if Lord Willingdon had not asked the people to refrain from political movements but had shown them the direction their political activities should take, he would have been able to secure a better contribution to the loan of victory. The repeated exhortations made to the people to give up political agitation has effects that are far from desirable, and they begin to ask as to why they should trust Government when they themselves are not being trusted by their rulers. People do not understand why Government should be so afraid of political agitation. Have not bodies conducting political agitation supported and made appeals for enlistment in the Defence Force and subscription to the War Loan? His Excellency referred to the ignorance prevailing among the people about the gravity of the situation; but it must be remembered that their ignorance is due to the lack of facilities for imparting education to them. Is it not, therefore, strange that officials should not support suggestions coming from popular leaders for providing the people with additional facilities for receiving education? People are being asked to effect economies to subscribe to the War Loan. Should not Government set them an example by curtailing the expenses on the migrations to the hills as long as the war lasts? We would appeal to the people to subscribe to the War Loan and show that they are capable of defending their country. This is the time for the people to show their fitness for *swarajya* and we feel sure they will prove equal to the occasion. The *Kesari* says:—At the War Loan meeting held at Bombay His Excellency Lord Willingdon advised the people to suspend the Home Rule movement during the progress of the war. At this meeting His Excellency also read a letter from Mr. Lloyd George appealing for the co-operation of the Indians. We are of course ready to give every possible help to the Empire at this crisis. But should we not have an adequate return for our sacrifices? It is unfair to ask Indians to suspend the Home Rule movement during the war. Mr. Lloyd George himself has offered Home Rule to Ireland on certain conditions although the war is still in progress. Why should India wait then till the the war ends? It is in the interests both of India and the Empire that Government should give a definite promise of conferring Home Rule on India soon after the war. The Home Rule movement does not clash with the true interests of the Empire and we should urge people to ignore the call to suspend the movement.

Alleged apathy of the Indian Government in taking steps to check extravagance and enforce economy in view of the war.

Sind Observer (10), 28th Feb.

11. Discussing the question of the "urgent need for economy" the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"The people of the British Isles have been told with a directness that must have come as a shock to many, and the Government at home has not confined itself to mere words, but is taking action to ensure that the necessary economy is enforced. In India Government have not as yet considered the matter, and a considerable proportion of educated people do not seem to be aware that we are at war. But what can we expect when the Lieutenant-Governor of a great province is spending lakhs of rupees on constructing an artificial lake whereon he and his friends will sail yachts, and when the same satrap directs that no lady should appear at his court in the same costume twice? This extravagant conduct, when we are supposed to be straining every nerve to overcome a powerful foe, is nothing short of wicked! The British Government and people are proverbially slow to adopt stringent measures and prefer to allow themselves to drift, but one would have thought that the past two and a half years have been full of useful lessons. It is simply astounding to see ships freighted with luxuries and unnecessaries arriving at our ports when tonnage is so short and when every extra ton carried adds to the responsibilities of the Navy. It is disgusting to see the reckless expenditure which certain people indulge in when thousands of men are putting up with terrible hardships in the fight for freedom."

Rást Goftár (28), 11th Mar.

12. The *Rást Goftár* quotes figures showing the import of foreign wines, biscuits and other foodstuffs, motors, etc., in India in the course of the last year and asks why the Indian Government do not teach the people to be more economical during the present crisis by placing restrictions on the import of such articles of luxury, as the British Government have done in England in the case of motor cars, tea, coffee, cocoa, etc. It believes that India can, at this juncture, very well afford to be without those delicately woven silk fabrics which are still being imported from France, Japan and China. It then remarks that the reason why the authorities do not take such a step is that by doing so many of the English manufactories would have to be closed. The paper inquires why the British Government have imposed restrictions on the import of jute and tea from India and thereby injured the interests of the poor Indian agriculturists. It remarks that this policy of the British authorities is an exemplification of the adage about the willing horse being the most heavily loaded.

The fall of Bagdad.

Sánj Vartamán (29), 15th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 16th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 14th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 14th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (55), 17th Mar.

13. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses joy at the occupation of Bagdad by the British and adds:—The surrender of General Townshend had now been fully revenged. The Turks were able to spread their machinations in Persia and Afghanistan in the past, but the passing of Bagdad in British hands will make a strong impression in Afghanistan and Persia and will put an end to the troubles on the frontiers. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of opinion that the part played by Indian troops in the occupation of Bagdad will greatly redound to the credit of India and will close the mouths of some critics of India who took delight in belittling the part played by her in the war. The *Hindusthán* remarks that the praise bestowed on the valour of Indian troops in connection with the fall of Bagdad ill accords with the preferential treatment given to Anglo-Indians in the Indian Defence Force, which, it is afraid, will be regarded as an ill advised and unjust step by the neutral countries. It expresses hope that the sense of justice of the British Parliament will prevail in the end and the disabilities of Indians will be removed and they will be given commissions in the army. The paper asks the Muhammadans not to regard the fall of Bagdad with any misgiving for it was no longer the captial of the Khalifs but was a centre of German intrigues and that, therefore, the passing of Bagdad into British hands should be welcomed by Indian Muhammadans. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also rejoices at the occupation of Bagdad and believes that the news of the British victory will greatly influence the Afghan tribes who will now cast in their lot with the British and cease giving trouble to Indian troops on the frontiers. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells at length on the part played by Indian troops in the occupation of Bagdad and believes the victory will tend to encourage the troops fighting in other zones and stimulate them to achieve similar results.]

Rást Goftár (28), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.

*14. "The news of the past week is the fall of Bagdad. And the news is memorable, momentous.......... The brilliant dash of General Maude has more than atoned for those grave errors of omission and commission which preluded and disfigured the Mesopotamian campaign and lost us the services of an exceedingly promising and valorous young General. The occupation of Bagdad spells a turning-point in the fortunes of the war in Western Asia so far as both England and Russia are concerned; and it irrevocably spells the knell of every long-pent, long-toiled hope and ambition on the part of Germany to secure an Open-Sesame to the East. There is an end also to that sordid misrule and corrupt régime of the Turk who had turned an ancient garden and haunt of beauty into an unpaved, unpath'd semi-wilderness."

Alleged dangers of belittling the enemy's strength and resources.

Sind Observer (10), 21st Feb.

15. Discussing the next move of the enemy, the *Sind Observer* writes:—"It has also been suggested that Hindenburg's plan is to swoop down upon Italy and to relieve the sore pressed Austrians, but this, too, is shown to be bristling with difficulties. Whatever course the great German strategist decides on, he will be supported whole-heartedly by the soldiery and it will be a bloody affair, for as we said above, the men can be readily induced to believe that they are about to end the war and urged to great effort and sacrifice. We noticed in the last *Illustrated London News* to hand a full page picture of a German prisoner taken on the Western Front and below we read that this sorry fellow who does not seem to have had a square meal for three weeks or more is a specimen of hundreds who are surrendering to the allied troops daily. We cannot imagine anything more mischievous. Does the *London News* wish us to believe that these miserable scare-crows are the men who are holding up the magnificent French and British soldiers with their stupendous supply of munitions? Such pictures and talk are worse than idle. The German army is still going strong, and this fact should be driven home as much as possible, so that there will be no dangerous relaxing on our part. The German soldier is still convinced that he can hack his way to

victory because his Government is taking great care to keep ugly facts from him. He is not beaten yet and we must keep this in view. Just as the German navy has resorted to desperate deeds on sea and finds men to perform them, so on land there is no lack of stout hearts. Germany is most dangerous now owing to the wild anxiety which has hold of her rulers."

Reflections on the progress of the war.
Akhbár-e-Islám (52), 17th Mar.

16. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* ascribes the recent German retreat on the Western front partly to the weakness of the enemy and partly to their desire to occupy strong positions. It adds :—We do not think the enemy can afford to wage a defensive warfare as its subjects are tired of the war and want peace as early as possible. Besides, a defensive warfare will have an adverse effect on the economic position of Germany. It will, therefore, make a dash either for Paris or Calais. We have reason to think that the enemy will concentrate all its available strength and resources to take its revenge upon England for rejecting the peace terms by means of attacks by land as well as by sea. The occupation of Baghdad has added to the mortification of Germany and she will become desperate and make a last bid for victory. But we feel sure that Germany will sustain such a crushing defeat both on land and sea that her plans will be completely frustrated and she will never be able to raise her head again.

Comments on the formation of a Moslem committee for entertaining wounded Indian soldiers in Bombay.
Akhbar-e-Islám (52), 16th Mar.

17. Taking an appreciative note of the movement set on foot by some of the leading Muhammadan gentlemen of Bombay who met an the 13th instant at the Islam Club to appoint an Executive Committee for collecting funds from the Moslem community and for making necessary arrangements for the entertainment of wounded Indian soldiers during the continuance of the war, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses its joy at the genuine spirit of patriotism now animating the Muhammadans of Bombay and the awakening that has taken place among them for supporting the British Government in the task of fighting the German enemy as evidenced by the abovesaid movement. It, however, declares that the sum of Rs. 2,506 collected at the above meeting is not adequate for the purpose of entertaining the wounded soldiers whose number is bound to be very large and it advises the Muhammadans to supplement the above collection by liberal contributions. The paper wishes that other sister communities might follow the example set by the Muhammadans in this matter. It concludes with remarking that the Moslems have yet to do much towards helping Government which, it believes, they will be able to accomplish by appointing committees, similar to the one mentioned above, for the purpose of co-operating with Government in other matters connected with the war.

The Indian Budget.
Message (6), 14th Mar.

18. "Since the year 1911-12, the Government of India have paid increased attention to the expansion of education and the increasing annual grants which formed a special feature of the Indian budget for three years before the war were evidence of Government's desire to spread education as widely as possible consistent with efficiency. Though so far as this country is concerned they have not yet been able to convince themselves that compulsion in education is a necessity, a great stimulus has been given to the spread of education......... The feeling of satisfaction at the increased importance which Government attach to education would have been enhanced if they had accepted the modest request of Mr. Srinivas Sastry for a small additional grant of Rs. 30 lakhs for elementary education. The request was by no means extravagant and the Government of India, who have never been mean or niggardly in regard to their expenditure, would not have found it difficult to find the small sum of an additional £200,000 for educational purposes. We are very grateful to them for providing a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs in the coming year for the improvement of the pay and prospects of teachers. It is a recurring grant and can be availed of for primary or secondary education as circumstances

may demand. The improvement and training of teachers in primary and secondary schools is in itself an excellent object and nobody grudges, we hope, this item which aims at the raising of the efficiency of the teacher. If, as contended by Mr. Sastri, along with efficiency education proceeds *pari passu*, the result would be more excellent still.......... Educational expenditure may not be all important as compared with the expenditure on armaments; but it is undoubted that it is second to no other in importance or urgency. It, therefore, behoves Government in every way to stand by the principles to which they felt committed in pre-war years."

Bombay Samáchár (55),
12th Mar.

19. The *Bombay Samáchár* thanks the Government of India for the annual recurring grant of Rs. 30 lakhs provided by them in the Imperial Budget for the training of school teachers and for increasing the present scale of their salaries. It dwells upon the importance of giving preliminary training to teachers for better adapting them to their avocation and, referring to the paucity of the institutions for training them, welcomes the grant as likely to be useful in turning out a larger number of trained teachers than heretofore. The paper also commends the solicitude of Government for the improvement of the lot of teachers as evinced by their desire to earmark a portion of the abovementioned grant for increasing the present scale of their salaries. It expresses the hope that the liberal policy thus initiated by Government in the matter of education will not only be continued but will be allowed to attain fuller development with the return of normal times.

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 18th
Mar., Eng. cols.

*20. "Mr. Shrinivasa Shastri's resolution for the addition of Rs. 30,00,000 to the provision made for elementary education met its expected fate in the Imperial Legislative Council.......... Anticipating the objection which Government would offer Mr. Shastri emphatically pointed out 'that though the needs of the war were paramount, the needs of education and sanitation of the people came next in the order of importance.' Sir William Meyer's reply was disapppointing and evasive. Mr. Shastri's request cannot be complied with as there are many unforseen calls on the Exchequer. While Sir Meyer preached economy in the matter of Education, Sir Reginald Craddock rewarded the Police administration with a handsome grant of Rs. 10,00,000 for the brilliant services rendered by that department during the period of the war. We cannot admire the wisdom of this arrangement. It is a well known fact that the Police Department owes its existence chiefly to prevalence of crime and wrong which are in most cases the direct results of illiteracy and ignorance. Therefore logically speaking the more we educate people, the necessity for maintaining an efficient system of Police is considerably lessened."

Navsári Patriká (66),
11th Mar.

21. While commending the tact and farsightedness of Sir William Meyer in framing the new Indian Budget for the year 1917-18, the *Navsári Patriká* declares that the principle of political economy of meeting only the normal expenditure of a country by permanent taxation and of meeting sudden or occasional expenditure by raising loans is not observed in framing Indian Budgets. It does not approve of the policy followed as a matter of course, of raising by means of taxation more income than is necessary and then to utilise the balance towards the Army or Police Department or for the purposes of railways and irrigation works which could be better provided for by incurring debt. The paper, further, considers the annual payment of a sum of nine crores of rupees for 30 years towards making good India's proposed gift to Great Britain of 100 million pounds for war purposes to be a very heavy burden upon the country in her present economic condition. It, however, expresses gratification at the raising of the import duty on foreign piece-goods while leaving the excise duty where it was with prospect of its complete abolition in the future and regards it as a good set-off against the new war burden. It also advocates the application of the super-tax to annual incomes of Rs. 25,000 and upwards instead of to those of Rs. 50,000 and above as has been provided for in the Act. The paper declares that instead

of imposing an additional duty of 2 pies on every maund of goods carried over the Indian Railways, which will affect the poor more than the rich, the tax ought to have been levied *ad valorem.* It also cannot view with approval the increase in the expenditure on the Army, the Political Department and the Railways, when education has received a grant of only Rs. 50 lakhs.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 14th Mar.

22. Referring to the Budget discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Bombay Samáchár* expresses the wish that the people would carry into effect the suggestions made by the Honourable Sir Claude Hill while speaking on the subject of the development of Indian forests. It dwells on the necessity, on the part of the public, of starting joint stock companies for the purpose of the development of the paper pulp industry for which this country offers a very good field. It praises the intention of Government of calling in an expert for the purpose of raising a body of engineers skilled in forestry, but while appreciating the prospective benefits that might arise from the labours of such engineers remarks that the Forest Department should not benefit at the expense of agriculture. According to the paper the people wish that the activities of these engineers may not result in the area available for grazing cattle being diminished instead of being increased. It also expresses gratification at the statement made by Sir Pardey Lukis with regard to the efforts of Government in carrying on a vigorous campaign against the ravages of consumption and in encouraging scientific medical research undertaken by private individuals by rendering them help, as has been done in the case of Dr. Sudhamani Ghosh for enabling him to carry on his researches in the treatment of leprosy. The paper then refers to the observation made by Sir George Barnes in the Council, anticipating the possibility, in the future, of a curtailment of trade facilities on the Indian railways just as there has been a diminution in the facilities for sea-borne trade, and expresses the wish that the business community as well as the public will calmly put up with the difficulties that might arise from a shortage in the means of railway communication.

Message (6), 13th Mar.

23. "The cotton excise duty will continue to remain as it is at present, namely, 3½ per cent. We should have welcomed it as a small measure of justice if Government had decided to do away with this unfair, unjust and unequitable imposition on one of our most potential home industries. We accept, however, Sir William Meyer's assurance that this is not exactly the time to do away with a source of income. Our acceptance of this assurance would have been unreserved if he had taken steps to tap a new source of income by imposing a tax on the export of raw cotton. We find that the suggestion made by the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy was practically ignored by the Finance Member. It is easy to see the reason for refraining to benefit from this untapped source of income. It is believed that any such course would wound the susceptibilities of other countries, particularly Japan which is at this moment exporting the largest quantity of Indian cotton. But that consideration alone ought not to have weighed with the authorities in letting this source remain unexploited to the detriment of other sources, which should not remain on the Indian Budget even for a day longer. We refer here particularly to the salt tax which was raised last year, notwithstanding the protest made by Mr. Dadabhoy. Sir William Meyer said that this tax could not be reduced owing to the exigencies of war finance. We submit that at any rate this was not the time for maintaining the duty. Notwithstanding all that has been said about the prosperity of the country during the past two years, we are of opinion that the poorer classes whom this tax affects directly are worse and not certainly better off for all that prosperity. .... Turning to the super-tax which it is now proposed to levy, we have already expressed the view that those who have made large profits as a result of the prevalence of war conditions are justly liable to give a fair return to the State. The failure, however, of Government to accede to the reasonable requests made by Mr. Sarma for affording relief to undivided Hindu families is extremely disappointing. It works as a hardship both in principle and practice on these families for no fault of theirs except that

they are attached to a social system, whether it be right or wrong. It was rightly characterized by Mr. Basu as placing a bar on the joint Hindu family system............ The penal provisions which have been imported into the Income-Tax Act are needlessly harsh and will operate on the people with the greatest hardship.......... In many cases in the past, the working of the Income-Tax Act and the rules framed thereunder has become a public scandal and we cannot but think that the new provisions will add considerably to it."

Comments on Government's reply to an interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding subsidised newspapers.
Indu Prakásh (36), 13th Mar.

24. Commenting upon the interpellation of the Honourable Mr. Asad Ali Khan in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding subsidised newspapers, the *Indu Prakásh* observes :—Government were so long evading the question. Now they tell us that they did not give any aid to any newspaper but that they only purchased copies of some papers. Is not a paper benefitted if copies of it are bought? The Honourable Sir R. Craddock also stated that Government have stopped the purchase of copies of all papers excepting the *Jagad Vritt* from this year. Why should the *Jagad Vritt* alone have been made an exception? Why should Government be wroth against other papers? What have they done? These are hard times of war and the aid should not be stopped. But why should Government resort to such devious methods? Why should they not start a paper of their own? We honestly feel that there should be a Government paper advocating the views of Government and replying to criticisms levelled against Government. It is not desirable to suppress or gag papers that criticise Government. We earnestly request Government to start a paper that would effectively expose the misleading criticisms of papers and we think that such a step would silence them. Then there would be no need of spending money over the purchase of copies of newspapers.

Comments on the Bombay Budget.
Message (6), 16th Mar.

25. "From the point of view of the closing balances, the Local Government has no reason to be dissatisfied inasmuch as the provincial balances with its bankers, the Government of India, have mounted up from slightly over a crore and a half in the actuals of 1915-16 to a little under two crores and a half at the end of the present financial year.......... Some of our friends who are interested in the direction and management of joint stock companies might envy the strong reserve position of Government, resulting from a succession of 'prosperous years.' But we doubt if outside their ranks, there are people who will be pleased at this large accumulation of large balances from year to year. Frankly, we, for our part, are not at all satisfied with the accumulation of large balances and thence arguing the 'prosperity' of the Presidency, as Government and some interested outside critics have done. There are primarily two reasons why we feel dissatisfied at this state of affairs; in the first place, urgent expenditure, however legitimate, is withheld under one excuse or another and, secondly, much more is taken from the people than the actual spending capacity of Government warrants.......... There was education; there was sanitation; there were other amenities of civilised public life. Year after year, inside the Council and outside, an irrepressible wail has been sent forth for education, more education and still more education. There have been many projects of sanitary improvement, such as pure drinking water supply and drainage, which have been hung up for 'want of funds.' Municipal improvement and district board works have suffered because of lack of means on the part of the municipalities and district boards. It appears to us that rural improvement even more than urban has suffered from the effects of a pennywise policy. Save in respect of certain items the Financial Statement presented by Mr. Carmichael is not certainly one on which we can congratulate ourselves or its author. The contemplation of the rosy picture of a large opening and a still larger closing balance may be a very pleasant task to its author. It is a startling revelation which the statement makes that, notwithstanding the depressing effects of a terrible war, the excise revenue shows further expansion.......... The other increases are mainly under stamps, income-tax, registration and forests; but these sink into insignificance compared with the tremendous expansion under Excise. Turning to the expenditure side, here, again, we have no special reason to be fascinated by the methods in which the opportunity given by the relaxation of the restrictions is to be availed of. We are told at the very outset that 'all expenditure which can be postponed without grave inconvenience is postponed till after the conclusion of the war and no provision is proposed for new schemes of expenditure unless they are of pressing urgency.' There are some items on the expenditure side such as the construction of the commemorative building at the Apollo Bunder, the amalgamation of the superior branches of the Excise and Salt departments and the appointment of three Deputy Commissioners of Salt and Excise, the new appointment of a second Income Tax Collector, the creation of fifteen new posts of the subordinate judge grade to be 'Personal Assistants to the District Judges' the appointment of an Inspectress of Girls' Schools, the large provision for the salaries of District Judges and Assistant Judges, the large increase under police and police buildings. These are items as to 'the *pressing urgency*' of which we are not convinced. In the course of the discussions yesterday, we believe it was Mr. Cadell who with great indignation told Mr. Kamat that he was 'unaware of the war', for his inexcusable fault of having urged that the discretionary grant of six lakhs be reduced to three lakhs and the saving thus effected be utilised for primary school buildings in the mofussil. We see nothing extraordinary in Mr. Kamat's proposal that Mr. Cadell must needs have pulled him up by saying that this was the war time. It does not at any rate disclose that Mr. Kamat was unaware of the fact so much as Mr. Cadell and his colleagues appear to be. If the exhibition given in the Financial Statement correctly reflects the official mind, we have reason to think that Government needs to be reminded of that fact more pointedly than anybody else. Practically every one of the items we have enumerated above is one which could have been postponed 'without grave inconvenience,' till after the conclusion of war, if not for ever."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 15th and 17th Mar., *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 14th Mar.

26. Commenting upon the Budget introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its satisfaction at Government making provision in a fairly liberal manner for increased expenditure on education and sanitation during the year 1917-18 in spite of the financial stress due to the war. It refers to the estimated closing balance of over 2 crores of rupees for the year 1916-17 and wishes that a portion of this balance had been devoted towards helping the Dharwar College and educational institutions conducted by the missionaries on a more liberal scale than has been provided for in the new Budget. [In the subsequent issue the paper regards the demand embodied in the Honourable Mr. Kamat's resolution for transfering Rs. 3 lakhs out of the Rs. 6 lakhs provided in the Budget for P. W. Discretionary Grants to the head "Education" for the contruction of primary schools in the mofussil as just and reasonable. It contends that the claims of the Educational Department should be given priority over those of the P. W. D. and wishes that Government had accepted the Honourable Mr. Kamat's resolution. It expresses surprise at the want of zeal in the present Acting Director of Public Instruction, Mr. A. L. Covernton, in the interests of his own department and regrets that he did not see his way to stand by Mr. Kamat. The paper also contrasts Mr. Covernton's attitude with the enthusiasm displayed by the Honourable Surgeon-General in opposing the proposed transfer, and then goes on to thank Government for the provision already made in the Budget for spending Rs. 3,15,000 in the course of the coming year on building primary schools. Elsewhere in the same issue the paper commends the action of Government in providing in the Budget a sum of Rs. 5,000 to be given as a grant to the Poona Municipality for the furtherance of its scheme for ensuring a pure milk supply to the city of Poona and thinks that if this scheme proves a success it will facilitate similar arrangements being made for Bombay City. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regards the new Budget presented by the Finance Member as satisfactory and congratulates him in his being able to make liberal provision for important items of expenditure. It [illegible] that people in the mofussil will feel grateful to Government for restoring to its original figure of Rs. 30,000 the grant for the opening of new dispensaries in the mofussil which they had to curtail on account of the war. The paper also approves of Government's earnest desire to provide big cities with a pure milk supply, as has been evinced by the help they have given to the Poona Municipality.]

*Rást Goftár (28), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.; Sanj Vartamán (29), 14th Mar.

27. "The Honourable Mr. Patel moved that the discussion of the Budget may be adjourned, and in stating his reasons for this unusal procedure made a lengthy statement of his own grievances in the Financial Committee of which he was a menber. Though the proposal was ruled out of order, Mr. Patel's protest remains and would have a salutary effect in the removal for the future of the causes which constrained the Honourable Member to adopt the course which he took. Even Mr. Carmichael had to admit that Mr. Patel had laid his case with great fairness and the reply which he gave to Mr. Patel's charges was inconclusive and beside the point. The chief count in Mr. Patel's remonstrance was that he was disallowed permission to go into the details contained in the Budget notes......... We trust that this and the other defects of procedure which Mr. Patel took exception to would not be allowed to recur in future inasmuch as they interfere with the right of free and untrammelled discussion in Committee and subvert the ends of the Reform Scheme. As to the Budget itself, we are glad that it has been framed with due respect to the popular outcry against a policy of indiscriminate retrenchment." [The *Sánj Vartamán* declares that treatment accorded by Government to the non-official members of the Legislative Council in the matter of their advice and opinion in the framing of the Budget is not liberal. It endorses the complaint made by the Honourable Mr. Patel in the Council against the Honourable Mr. Carmichael for not allowing him to bring forward certain suggestions in the Finance Committee while considering the Budget. It is of opinion that the elected members should be allowed to exercise in the Finance Committee the rights granted to them under the Morley-Minto Council reforms. The paper expresses the hope that when more extended rights are granted to the Legislative Councils the existing defects would be remedied.]

Message (6), 15th Mar.

28. "We express our deep sympathy with the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel in the motion he brought forward at yesterday's meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council that the presentation of the Revised Financal Statement be adjourned. It was no doubt a daring and unusual proposal, which is hitherto unknown in the annals of Indian Legislative Councils and must have staggered the official world as it must have astonished many of the people, but for the reasons which he set forth with sufficient clearness. He could not have done better than bringing forward such an extraordinary proposal in order to call attention to the irregular and high-handed procedure adopted by the Chairman of the Finance Committee.......... Mr. Carmichael admitted the great fairness with which Mr. Patel had stated his case—and said that as the discussions of the Finance Committee were *informal*—we italicise the word—he did not think 'it was fair to the committee to consider the whole of the expenditure for it was open to Mr. Patel to bring forward resolutions in the Council.' In the first place, we are bound to protest against this ill-considered remark. If Mr. Carmichael's dictum were to be accepted, we fail to see where the necessity lies of appointing a committee which cannot consider any proposal because it is open to the members thereof to bring up resolutions in the Council. In the second place we should like to know what the Honourable gentleman means by saying that the discussions of the Finance Committee are *informal*. If he wants us to understand it in the ordinary and only sense of the term, there cannot be a greater absurdity. The discussions are neither informal nor irregular as Mr. Carmichael would have us believe. The Finance Committee is a regularly constituted body under definite rules for a definite purpose.......... The Committee has specific powers and duties to discharge in respect of specific matters. Accordingly, Mr. Patel formulated

some proposals, which he proceeded to lay before the committee. Without regard to the rules—and practices we add—the chairman ruled the proposals as out of order and denied the committee an opportunity of hearing the proposer's point of view. It was an extraordinary step that Mr. Carmichael took of gagging a colleague, maybe a powerless one. We are glad that Mr. Patel did not submissively pocket the unmerited insult to his intelligence and let the matter rest there.......... What is more astonishing still is the treatment meted out to Mr. Patel by the Legislative Department of the Secretariat. He wrote to the Secretary asking for copies of the notes which had been recorded in the minutes. Instead of a reply from Mr. Nissim, Mr. French wrote to him to say that 'the meetings of the Finance Committee were private and informal' and *that copies of the proceedings could not be supplied to him*; *but if he chose he could go to the Secretariat and inspect the book.* To say nothing of the practice in a court of law—because we know our Secretariat would scout the very idea of a comparison with a court of law—we should like to know if Mr. French's reply was not ridiculous, if not altogether silly. Mr. Patel was a member of the committee whose recorded proceedings he could *inspect* although they were *private and informal* and yet he might not take copies! For utter lack of a sense of proportion, we think Mr. French's statement is unexcelled. The official attitude displayed here is nothing but one of distrust of non-official members on the part of Government. Mr. Patel did well in emphasizing this point."

Comments on Government's reply to the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri's interpellation regarding the C. I. D.
Mahrátta (5), 18th Mar.

*29. "To the questions of the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri it was replied on behalf of the Bombay Government that C. I. D. people have the general orders of Government to enquire openly about the names and other particulars of the members of the Home Rule Leagues. When the Leagues are constituted for a lawful purpose and are working in legal ways it is strange that Government should try to frighten people away from the Leagues. The unnameable harassment which the police can, if they choose, inflict on any one is a supreme obstacle in the way of getting people to enlist as members of the Home Rule League. Many conscientiously desire the Reforms which the League proposes to secure for the country. But they are afraid of the police—or rather of Government whose hands and eyes the police are.......... This is not to be wondered at in this country which is emasculated to a deplorable extent. Poverty,—dire poverty—is at the root of the refusal of many to join the League. If Government knew of their membership and dispensed with their services—what *could* they do? That is the embarrassing question to a very large number. So the poverty which is sought to be remedied in the long run by the attainment of Home Rule—this same dire poverty comes in the way of the Home Rule propaganda."

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 16th Mar.

30. It has been a long-standing complaint that while Government do not mind starving other departments of the administration, they are always prepared to spend large amounts on the Police, and this grievance has recently been ventilated in almost all our Provincial Legislative Councils. It is not that the popular members do not understand the importance of this branch of the service, but they want Government to find out the causes which have rendered the Police unpopular and to remedy them. The Honourable Mr. Curtis the other day dwelt upon the necessity of strengthening the Police Department, but the fact seems to have been overlooked that all unnecessary increase in its *personnel* only results in the harassment of the innocent, as the Police are tempted to create new work to justify their existence. The Honourable Mr. Curtis did not deny the fact that the C. I. D. sometimes shadows respectable men of undoubted loyalty but appeared to hint that people should take the attentions paid to them by the C. I. D. as an honour rather than a matter

for complaint. His ideas about the duties of the Police thus seem to be extraordinary. There is, therefore, nothing strange that the C. I. D. should be making regular inquiries about the members of Home Rule League. But is it not the duty of Government to see that such uncalled for inquiries do not come in the way of the legitimate political activities of the people? Why should Government complain if these operations of the C. I. D. give rise to suspicion in the minds of the people? Let the C. I. D. give up treating honoured popular leaders like suspected criminals, and then all grounds for complaint will disappear.

Mahratta (5), 18th Mar.

***31.** "Sir Reginald Craddock has made himself particularly famous by his recent utterance in the Imperial Council. While dealing with the jail administration, he said that he could not understand why the Press and people should constantly abuse their fellow-countrymen in the police. Such a statement on the part of the Home Member is ridiculous for the following reasons. He ought to know that the Press and people do not 'abuse' policemen, they make complaints against them, not constantly—but from time to time, as grounds for complaint arise. Again, the Home Member must know that the chief grounds of complaint that the people have against the police is that they receive from them more of oppression than of protection—which latter is the duty formally assigned to them.......... We know that some members of the police do show 'patience, zeal and courage', but these are often misdirected. Men of undoubted loyalty are shadowed from hour to hour and place to place. This is strongly resented and is a potent cause of the 'abuse' which the Home Member says he cannot understand. And do not the police show any qualities other than those praised by the Home Member? We know they do and hence our complaint against them. Sir Reginald Craddock in zealously pleading for the police, a mere fraction of the people, was apparently unconscious of the misplaced boldness he was showing. He pitted the police against the rest of the people—and found the latter wanting in some necessary qualities (judgment? truth? or?) the possession of which would have helped them to form the same opinion of the police which Sir Reginall Craddock held. This was misplaced boldness, we must repeat. The Press and people, all wrong—and the police all right! How supremely ridiculous this insinuation is!"

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Upasani's resolution against the appointment of a lecturer in Geography in the College of Commerce.

Message (6), 16th Mar.

32. Commenting on the discussion on the Honourable Mr. Upasani's resolution against the appointment of a lecturer in Geography in the College of Commerce, the *Message* says:—"Not content with this amusing defence of the professors, His Excellency made an insinuation that the Honourable Members who supported the resolution had 'at the back of their mind a certain personal incident with regard to a professorial appointment in the College and that is the main reason why this resolution has been brought forward.' We had been taught to think that imagination played but little part in the Government of the Presidency. We congratulate His Excellency on the fine feat of imagination he has performed in this matter. It goes without saying that the Honourable Members had nothing to do with it, assuming that it was present at the back of their minds, in the Council. We can see where His Excellency leads us to. We beg to point out in all humility that it was not quite consistent with the high prerogative of his office to make an insinuation of this kind knowing that the members could not reply. We venture to think that the reference to the personal incident was imported into his Excellency's speech with a view to lend colour to the belief that that appointment which the advisory board, the Finance Committee and the members who supported it had considered necessary was being opposed by other than altogether upright considerations. It is extremely painful to see that this insinuation should have been made by the head of the Local Government in his responsible capacity as President of the Council. His Excellency's observation, we respectfully submit, is as unfounded as it lacks in fairness."

Comments on the discussion in the United Provinces Legislative Council on the restrictions placed on the recruitment of certain castes for the Police force.

Young India (11), 14th Mar.

33. Commenting upon the discussion in the United Provinces Legislative Council on the restrictions placed on the recruitment of certain castes, especially the Brahmans, for the police force, *Young India* remarks:—"Mr. Marris admitted that caste characteristics were the ground work of the rules; in the language of the Honourable Mr. O'Donnell this would perhaps mean that the rules 'were simply based on the existence of different castes of varying aptitudes for different kinds of work'. Does Mr. O'Donnell mean that birth alone determines aptitude for different kinds of work, and that because one happens to be born a Brahman one becomes unfit for the police service? If it be so, we must say that our old-fashioned ideas about caste are getting support from most unsuspected quarters. And is Mr. O'Donnell prepared to apply these principles anywhere else except where Indians are concerned? As Mr. Chintamani remarked in his reply, these rules in the first place cast a stigma upon a particular caste; in the second place such a distinction, however well safeguarded, is undersiable from the point of view of public service itself because in seeking to exclude those who do not possess the requisite qualifications others who do possess them would be disqualified. Besides, regulations of this nature directly violate the sanctity of the pledges which have been held out to the people of this country by successive sovereigns and statesmen. And finally they accentuate caste and racial distinctions and thus perpetuate standing evils. The regulations are not in the interests of the police service, because they exclude from service some of the best material and they are not conducive to public contentment and satisfaction."

India's case for Home Rule stronger than that of Ireland.

Message (6), 13th Mar.

34. "Mr. Lloyd George says that Ireland must be given Home Rule because she 'clearly demands it'. In another place the reason given is that she 'unmistakably' demands it. A demand to be granted must be *clear* and *unmistakable*. Let Indian Home Rulers take note of the fact. Even during war-time Ireland thought it discreet to make her demand for Home Rule 'clear' and 'unmistakable' and Mr. Lloyd George's speech proves that she was justified in thinking so. Let India remember that England is ever ready to accede to clearly expressed demands and does not always take it ill that the demands are so expressed during war-time. Ireland, or rather a part of it, rebelled last year and thus in a way and to a certain extent forfeited her right to be granted Home Rule. But England, out of the abundance of her love for liberty all round, has forgiven, if not forgotten, the offence. India has refused to be drawn into the net which, we are told by Mr. Cleveland of the C. I. D., was spread for her by Germany. India was loyal before the war and continued, and will assuredly continue, to be loyal during the war. If loyalty counts for anything, when the fitness for granting Home Rule is considered, India's claim looks stronger than that of Ireland."

Sánj Vartamán (29), 12th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 10th Mar.

35. When people in India are being asked not to take part in any political movement strong political agitation is being carried on in the self-governing Colonies and even in Great Britain itself. Mr. Lloyd George's proposals with respect to the question of Irish Home Rule will greatly tend to create a split among the Irish people and that they, therefore, naturally refuse to accept them. There is no likelihood of the Irish question being satisfactorily settled at present. The ministers should, therefore, exert their influence to bring about a compromise between the people of Ulster and the Nationalists and to postpone the consideration of the question till the end of the war. We hope the question of giving Home Rule to India on Colonial lines will be considered along with the Irish Home Rule question after the war. It must be remembered that Indians do not want Home Rule all at once but that they only want a larger share in the administration of the country with a view to being able ultimately to govern themselves. [The *Hindusthán* urges the need of the question of Indian Home Rule being put before the people of England and the Parliament in in [illegible] perspective with a view to its early solution. It is of opinion that the satisfactory solution of the Irish question will tend to add to the strength of the Empire and, on the same analogy, it sees no reason why the question of giving political rights to Indians should be postponed.]

Comments on the agitation of Lancashire against the increase in the import duties on cotton goods.

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (24), 13th and 17th Mar.; *Hindusthân* (17), 16th Mar.; *Jâm-e-Jamshed* (20), 17th Mar.

36. The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* expresses its disapprobation at the agitation carried on in England by the Lancashire manufacturers against the increase made in the new Indian Budget in the import duty on foreign piecegoods. It remarks that Mr. Runciman, who has shown himself so much in favour of giving protection to the British and Allied trade after the war by levying heavy import duties on foreign goods has only been influenced by prejudices in treating this increase in the import duty as a breach on the part of Government of the compact not to raise controversial matters during the continuance of the war. The paper declares that if this import duty is not increased it will only result in making foreign countries profit at India's expense without benefiting Manchester which is not likely to stand up against the competition of other countries in India after the war. It also supports the raising of the import duty on the ground of Imperial interests. [In the subsequent issue the paper expresses its joy at the failure of those who agitated in Parliament and elsewhere to secure the cancellation of the proposed increase in the duty above referred to. The *Hindustân* fears that the Lancashire people will not allow the increased import duty to continue after the termination of the war. It also remarks that Indian mills have been all these years patiently bearing the unjust burden of Excise duty which is crushing the Indian textile industry because India cannot effectively raise her voice in Partliament. It believes that the interests of Lancashire will be given precedence over Indian interests and Government will have to yield to the pressure from Lancashire so long as India does not secure financial autonomy. The *Jâm-e-Jamshed* remarks :—It is true that Lacashire will be somewhat adversely affected by the raising of the import duty on foreign piecegoods, but if merely on that account they refuse to help Government as enthusiastically as before in the prosecution of the war, loyalty and patriotism of these English mill-owners must be of a very flimsy character indeed. The present cry raised by Lancashire is interested and selfish and the Secretary of State for India has done very well in not giving any countenance to it. The two Indian representatives who have gone to England to act as the Secretary's advisers in the Imperial War Conference have rendered a valuable service to their mother country by effectively placing the case of India before the Lancashire deputation which waited upon the Secretary in this connection. We hope that better counsels will prevail with these Lancashire manufacturers and that they will give up their present antagonistic attitude at least out of regard for Imperial interests, if on no other ground. India is grateful to Mr. Chamberlain as well as Mr. Lloyd George for their firm attitude in connection with this matter and she hopes that both these statesmen will adhere to this just attitude of theirs to the last.]

**Indian Social Reformer* (8), 18th Mar.; *Message* (6), 17th Mar.

37. "The unseemly discussion on the enhancement of the import duty on cotton goods, without a corresponding increase in the countervailing excise duty, in and out of Parliament, lends emphasis to our contention that the constitution of the Government of India is to a considerable extent obsolete. In consequence, the Secretary of State has to support a perfectly just measure by arguments which are palpably flimsy. Thus, Mr. Austen Chamberlain is reported to have told a deputation that not a single member, official or non-official, of the Indian Legislative Council would have voted for the enhancement of the excise duty.......... It may be that the members of the present Government of India had all intimated to the Secretary of State that they would resign if they were obliged to enhance the excise duty. Only such a representation could sustain his statement that not a single member of the Legislative Council would have voted for a proposal to

enhance the excise duty. It would have been iniquitous to raise the excise duty which, even as it stands, is utterly unjustifiable. Instead of taking his stand on this plain ground the Secretary of State is obliged by the antiquated constitution of the Government of India to take refuge in the legal fiction of the right of the official majority in the Indian Legislative Council to vote according to its convictions on a measure which had been introduced under the orders of the Secretary of State." [The *Message* remarks:—"The opposition, which had been engineered by Lancashire, though temporarily defeated, will rouse itself again as soon as the time comes. Unless public opinion is prepared to 'shout loud enough to be heard in London', we are afraid when the time comes for reviewing the matter after the war, Indian opinion may be silently given the go-by under the immediate pressure of the Lancashire M. P.'s in the House of Commons and reactionary Tories in the House of Lords."]

Comments on the Punjáb Government's reply to Mr. Tilak's inquiry about the grounds of his exclusion from the Punjáb.

Mahrátta (5), 18th Mar.

***38.** Referring to the reply given by the Punjáb Government to Mr. Tilak's telegram asking for the grounds for his exclusion from the Punjáb, the *Mahratta* remarks:—"A leader of influence who has been urging the people to help Government with all their resources, who has been encouraging the youths to volunteer in spite of discouraging circumstances—to restrict the personal liberty of such a one is *no matter* to the Punjáb Government! Over three weeks have been allowed to pass and then comes a definite 'no' in answer to the request made by Mr. Tilak. We regret that there should be a law in the Indian Statute Book placing such an unrestricted power in the hands of the Executive officials. It does not help the growth of good feeling between Government and the people. The more unreasonable the powers the Executive officials are by Statute enabled to wield, the wider becomes the gulf between the Government and the people. And is this widening a desirable thing? We think not. Does Government think differently?"

Comments on the action of the police in prohibiting Mr. Khadilkar from delivering a lecture at Belgaum.

Message (6), 11th Mar; *Kesari* (95), 13th Mar.

39. "Mr. Khadilkar addressed recruiting meetings at Bombay and at Dhárwár and was going to address a meeting at Belgaum on the same subject. But at Belgaum he was served with a notice *not* to address any meeting. Why? Perhaps his lecture was thought as being 'likely to prejudice the public peace'. Was public peace prejudiced at Bombay or at Dhárwár? If so, why is Mr. Khadilkar not hauled up before the Court?......... It is an insult to the people of Belgaum to suppose that the words of Mr. Khadilkar—or any other man for the matter of that—would disturb their balance of mind. Unless the executive concerned do not care to have much sympathy in the matter from the public, it should either give the public an indication of the grounds which made it issue the notice or rescind the order, which the public, in the present circumstances, cannot but take as uncalled-for and unjust to the individual concerned as well as to the public, especially the public at Belgaum." [The *Kesari* remarks:—Like the Defence of India Act the Police Act gives arbitrary powers to the executive. The Police Act, however, is a more handy weapon in the hands of the authorities. Mr. Khadilkar recently addressed recruiting meetings at Bombay and Dhárwár with excellent results. On his arrival at Belgaum with the same object the District Magistrate gagged his mouth under the Police Act. Mr. Sale has made the wonderful discovery that peace is likely to be disturbed by exhorting young men to enlist in the Defence Force! Unless Government curb the zeal of officials of the type of Mr. Sale our object of giving them effective help at this crisis is likely to be frustrated.]

Comments on the exodus to the hills.

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 15th Mar.

40. While referring to the question of exodus to the hills discussed in the Imperial Legislative Council the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We do not think that any one will consider the expenditure of public money and time involved in constant movements of the Government of Bombay twice to Mahableshwar and once to Poona [illegible] justifiable. A change to the hills may have some advantages to individuals but we refuse to accept the arguments advanced in favour of the exodus to the hills with all the official paraphernalia on grounds of public advantage. If the officials require a change they should go to the hills at their own expense and should not drag their entire offices behind them but should dispense with them as they do when they go on shooting excursions to Native States.

Comments on the Press Note on the substitution of *Modi* by *Balbodh* in Government Offices.

Message (6), 17th Mar.; *Kesari* (95), 13th Mar.

41. "A press *communiqué* says that the *Modi* script will be given up in favour of the *Balbodh* in certain districts in the Presidency. Those to whom *Modi* and *Balbodh* are Greek and Latin may be able to realise the significance of the change, if we explain to them that it is like insisting that English will be written in the Roman script only! Government have not positively prohibited the use of *Modi*, so far as non-Government work is concerned,—they have limited the scope of the change to work in the Government offices only. But that is only a thin end of the wedge, which will eventually banish *Modi* out of existence." [The *Kesari* expresses regret at the decision of Government and referring to the fact that the previous orders of Government regarding the exclusion of *Modi* have now been made applicable to the districts to which they were not hitherto applicable, declares that Government have now permanently banned *Modi* from Government offices on the strength of their authority. It also expresses its apprehension that some days hence an opportunity may be taken by Government to stop the use of *Modi* even in the case of petitions.]

The super-tax should also be levied on the profits made by the various Turf Clubs in India.

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 15th Mar., Eng. cols.

42. Writing about the Super-Tax, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks:—"This reminds us that the Bombay racing season is over and a good round sum—to the tune of a quarter of a million (Crore ?) of rupees—has changed hands. The Western India Turf Club appropriate to themselves ten per cent. of the total takings-in at the totalizators which means a clear profit of two lakhs of rupees. It is strange that in these strenuous times when every thousand rupees counts, the Government of India have not yet thought fit to tap this important source of revenue. A tax of three annas in the rupee might bring Government something like forty thousand rupees every year from Bombay alone, and from two to three lakhs from all the racing centres in India—a sum certainly not to be despised. The W. I. T. C. and the other turf clubs in India would be the last to object, especially during the continuance of the war, to these taxes which they can well afford to pay."

Comments on the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Indian Press Association.

Young India (11), 14th Mar.

43. Commenting upon His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's reply to the deputation of the Indian Press Association, *Young India* writes:—"Since he came to this country, Lord Chelmsford has made many speeches, but in none more than in the latest has he struck a more unsympathetic note. We do not think even Lord Curzon ever indulged in such an utterance on such an occasion. Perhaps it was to mark what he characterised as the unusualness of the occasion that his Excellency chose such an 'unusual' method......... We shall not deal here at length with the point raised by His Excellency, at the very beginning, that the time chosen by the Press Association was not opportune. All that need be said with reference to this matter is that there are certain grievances of the people that cannot wait for redress even in war-time; for they touch vital matters connected with the proper living of civic life; and the liberty of the press is one of these. Moreover, it was open to the Viceroy to choose any other moment. We feel, however, that Lord Chelmsford would have done well to spare the deputation the rebuke that they had not fully realised the gravity of the present crisis......... There were, at the time of the passing of the Act, assurances that the Act was a temporary measure, devised to meet particular conditions and that in its operation it would be worked with the utmost care and discrimination. Many have read in the speech of Sir Herbert Risley, made in the Council at the time, a definite promise to this effect. Lord Chelmsford cannot find such a promise in the speech. The words may not clearly indicate it; but if the speech is read in connection with the other speeches made, especially those of protest against the Act by non-official members, and if the general feeling in the country, as ventilated in the press, be taken note of, it would be found that Sir Herbert's words are not capable of any interpretation but the one put forth by the deputation in its address.......... The Viceroy holds that there has been no harshness or arbitrariness. He gives statistics to support his view. But the real grievance is that the Press is being rendered incapable of performing its duty by the atmosphere created by the Act. More than this, many presses and papers have been treated harshly: and the arbitrariness comes from the fact that the Anglo-Indian Press is left free to say whatever it likes about India and Indians, while retorts to its utterances from the Indian side are penalised. Again, reliance is placed mainly on the reports of the C. I. D. All this and much else of this nature, constitute the harshness and the arbitrariness complained of. While on this point, we are constrained to say that the line of argument used by His Excellency is not very wise or dignified. He has called into question the accuracy of the conclusions arrived at by Sir Lawrence Jenkins with regard to one point. He has rebuked Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim for certain observations of his in the Besant case. He has cited the opinion of Mr. Justice Ayling in the same case with approval, in such a way as to suggest the inference that that was conclusive when as a mater of fact, two other judges trying the same case came to a decidedly different conclusion. This is special pleading with a vengeance. Well might the *Mahratta* ask 'Does His Excellency want to muzzle the judges?' His pointed reference to *New India* and its proprietor was absolutely unfair and lacks, if we might say so, in chivalry. It may not be agreeable to the authorities concerned; but all the same, the fact is there that in virtue of the authority vested in them, the judges of the Madras High Court have held that the articles complained of in *New India* are not such as would constitute an infringement of the law of sedition. In the end, the Viceroy has dashed all reasonable hopes of the Press Association and the public to the ground, in a manner and in a tone which leave a disagreeable impression on the mind as regards the future of the Press and the policy of the Executive towards the discussion of public questions. Those who criticise executive action and policy have hard days in store for them. But for all that we must do our duty as we understand it."

Message (6), 13th Mar.

44. Referring to the remark of the Viceroy that there were comparatively few cases under the Press Act to justify the complaint made against its working, the *Message* writes:—"*Apropos* of this a facetious correspondent relates the story of a motor driver who driving his vehicle with great speed through a busy street, wounded some four or five persons and killed two or three others, and who, when asked to explain his precipitate driving exclaimed with an air of injured innocence, 'What, do you call this precipitate driving? I have taken my vehicle past thousands and lacs of men without injuring any one and when I happen to wound only four or five men and kill only two or three. you come to me with complaints, as if I have killed all humanity!'—Seriously, the analogy of the facetious correspondent is not quite exact, but he is essentially right in the contention, which he later on makes, as regards the untenability of the argument that only *so few* presses and newspapers have suffered. His Excellency asks us to believe in the honest intentions of the officials; we never questioned them. We only say that *some* of the officials are not quite angelic or infallible."

Kesari (95), 13th Mar.

45. His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputatian from the Press Association was a painful surprise. His Excellency is only the mouthpiece of the Civil Service in India and as such is not responsible for his utterances. He is like a talking-machine which just reproduces whatever is spoken into it. We are not much concerned, however, with the question whether the Viceroy expressed his own views or those of the Civil Service. Some of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries characterise the reply as firm and fearless. It is nothing of the kind. It is haughty, unsympathetic and boastful. The Viceroy in his reply quotes figures to show that the number of newspapers has actually increased since the passing of the Act and infers therefrom that, instead of hampering, the Act has conduced to the growth of the press. This is a childish argument. One might as well say that a married couple confined in prison has prospered because it has had progeny there. It is of little consequence if a few more worthless prints come into existence or some of those already existing disappear. It is the quality and not the quantity that counts. The legitimate function of the press is to educate public opinion on political matters without transgressing the limits of the law. The Penal Code adequately provides for dealing with offending journals and the Press Act is not only superfluous but decidedly harmful. The deputation urged it upon the notice of the Viceroy that the Press Act hinders the legitimate functions of the press, to which contention he does not seem to have given any satisfactory reply. In free countries like England the press is expected to exercise a wholesome check on the administration. The bureaucracy in India, however, are averse to submitting their decisions to popular scrutiny. They naturally do not relish the idea of a check on their power which they have been wielding so long without any outside interference. A free press is bound to come into sharp conflict with a tyrannical and irresponsible administration. This is why the authorities are hostile to newspapers which express independent views. It is misleading to say that the Press Act was enacted for the defence of the empire. We do not at all believe that the repeal of the Act will be followed by popular upheavals. The Viceroy in his reply to the deputation said that none of the prosecutions under the Press Act had failed, but that is no justification for the existence of the Press Act. The prosecutions did not fail because the courts had to administer the law as it stood without going into its merits. The Viceroy has plainly said in one place that the business of the judiciary is to administer the law as it stands without pronouncing any opinion on it. The authorities are, however, not satisfied with the powers conferred by the Press Act. They want more extensive powers to stifle the ambitions of the people. That is why they are abusing the provisions of the Defence of India Act. Our demand for self-government is not inconsistent with our attachment to the empire, but, from the tone of His Excellency the Viceroy's reply, the bureaucracy appears to be determined to arrest the political progress of the country. We wish His Excellency had refused to receive the deputation rather than give such a reply as this. Government can, if they like, continue the Press Act on the statute book. They should not, however, make themselves ridiculous by attempting to justify its existence.

Gujaráti (13), 11th Mar.; *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* (70), 15th Mar.

46. Commenting upon the reply given by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to the deputation of the Press Association of India, the *Gujaráti* remarks that it does not know of such a serious breach of the principles of etiquette made in public by anyone after calling others to hear their grievances as, the paper maintains, has been committed by the Viceroy. It regrets to observe that while inflicting his sermon upon the deputation His Excellency had failed to realise who, and amidst whom, he was. It declares that Lord Curzon's utterances were full of egoism, and that Lord Chelmsford's present reply was also cast in a similar mould, and had a lot of "I's" in it. What a difference, observes the paper, between the sweet language of the adorable King-Emperor and the utterance of Lord Chelmsford, his representative! It compares the Viceroy's reply to a speech made by a counsel in a law court in defence of the Press Act. It holds forth His Excellency's remarks in support of the continuance of the Press Act for the present, on the grounds that statesmen like Lords Morley and Minto had given their sanction to it and that Lord Hardinge had not thought it fit to mitigate its severity, as a sample of Lord Chelmsford's sense of justice and of his powers to grasp the existing situation. The paper further remarks that the decisions of justices Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Abdur Rahim, in which they had criticised the harshness of the Press

Act, are *betes noires* to the official class who have availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the present deputation to have their fling at them through Lord Chelmsford. It winds up with observing that the gist of His Excellency's reply comes to something like this:—The newspapers were bad before the Press Act was passed, and if they have improved it is due to the Act and so the Act should be continued, because, with the repeal of the Act the old condition would return. Only a few papers have been punished and so the Press Act is not bad. A few papers are bad and, therefore, the Act is necessary. [The *Shri Saydji Vijaya* expresses its regret at the Viceroy's reply which it declares to be harsh and disappointing. It observes:—There would have been no reason for the deputation to submit their representation if the executive officers had been as considerate towards the Indian journalists as they have been towards the Anglo-Indian papers. But the Viceroy has seen only one side of the shield and has not only disappointed but done injustice to the Press representation. The public would have been thankful to His Excellency if he had not received the deputation at all or had postponed doing so instead of making the petitioners of his, who had no right of reply, depart from him humiliated by his harsh and one-sided remarks.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (21), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.

***47.** "When it was announced last year that His Excellency had agreed to receive a deputation of the Press Association, the news was received with a certain amount of joy, and some hopes were aroused that the legitimate grievances of the Press in India, if not redressed, would at least receive a sympathetic hearing from the head of the Government. Those hopes have after all come to nought. The Viceroy's reply to the memorial of the Press Association may be rightly described as a snub. The tone of His Excellency is severe; a good many of his dicta are most unconvincing. The Indian press in general has criticised his reply with bitterness and branded it as discourteous. For our own part we cannot accept the criticism as altogether just. The reply was undoubtedly of an unusual character, rather pugnacious and vigorous. But the cause of this is to be found in the fact that the memorial itself was unduly pugnacious and vigorous. We cannot but say, though with regret, that the memorialists overshot the mark by trying to show that all along only Government have been in the wrong......... Instead of frankly recognising the difficulties of Government, the memorial seeks to ignore them. Under the circumstances it need cause no surprise if the Viceroy felt it his duty to defend the policy of his Government in as vigorous a manner as possible. The present times are not auspicious for such memorials and the memorial might have had a less unkind fate if it had not aimed so high as at the complete repeal of the Press Act, but contented itself with a demand for the reform of the Act. .... Any defence of the Press Act as it is would be bad enough. We can't say that matters have been at all improved by the undignified homily that His Excellency has thought it fit to read to those noble judges, who have criticised—or rather been forced to criticise—the actions of Government. .... It is admitted that at the time the Press Act of 1910 was passed, Government gave an assurance that there were in the Act adequate checks on the Executive. As a matter of fact there is now no room for any illusion on this score. It has been seen that these checks are absolutely non-existent. It is incredible that Government could have consciously given false assurances. Hence the only alternative remains that the Government of India have been using a power to which they have legal though not a moral right. It behoves them to modify the Act in a way that will harmonise with their original assurances."

Approval of the recent orders of the Government of India prohibiting labour emigration.

Message (6), 14th Mar.; **Mahrdtta* (5), 18th Mar.

48. Referring to the orders of the Government of India prohibiting all labour emigration excepting that to Ceylon and the Malay States, the *Message* remarks:—"This is good news. The object of Government in taking such a step, which is done under the Defence of India Act is stated to be 'to conserve the man-power of India for the purposes of labour in connection with the war'. Though it is clearly not a concession to the warmth of feeling displayed by all classes of people against the proposed continuance of the indenture system, we welcome it as a step in the right direction.......... We should have been very glad if Government had gone the whole length and wholly prohibited emigration of labour at least during the period of the war. All other considerations might then have been leisurely adjusted having regard primarily to the feelings and sentiments of the people in this country. However, we heartily congratulate Government on the wise step they have decided to take." [The *Mahrátta* remarks :—" Whatever the future, we must express our whole-hearted satisfaction at the use to which the Defence of India Act has been put by Government. When the Act is named, no good visions gather before the mental eye of the listener. So unfortunate has been its career. But this one thing—the immediate stoppage of labour emigration to the majority of the colonies—is and will remain a bright incident in the otherwise gloomy history of the working of this measure."]

Sánj Vartamán (29), 13th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 16th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 15th Mar.

49. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the recent order issued by Government prohibiting the emigration of labour from India for the duration of the war. It argues that if labour is necessary in India now for manufacturing munitions for war purposes it will be required for promoting various industries in India when peace is concluded and asks Government to respect public opinion by putting a stop to the emigration of indentured labour altogether. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also writes in a similar strain. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* asks Government to make the prohibition applicable to Ceylon and the Malay States as well.]

Rást Goftár (28), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.

***50.** " The order of the Government of India prohibiting labour emigration comes at an opportune moment when the question of indentured labour is being universally declaimed in this country.......... The one effect of the Order would be to stop all labour whether indentured or otherwise from leaving this country except for specified places. Under the latter category both Ceylon and the Malay States have been included. We do see no reason for their exemption from the Government edict in view of the fact that labourers from India are not being properly treated, no matter in what part of the Empire they serve outside their own country. The difficulty of maintaining the sex ratio is another reason why emigration of labour whether free or indentured should be laid under a strict ban with respect to those places where the labourers are ill treated."

Adverse comments on the work of the Indian Students Department in London.

Gujaráti (13), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.

***51.** " Mr. Mallet, Secretary to the Indian Students Department in London, has, it is said, retired at his own request. Not much regret will be felt for this severance of his connection with the Department which is looked upon with no small suspicion by Indian students in England and against which a number of serious complaints have been made. Mr. J. W. Arnold has been appointed by Mr. Chamberlain as Mr. Mallet's successor. According to a well-informed writer in the *Chronicle* Mr. Arnold's headquarters are at 21, Cromwell Road, which are known among Indian students all over the United Kingdom as the 'Thana'. This designation savours of C. I. D. associations and shows in what light an institution which was meant for their assistance and guidance has come to be looked upon by them. Until this impression is removed, the Department cannot possibly be expected to fulfil the object for which it was brought into existance. The annual expenditure incurred by the Indian taxpayer for its maintenance is Rs. 90,000 and Indian parents are entitled to insist that the Department shall not be worked so as to arouse the suspicion and even the hostility of the Indian students. If political surveillance is deemed necessary, that function should be discharged by independent agencies and not by a department which was founded with a view to help, advise and guide Indian students in a genuinely friendly and sympathetic spirit and not in the way beloved of the C. I. D. Young Indians studying in England are most of them self-respecting youths and naturally resent being treated as suspects or considered worthy of any kind of surveillance. If there are any black sheep, the proper agency to keep a watch on them is not the Adviser of Indian Students or the Secretary of the Indian Students Department or its underlings. In that case the *raison d' etre* for the institution ceases to exist. It further appears that it has peristently sought to extend its kindly attentions to non-official bodies started by the Indian students and then either to absorb or crush them. If this is a true picture of its activities, the sooner such a meddlesome Department is abolished or thoroughly overhauled so as to be able to subserve honestly the purposes for which it was started, the better."

Comments on the appointment of Sir H. Butler and Sir R. Craddock as Lieutenant-Governors of the United Provinces and Burma respectively.

Young India (11), 14th Mar.

52. "The announcement regarding the appointment of Sir Harcourt Butler as the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces in succession to Sir James Meston and of Sir Reginald Craddock as the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma makes us pause with wonder as to what may be in store for the future. At a time when large schemes of reform are agitating the minds of the public, it is a remarkable fact, of which hardly any notice has been taken, that the Provincial Governments and administrations are fast drifting into the hands of persons admittedly opposed to such reforms like Lord Ronaldshay, Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Reginald Craddock. The last two gentlemen are bureaucrats of the first water and they were the principal members of the minority which in Lord Hardinge's time, opposed the grant of an Executive Council to the United Provinces......... The appointment of Sir Harcourt Butler definitely postpones the attainment by the people of the United Provinces of their cherished aspiration for a Governor in Council.......... Neither the people of the United Provinces nor those of Burma have reason to be pleased with their new rulers. Both of them, as we have said above, represent the most obstinate type of bureaucracy in India, and it appears to us as if a policy of repression is coming after the war. The reply of the Viceroy to the Press deputation lends color to this belief."

Message (6), 13th Mar.

53. "Both these gentlemen are retired members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and have in their spheres exhibited some of the narrowest tendencies for which the Government is characterized in recent years. One has only to recall the mental attitude of Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Reginald Craddock in connection with the proposal initiated by the late Viceroy and whole-heartedly supported by the then Secretary of State, Lord Crewe, for bestowing on the United Provinces a Lieutenant Governor in Council with an Indian member thereon. Their attitude was not then certainly consistent with progress and we have no reason to think that they have improved for the better since then. In the interval which has elapsed since the recommendation of the Government of India was rejected in the House of Lords, Sir Reginald Craddock has become more and more reactionary in tendency, notwithstanding the chastening influence which a system of collective government is supposed to exert on the individual members. We take leave to doubt in advance if his imposition on Burma will in any wise help to improve the state of things there. Our Central Provinces friends have some excellent experinence of the unmitigated form of one-man rule under Sir Reginald and we wonder if those experiences would not prove incomparable with those that are awaiting our Burma friends.

Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the *Jain Vijaya* Printing Press Security Case.

Young India (11), 14th Mar.

54. V. R. writes in *Young India*:—"It appears to be a curious irony of fate that almost just about the time His Excellency Lord Chelmsford was warmly defending the working of the Press Act, a special bench of the Bombay High Court consisting of Justices Batchelor, Macleod and Shah should have been called upon to pronounce their judgments in the *Jain Vijaya* Security Case.......... Their Lordships have unanimously held that the pamphlet as a whole offended against

section 4 and the provisos thereunder. It is no wonder that they have done so. The terms of this section are, to quote the words of Sir Lawrence Jenkins in the *Comrade* case, so 'very comprehensive and its language is as wide as human ingenuity could make it.'......... All the three judges have held that the pamphlet as a whole infringes the provisions of section 4 of the Act, and for the reason indicated in the extract from Sir Lawrence Jenkin's judgment, we accept their Lordship's conclusion as substantially correct. But throughout the proceedings not a tittle of evidence has been adduced to prove that the keeper of the Press had either been disloyal or dishonest in his intentions and knowing the nature of the contents of the pamphlet to be of the character attributed to it by Justices Batchelor and Macleod, he deliberately printed it at his press. In a matter of this nature, that is the most important consideration which has always to be borne in mind before launching upon any action directed against the unfortunate keeper of a press. That consideration was wholly ignored, in this case. The fact that the pamphlet as a whole was of the description given by Mr. Justice Batchelor was held to be enough to condemn the poor keeper of the press in a sum of Rs. 500. In his reply to the Press deputation, His Excellency Lord Chelmsford declared that the Local Governments had not used the sweepingly wide powers which the Act put into their hands with anything like harshness or indiscretion. He further repeated that 'it is not the wish of the Government that the Act should be administered with harshness or without discrimination and they have issued definite instructions to that effect.' After contemplating the result in the present case, we are tempted to inquire if the action of the Local Government is to be taken as a proof of the intention of Government to deal very liberally with the keepers of printing presses. It has not been shown that a warning administered through the District Magistrate of Surat would not have produced the desired deterrent effect on the applicant. It does not appear that he was warned at any time before and that he had disregarded such warning as to make the present order of forfeiture a pressing necessity on the part of the Local Government. We have felt constrained to lay emphasis on this case because of the needlessly harsh tenor of His Excellency's reply to the deputation."

Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the case in connection with powers of the Municipality under the Weights and Measures Act.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 16th Mar.

55. Referring to a recent decision of the Bombay High Court in which it held that the Bombay Municipality was under the existing law not legally entitled to enforce upon those carrying on business outside municipal markets the use of particular weights and measures and that the application of a bye-law to that effect to markets other than municipal ones was *ultra vires*, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says that the decision, though in keeping with the present law, will be detrimental to the interests of the small section of traders who are doing business within the precincts of the municipal markets inasmuch as the municipal bye-law will, according to the High Court decision, be held applicable to them only. It remarks that the decision will only result in creating confusion in the minds of ignorant buyers and the object of fixing the prices of foodstuffs by the Food Committee under the Defence of India Act will be frustrated by the continuance of such a dual system. The paper, therefore, wishes that, regard being had to the high prices of foodstuffs that prevail at present, Government should intervene in the matter and, in the exercise of the powers vested in them under the Defence of India Act, declare that the abovementioned municipal bye-law should be legally held applicable to all tradesmen irrespective of their place of business till six months after the close of the war.

Suggestion for manufacture of cashew spirit in the Ratnágiri District.

Bakul (83), 11th Mar.

56. It has now been almost settled that toddy liquor is to be permanently displaced by mhowra liquor in the Ratnágiri District. As the latter is not distilled in this district, the money spent on it will necessarily go out of it and the men engaged in distilling toddy spirit will be thrown out of employment. Such unemployment is most undesirable specially in these days of scarcity. We would suggest, therefore, that arrangements may be made for distilling liquor from cashew fruit which is plentiful in this district. If our suggestion is accepted people will naturally devote more attention to cultivation of this fruit. We trust Government will consider this suggestion favourably.

Comments on an Abkari prosecution in the Thana District.

Rást Goftar (28), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.

*57. "An obscure individual by name Vajia Sirod Kothia who, so far as our information goes, was never engaged in any sort of illicit trade in liquor, was arrested on a charge of transporting two bottles of country liquor from Dahanu to Sirod village. He was convicted and sentenced to one month's full and rigorous imprisonment. Such vagaries of justice baffle the imagination and seriously detract from the praise which we always offer to the hard worked magistracy. Such being the case, it is to be hoped that no time will be lost by the District Magistrate in calling for the papers and in taking such legal action as might be necessary for the reversal of the sentence. This action is all the more necessary as we are afraid the accused belongs to a class which is hardly aware of its own rights in such matters. We also wish the Excise Commissioner to take prompt notice of such prosecutions. The purposes of justice demand but the confiscation of the liquor and a warning to the offender."

Complaint about European lads going about shooting pigeons and other birds in Sukkur (Sind).

Sind Advocate (8), 1st Mar.

58. "We have received more than one complaint regarding the young European lads carrying on their shooting excursions in the town and aiming at pigeons and other birds. This seems very odious and repugnant to the Hindu-Muhammadan feelings and we are afraid this will lead to serious results ensuing from the injuries that young boys and other passers by might receive at their hands. Cannot the authorities take note of this?"

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Local Boards Act Amendment Bill.

**Gujaráti* (13), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.; **Mahrátta* (5), 18th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 17th Mar.

59. "A Committee was appointed by the Bombay Government to report on the question of extension of local self-government. The local government, instead of giving effect to the recommendations as a whole, have introduced a Bill which will in practice affect only four district boards but will confer on the executive unliminited discretion in the matter of determining the proportion of elected to nominated members and other incidental questions. The Bill leaves untouched the constitution of 215 Taluka Boards. It provides merely for a bare majority of the elected members, though not less than 292 witnesses examined by the Committee appointed by Government to consider the question were in favour of granting a two-thirds elective majority. The Bombay Government have all along taken up an unsympathetic attitude in the matter of local self-government since Lord Ripon's time. Even Assam has got a two-thirds majority of elected members on its local boards and the Bombay Government want the people of this presidency to believe that they are more backward and incompetent than the inhabitants of Assam! If a measure incorporating this official view is not an 'insult to the people', we do not know in what other light one can regard it. If the whole question of local self-government is under investigation by a special officer, there was no particular reason why a Bill with a very limited scope was at all introduced in Council. His Excellency charged the Honourable Mr. Patel with wasting the time of the Council. That was a serious and not very courteous thing even for a Governor to say about his colleagues in the Legislative Council. But really speaking, if any body was responsible for the waste of public time involved in the discussion of a Bill with such a narrow scope, it was those who were responsible for its introduction and not the Honourable Mr. Patel The Honourable Mr. Curtis and His Excellency Lord Willingdon could not understand the opposition the Bill had aroused. That simply shows that they are not quite familiar with the history of local self-government in

[illegible] are not fully conscious of the fact that the people of this [illegible] hitherto never been satisfied with the illiberal and even [illegible] which the Bombay Government have exhibited towards Lord [illegible] policy. The present Bill itself shows that they are not ready to [illegible] the recommendations of the Committee appointed by themselves." [The *Mahratta* makes similar remarks and concludes:—"The debate made it clear that Government are in no hurry to trust people. They will proceed at a snail's pace unless the people can somehow bring an irresistible pressure to bear on them." The *Dnyán Prakásh* also expresses its dissatisfaction with the Bill and declares that some of the Honourable Members were right in saying that there was every likelihood of the provisions of the Bill, as they stand, being abused. It is, however, satisfied to see that Messers. Sathe, Patel, Desai and Garud have been included in the Select Committee which is to consider the measure.]

Message (6), 17th Mar.

60. "Mr. Patel stated at the very outset that 'he was thoroughly convinced that the interests of local self-government demanded that this motion should not be placed before the Council.' This remark was the signal for a flutter in the official dovecots and a counter-attack was led by His Excellency the President. But that it was not a strong one based on stern logic or sound reasoning was at once evident from the fact that his Excellency showed a little perturbance of mind and by interrupting the speaker too frequently would not allow him time to state his reasons. Instead of carrying on an unseemly wrangle with Mr. Patel, to the great amusement of the other members, visitors and reporters at the press table, His Excellency the President would have done well to rule out Mr. Patel's motion straight off. We have gone through Mr. Curtis' explanation very carefully once, twice and thrice. Yet we are unable to make out where the urgency was for giving partial effect to the recommendations of the Lawrence Committee.......... The non-officials are opposed to the measure tooth and nail and the public does not care for it because of its reactionary and retrograde character. It seems to us clear that the Bill is merely throwing a bone of contention in the midst of the public, as between Hindus and Muhammadans, as between the landholders and non-landholders.......... We do not mind at all if more of our Muhammadan friends get more seats on these bodies. On the other hand, we should heartily welcome their presence in larger numbers. But the manner in which this end is proposed to be attained is certainly open to grave objections. Separate representation may be good in certain circumstances. But to introduce it deliberately where it does not exist—may be with the utmost honest intentions, as appears to be the case in this Bill—is highly mischievous and it should not have been resorted to, least of all by Lord Willingdon's Government."

EDUCATION.

How students' minds are being trained in the Central Provinces.

Sandesh (103), 13th Mar.

61. A Yeotmal (Berar) correspondent writes to the *Sandesh*:—You already know that orders on the lines of the Risley Circular are about to be promulgated for the discipline of the students of the Central Provinces, but before that is actually done, the ground is evidently being prepared for their reception. Recently the authorities set a number of questions for being answered by students. On asking one of these students I found that he had given the following answers:—'A student must always obey his parents and be loyal. The worst thing for a student to do is to be seditious. Chapman Saheb is the greatest of men as he loves students while Tilak is the worst as he is opposed to Government. My ideal is to become a Police Sub-Inspector. A gentleman is one who wears a necktie and speaks with the authorities. If I am given five rupees I would give them to the War Fund.' On asking the student why he called Tilak the worst of men, he told me that he had been taught to say so while he was attending a school in the Bombay Presidency some three years back. A second student had answered that he loved his country most, that he respected Mr. Tilak beyond all others, that he was

going to devote the rest of his life to the service of his country and that if he had five rupees he would hand them over to Mr. Tilak to assist him in his cause. I told the student what would be the result of his answers, but he told me that he was about to leave school altogether to take up his father's calling. Some of the above answers show what rotten things are being taught to our rising generation.

Muhammadans and compulsory primary education in Bombay.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (122), 14th Mar.

62. Referring to the apprehension expressed by the *Muslim Herald* that a riot would take place in Bombay if the daughters of Musalmans were forcibly dragged to school in the event of primary education being made compulsory, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* reminds its contemporary of the religious obligation laid on the Muhammadans to educate their daughters, and it ridicules the idea of a riot ever occurring over this matter. It points out that the All-India Moslem League has declared itself in favour of compulsory primary education, and vehemently attacks those whose views the *Muslim Herald* is supposed to have expressed. [Elsewhere the paper draws a pitiable contrast between the incomes of teachers employed in Municipal primary schools in Bombay and those of the domestic servants of wealthy citizens of Bombay. It strongly urges an immediate increase in their salary.]

Comments on the concession made to Muhammadans in Educational institutions in the Bengal Presidency in the matter of reciting Jumma prayers.
Akhbár-e-Islám (52), 15th Mar.

63. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses its high sense of gratification at the circular issued by Mr. W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, wherein it is declared that in order to accord Moslem students facilities for offering Jumma prayers, work will be suspended in Government schools and colleges in the Bengal Presidency on Fridays for one hour in the noon. It remarks that Bengal Muhammadans should not be slow to thank this kind "Topiwala" for thus respecting the religious feelings of the Muhammadans by issuing the abovementioned circular. It wishes that this circular be given effect to not only in Government schools and colleges but in educational institutions in the Presidency receiving grants-in-aid from Government. The paper also exhorts Mumhammadans in other Presidencies to hold public meetings with a view to inducing other Directors of Public Instruction to follow the example set by Mr. Hornell in this matter.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd March 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 12 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 24th March 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complains which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the factt are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

- An incident at the last meeting of the — 40
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution in the — on the subject of elective majority in municipalities . . . . . 36 & 37
- Interpellations in the — . . . . 38 & 39
- The Bombay Budget . . . . 41—43

British Rule:

- Alleged high-handedness of Mr. Hood, Assistant Collector of Kolába . 8
- Appeal to Government to check the evil of betting on the Mahalaxmi Race Course, Bombay 10
- Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's reply to the Lancashire Deputation . 3 — 5
- Comments on the reply of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjáb to Mr. Tilak about his exclusion from that Province 7
- Exhortations to Indians to awake and realise the sorry plight of their country 2
- How merchants are making undue profits through taxes imposed by Government on particular commodities 11
- The enforcement of the Defence of India Act is creating dissatisfaction among the people 9
- The Honourable Mr. Birkmyre on the Home Rule movement . . 6
- What constitutes the first step towards true patriotism . . . 1
- Excise: Comments on the inquiry into corrupt practices in the Abkari Department of the Thána District 58

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay:

- Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech at the Bombay Chamber of Commerce 49
- His Excellency the Governor's advice to Indian politicians not to carry on political agitation at the present juncture . . . 48

Imperial Legislative Council:

- Comments on Government's reply to the Maharaja of Cossimbazar's interpellation in the — about Indians in the Telegraph Department 33
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution in the — regarding the recommendations of the Public Service Commission 34
- The resolution about free and compulsory primary education in the — 35

Indians in the Colonies:

- Comments on the order of the Government of India prohibiting the emigration of labour . . . . 44—47

Judicial matters:

- Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the case in connection with the powers of the Bombay Municipality under the Weights and Measures Act 50
- Comments on the rejection by a Full Bench of the Madras High Court of Mrs. Besant's application for permission to appeal to the Privy Council in the *New India* Security Case . . . . . 51 & 52

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Police: Government is needlessly spending money on the C. I. D. . . . 53
Press Act: Comments on the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Press Association 54
Public Service Commission: Comments on the Report of the — . . . 55
Public Works Department: A complaint against the — 56
Viceroy: Comments on the proposal to confer the degree of Doctor of Laws on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford by the Punjab University . 57
War:
- Alleged harm done by Government press communiques intended to dissipate wild rumours in connection with the — 15
- Caution against under-estimating the capacity of the Turks to rally after the fall of Bagdad 14
- Comments on the appeal adddressed to the people by the Chairman of the Bombay Citizens' — Loan Executive Committee 30
- Comments on the proposed formation of a Labour Corps in India for service in Europe 29
- Comments on the progress of the — . . . . 12 & 13
- Comments on the publication of the Dardanelles Commission's report. 20
- Comments on the revolution in Russia . . . . 16—19
- Comments on the rules for the voluntary recruits for the Indian Defence Force . . . . 25 & 26
- Comments on the statement that Europeans in Bombay are feeling uneasy that Indian Home Rulers will be enrolled as volunteers . 28
- Formation of a Bombay Muhammadan Committee for entertaining wounded soldiers 32
- Grant of Commissions to Indians in the Army 27
- Her Excellency Lady Willingdon and the — Loan 31
- The Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri's appeal to the young men of Sind to join the Indian Defence Force 24
- The Imperial — Conference and the Secretary of State for India . 21
- The Indian Defence Force . . . . 22 & 23

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Bombay Local Boards Act Amendment Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council . . . . 59—61

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Muhammadan agitation against a certain line in the third Gujarati Reader 62
The scope of the Calcutta University Commission should be enlarged to include secondary education 63

RAILWAYS—

Zoolum on third class passengers on Railways in India can be ended only by doing away with Company management 64

MUNICIPALITIES—

Poona: Alleged incompetence of the — Municipality 65

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

What constitutes the first step towards true patriotism.
Vivechak (72) for Feb.

1. The February number of the *Vivechak* quotes the following passage from "Swami Vivekanand, Part III" on its title page:—Oh ye reformers, ye patriots of the future, have strong hearts. Learn to cherish true feelings and regard. Offer up the pure love of your hearts at the feet of your mother country. Do you feel for her? Are your hearts affected at the sight of hundreds of the children of your adorable personages and Rishis of old that have become like beasts and are leading the degraded life of beasts? Are not your hearts aggrieved at the spectacle of the present starvation of hundreds of thousands of the beloved children of the soil and of hundreds that have been starving for years past? Does the Cimmerian darkness of ignorance that has, like swarthy clouds, swept over the country engender any feelings in your hearts? Does this pitiful sight make you uneasy? Have you ever banished your sleep at this thought and has it ever awakened you up? Has this thought mixed itself up with your blood and commenced to course along your veins? Have your hearts beaten at any time with true feelings for the country? Has this thought ever maddened you? Has the thought of the sorry plight (of the country) made an abode in your hearts and ever made you forget everything else? Have you ever lost the consciousness of your names, business, residence, wives, children, property, your persons and even of this world under the intoxicating influence of this thought? Have you ever had any such experience? It is the first, the very first, step towards becoming a patriot. [Elsewhere the paper publishes a contribution from one Bhánusing wherein the writer has dilated on the evil effects of Western "modes" of living that have assimilated themselves in the life of the Indian people. Dwelling on the poverty of India he remarks that the average daily income of an Indian is one pice; that one or other of the Indian provinces is every year overtaken with famine; that thousands of her children do not daily get sufficient food for their maintenance; that crores of people die of starvation in India during every ten years. He observes that Indians cannot afford blindly to imitate the fashions of Europe and America which are opulent, which supply their own wants, where the average daily income of an individual is 15 rupees, where the scourge of famine does not ever make its appearance as in India and where millions of lives are not sacrificed, as in India, during the course of every ten years at the altar of starvation. The writer maintains that the result of the Indians trying to become Europeanised is that they have lost their sense of self-respect and patriotism, have made India the breeding ground of a number of new diseases and have compelled their starving brethren to forsake even their religion which is as dear to them as life itself.]

Exhortations to Indians to awake and realise the sorry plight of their country.
Vivechak (72) for Jan.

2. The *Vivechak* reproduces Hindi verses from the *Satya Yuga*, some of which run thus:—O Indians! give up sloth, wake up and protect your own interests. Your indifference is responsible for much harm. Why is India fallen into such a sorry plight? Surely it has been stabbed by some one. Shame upon us who have been wallowing in luxury and indulging in mutual enmities and laziness. Be awakened to a sense of your duty; unite and move forward and never and never take a retrograde step. It is better to die with honour than to live and suffer insults. Those who exist by living upon the favours of others should be considered as dogs. What have the rich men and members of Legislative Councils done for the welfare of the country? The Honourable members indulge in loud talk but are afraid of speaking out plainly. Do not be mere lip reformers but do some good to your country by your thoughts, words and deeds.

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's reply to the Lancashire Deputation.
Message (6), 24th Mar.;
Kesari (9[illegible]), 20th Mar.;
**Mahrátta* (5), 25th Mar.

3. "The degree of warmth with which Mr. Chamberlain spoke upholding the new impost has been really astonishing to us, as it is opposed to his usually cold and sedate temperament at the India Office. It is extremely flattering to think that on occasions when he is spurred to action, our Secretary of State can put up a stout fight on behalf of this country.

Mr. Chamberlain did not only denounce the craven counsels of selfishness and ignorance which had actuated the deputation but he also upheld the policy of the very small degree of indirect protection which the impost of the duty has afforded. Mr. Chamberlain did not speak like a demagogue. He spoke as one who had and felt his great responsibilities. Though the speech is not free from the usual absurdities, Mr. Chamberlain has on the whole shown in this, his best oratorical effort since he came to the India Office, that like some of his predecessors he can also be fair-minded and absolutely impartial.......... Mr. Chamberlain vigorously affirmed on this occasion the one great and guiding principle of British Rule in India. After quoting with approval Sir Henry Fowler, one of his predecessors, about the necessity of counteracting the impression that 'our financial policy in India is dictated by selfish considerations,' he addeed that it was a great libel if anyone were to say so and that neither of the great political parties would for the sake of appeasing advantage deny to the people of India the fair play which they expect. We trust Mr. Chamberlain will soon recognize that those who are pleading with untiring reiteration for economic protection are only asking for fair play and that he will endeavour his best to obtain for India that fair play." [The *Kesari* writes:—If the enhancement of the duty had not been accompanied by the gift of a million pounds the Lancashire delegates would have made short work of it. But as it is, the acceptance of Mr. Asquith's addendum to consider it afresh after the war and a similar promise by Mr. Chamberlain appear to us ominous. We maintain as a matter of right that the excise duty should be removed and that the duty on foreign cotton goods should be increased. It would be disastrous if Lancashire were to be allowed to dominate the situation again after the war. Mr. Chamberlain admitted the injustice of the excise duty, but where lies the necessity of reconsideration after the war of a thing that is unjust? What is unjust during the time of war is not likely to be just during peace times. Whenever officials find that public opinion is in accord with their views they attach importance to it. Mr. Chamberlain made much of the support of our representatives in his reply to the Lancashire deputation, but these very men are decried as not being real representatives so far as their views on post-war reforms are concerned. The *Mahrátta* quotes Lord Lansdowne's protest against the cotton excise duties and says:—"These words were uttered twenty years ago when the countervailing excise duty on cotton-goods was first instituted. Lord Lansdowne's words carried no weight then, and they do not carry any weight now. In fact they are not expected to influence 'fiscal politics' to any appreciable extent. That with all our agitation for fair treatment for a good many years past we have been treated unfairly for the sake of Lancashire, is a solid proof of the fact that it is not *for us* that Lancashire has now been treated to a modicum of *justice.* It is because England wanted all the money that India could possibly give that the change in the angle of vision is *temporarily* sanctioned.......... There is one thing that Mr. Chamberlain must be thanked for having done in a thorough manner. He exposed the unfairness of Lancashire's claims in scathing terms and with unanswerable argument."].

Bombay Samáchár (55), 23rd Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 20th Mar.; *Gujaráti* (13), 18th Mar.

4. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes in an appreciative tone about the reply given by Mr. Chamberlain to the Lancashire deputation and believes that this reply will add to the satisfaction given to the Indians by this just act of raising the import duty on cotton piece-goods without increasing the excise duty. It wishes and hopes that when the whole fiscal policy of the Empire comes to be considered after the war, full justice will be done to India by completely abolishing the present excise duty on indigenous cotton goods. It remarks that Mr. Chamberlain has done a further service to India by exposing the hollowness of the contention of Lancashire that the present increase in the cotton duty will afford protection to the cotton industry in India. The paper declares that the path of the industrial advancement of India will not be quite free from obstacles as long as the present excise duty is not completely abolished. [The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses the belief that if Lancashire had scored a success in their present agitation against the increase of the import duty it would have spread great

dissatisfaction in this country. It is gratified to note that Government have recognised the justice of the demand made by the Indian public for the abolition of the excise duty, and wishes that in view of the vast help rendered by India to the Empire in the war it had been done away with in this very year. According to the paper the Indian public feels grateful to the Indian Secretary for the bold stand he has made on the present occasion and for his fighting for the rights of India. The *Gujaráti* does not endorse the belief that justice has been done to India by the raising of the import duty on foreign cotton goods. It is rather inclined to believe that the duty has been raised for the purpose of preventing Japan and America from establishing, by the time the war comes to a close, a firm footing in India in this trade. It declares that England has adopted the policy of killing two birds with one stone by thus preventing the above two countries from unduly profiting from the present situation while at the same time enabling India to render help to the Empire. It observes that England is in a position to help Lancashire by means of a preferential tariff if after the war it is found that Indian mills can seriously compete with Lancashire. The paper believes that justice can be said to be done to the Indian mills only if the excise duty on goods manufactured in them were to be completely abolished.]

Indian Social Reformer (3), 25th Mar.

*5. "We were wrong in assuming on the strength of a telegraphic summary that Mr. Austin Chamberlain based his refusal to raise the excise duty on Indian mill-made cloth, solely on the ground that no member of the Indian Legislative Council would vote for such increase. The Government of India have published the full text of Mr. Chamberlain's reply to the depution from Lancashire.......... So far from resting the case for not raising the duty on a constitutional fiction, as the telegraphic summary led us to think, Mr. Chamberlain took the entire responsibility on himself. The speech reveals him to be a highly conscientious administrator who can warm up, when the occassion justifies it, in defence of Indian interests. We need hardly say that his manly stand for India in this matter has enormously added to the confidence felt in this country in the Government of India. It was a happy idea of Mr. Chamberlain's to associate with himself the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Cabinet in receiving the Lancashire deputation."

The Honourable Sir A. Birkmyre on the Home Rule movement.
Message (6), 22nd Mar.

6. Commenting on the Honourable Sir A. Birkmyre's references to the Home Rule movement in his recent speech at Calcutta, the *Message* remarks :—" It is no wonder that when the responsible head of a Provincial Government can lay aside, may be for the moment, the dignity of his high position to play to the gallery, the Gunnybag politician of Calcutta should try to pull both ways. As if it was not enough, he tried to make a bad case worse by trying to assert that 'the welfare of India and Indians is indissolubly *bound up with our own commercial interests*". There would have certainly been more truth if he had reversed the case. There can be no doubt that the commercial prosperity of England and Englishmen is indissolubly bound up with the commercial interests of India; but the best method of securing that prosperity is not by attempting to hold perpetually India down in the scale of commercial nations, as a producer of raw materials to supply the European markets. An economically weak India can never be a strength to the Empire as much as it can otherwise be.......... The 'capitalist imperialism' of a certain class of people may run riot in this land for a time still; but there must be an end to it some day. At one time, it might have only too well succeeded. But the day is now long past recall and the advocate of 'Capitalist Imperialism', in which the masses are governed not in their own interest nor in that of their rulers, but in that of the European capitalist adventurers, must now either definitely make up his mind to sink or swim with the people or quit the country sooner or later. He cannot both stay here and exploit the country in his own interest. It may succeed for a time still as it has succeeded in the past. But if the fair name of the 'Mother Country', to borrow an expression of Sir Dorab Tata, is now (not ?) to be dragged into the mire, Englishmen will have soon to purge them-

[illegible] unholy views and contradictions in life and adhere strictly to the doctrine of equal liberty and equal opportunities for all, whether one is coloured or another is colourless. However obscured for the moment may be the policy of Government by considerations not strictly or logically impartial, the aim of British rule whether it is in India, Egypt or in the lesser colonies, is one and one alone and that is ultimately to govern in the interests of the masses. This aim has not always been kept in view—it was of course inevitable. But now impartial Englishmen have fairly come to see that it is no longer possible to rule the country in the interests of the capitalist adventurers from Europe or America."

Comments on the reply of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb to Mr. Tilak about his exclusion from that Province.

Message (6), 21st Mar.

7. "We read in our Allahabad contemporary of the *Leader* that a certain Arya Samajist preacher and worker, Mr. Laik Ram, was arrested by our C. I. D. friends and taken to Benares where he was detained in jail for over three months, 'without any charge', as a correspondent says. It took the C. I. D. three months and more to discover that their 'reasonable grounds for the belief in question' could not be supported, try as they might, and after being detained in *hajut* for three months Mr. Laik Ram is let off! That is one thing. In this case, however, the Lieutenant-Governor, too, had his reasonable grounds for believing that Mr. Tilak intended to visit the Punjáb and there act as a fuse to ignite the heap of dynamite on which Sir Michael O'Dwyer is so uncomfortably seated by an unkind superior Government and thereby endanger the 'public safety', whatever that may mean. The intention ascribed to Mr. Tilak is forthwith denied, and the course for his Honor was all plain sailing. He should have either accepted Mr. Tilak's statement or stated his reason for non-acceptance.......... Considering, however, the time that has elapsed between Mr. Tilak's request and the Lieutenant-Governor's reply, we feel sure that His Honor must have made further inquiries. If His Honor had found any substantial ground of justification for his hasty and ill-conceived action we are quite sure it would have been forthcoming. But as it is the reply is neither a refutation of Mr. Tilak's statement nor a justification of the step. That being so, we are left (*sic*) by His Honor's own account that he has no grounds which can bear the light of day to support his action and the formula is repeated to cover his precipitate retreat from a hastily taken up position."

Alleged high-handedness of Mr. Hood, Assistant Collector, Kolába.

Kesari (95), 20th Mar.

8. A correspondent writes to the *Kesári*:—The Assistant Collector, S. D., Kolaba, Mr. Hood, while removing his camp from Tale, Taluka Mangaon, impressed carts through his servants and went about himself and removed the wheel-pins of the carts he came across. Though Mr. Sadashiv Abaji Bhat consented to give him one cart he demanded another and in spite of the owner's protests removed the wheel-pins of both. How can people obtain justice if the Magistrates themselves do such things?

The enforcement of the Defence of India Act is creating dissatisfaction among the people.

Gujaráti (13), 25th Mar., Eng. cols.

*9. Referring to the exclusion of Mr. Tilak and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal from the Punjáb and Delhi, the *Gujaráti* writes:—"We thought that high-placed English officers were more courageous and brave than they have shown themselves to be. But they do not know the strength of British rule as much as we do nor do they understand the people. They are unjust to themselves and to the British Government in aimlessly firing off prohibitive orders with such nervous fear. They are unjust to the people in administering the Act with such lack of judgment and will do well to consider if they are not unconsciously adding to the strength of the dissatisfaction which they are so anxious to prevent. The beloved 'Chitpawan Brahmin' of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb has shown himself more courageous than the heroic warden of the North-West frontier. No less than three provincial administrations have striven with one another with incomparable zeal to elevate him even to a higher pedestal than the one from which he is supposed to imperil public safety and from which they would, therefore, like to see him dethroned. We congratulate them on their wisdom, the soundness of their judgment and their unerring foresight, and also the authors of the Defence of India Act on their marvellous workmanship in the domain of legislation. At the same time we cannot conceal from ourselves the fact that these extraordinary exhibitions of official zeal would have been impossible under the règime of that great, righteous and courageous Viceroy who knew how to bear himself with unsurpassed nobility and intrepidity even at the moment of supreme peril to his own priceless life."

Appeal to Government to check the evil of betting on the Mahaluxmi race-course, Bombay.

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 20th Mar.

10. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expatiates on the evil effects produced among the middle and poorer classes of the people as a result of gambling on the totalizator at the Mahalaxmi race-course and inquires when this vice which brings ruin upon the poor and innocent classes of the people of this city will be put a stop to. It refers to the opinion expressed by men experienced in this matter that the present system of 'Tote' which has supplanted the old bookmakers has only resulted in drawing to the race-course a very large section of poor peeple who were hitherto quite innocent of the vice of gambling on the turf. The paper emphatically declares that if the authorities neglect to take timely and effective measure to check this evil, it will lead to fearful and disastrous results as far as the people of this city are concerned.

How merchants are making undue profits through taxes imposed by Government on particular commodities.

Sind Observer (10), 2nd Mar.

11. Referring to the *Times of India's* remarks about the action of the petrol firms in raising the price of the commodity as soon as they got wind of Government's intention to levy a tax upon it, the *Sind Observer* writes as follows about similar action on the part of wine merchants:—"As soon as the liquor dealers got wind of the tax, and for at least three months before Government announced the fact, up went the prices. Stocks piled up in godowns were augmented by drawing supplies out of bond and the public were obliged to buy at a higher rate goods on which the merchant had not paid an extra pie of duty. All this money, which according to the theory of the financial *pundits* of Government was to swell the public purse in fact went to the banking account of our loyal traders. Naturally it was some time before the stocks held and thus sold were exhausted and before the enhanced duty began to roll into the Government treasuries. Again a rumour has been started that a further increase in the duty on liquor is to be charged and, taking time by the forelock, our alert dealers have already raised their prices. The public are being squeezed by the capitalists who are astute fellows! They are lending the money thus obtained to Government at a thumping rate of interest in the War Loan and posing as patriots. But the same public will have to pay the interest and the principal, and it will be many long years before the account is cleared. We have taken liquor as an example, but there are other articles about which we could say the same. This chuckle-headed method of finance may look very attractive in theory, but, we know by sad experience, that neither Government nor the consumers profit by it. It is useless to expect the British Government to see the folly of carrying on the administration in this unbusinesslike manner, and we must submit to be mulct by the traders and pay heavily for the war to boot."

Comments on the progress of the war.

Hindusthán (17), 22nd Mar.

12. Commenting upon the British advance in the West, the *Hindusthán* writes:—We must congratulate the British Commander on the advance he has made without the expenditure of munitions and the sacrifice of men. It seems, however, from German papers that the retreat has been planned and the orderliness and absence of any kind of losses with which the German retirement has been effected lends colour to the opinion that the retreat was premeditated. It is believed in certain quarters that the shortening of the battle front will enable Germany to despatch fresh troops to the Russian zone. In the West the Allies will be engaged in the task of consolidating their gains, and the Germans, in the meanwhile, might be able to deal a blow to Russia. Events in the next few weeks will help us to know the true situation

Gujarâti (13), 18th Mar.

13. Commenting upon the progress of the war, the *Gujarâti* writes:— If the Russians make headway in the direction of Mosul, the British are sure to carry their advance far ahead of Baghdad. The Turks have lost Mesopotamia and Armenia. The British have occupied the Sinai peninsula and are advancing towards Jerusalem. It does not, therefore, seem likely that the Turks will be able to make a stand for a long time. The Allied offensive in the West is proving effective and the Germans are beating a retreat and we shall not be surprised if the contending armies meet in the open field. The German dreams of invading India have been completely shattered. We do not think that Baghdad will ever be given back. German submarinism has not proved very effective and Germany's zeppelins also have achieved little this year. China has also broken off its relations with Germany, who seems to be intent upon protracting the war with a view to securing favourable terms of peace.

Caution against under-estimating the capacity of the Turks to rally after the fall of Bagdad.

Sind Observer (10), 16th Mar.

14. In the course of its comments on the fall of Bagdad and the general situation in Mesopotamia, the *Sind Observer* remarks —"We are not of those who believe, nor do we wish it to be believed, that the Turkish army before General Maude has been destroyed and that the remnants are a negligible quantity. The facts are against such a presumption. The small number of prisoners we have taken, about 8,000 in all, indicate that the Turkish commander was able to withdraw his main army and, although he abandoned many guns and much material on the way, these can be replaced and it will be Germany's object to replace them if she hopes to retain the friendship of the Turk, which must be rudely shaken by this defeat. The Turks also requisitioned and removed from Bagdad great quantities of stores, all which point to plans for a rally at Samara which is the place to which the enemy have fled. So long as our commander and the officers under him do not allow themselves to be deluded into false security by contempt for a beaten enemy there is no fear that the Turks will recover the lost ground from the gallant and superbly munitioned British army now holding the country around Bagdad."

Alleged harm done by Government press communiqués intended to dissipate wild rumours in connection with the war.

Sind Observer (10), 2nd Mar.

15. Referring to the press communiqué issued by the Government of Madras in connection with the sinking of the *Worcestershire*, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"We quite agree that some steps should be taken to combat rumours, but it is too much to expect Government to attend to every stupid story. We should like to point out, however, that communiqués issued by Provincial Governments with the object of disposing of idle rumours sometimes do more harm than good. They are published with regard to local circumstances, but when circulated outside the province in which issued, causes a further crop of rumours. For instance take the communiqué about the sinking of the *Worcestershire*. The Government of Madras state therein that there is no reason to suppose that any enemy craft has found its way *into the Bay of Bengal*. Now Karâchi had not thought of the Bay of Bengal, believing that part of the sea quite safe. Immediately rumour filled the Bay of Bengal with German submarines and the wildest stories of their doings there and elsewhere became current. A communiqué on such matters should, we think, be published by the Government of India after due consideration. Every sensible person must know that precautions are necessary whenever a German vessel is reported to be operating even hundreds of miles from the

coast of India, and that in making announcements to dissipate rumours the military and naval authorities must be extremely careful not to provide the enemy with useful information. On the other hand it is true that the most carefully worded communiqué is often taken to pieces by panicky people and rumours created from the scraps. We regret to say that members of the European public are adepts at this game."

Comments on the revolution in Russia.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 21st Mar.; *Sánj Vartáman* (29), 17th and 19th Mar.; *Prája Mitra and Pársi* (24), 18th Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 19th Mar.; *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* (70), 22nd Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 19th Mar.

16. Writing at length on the revolution in Russia the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks:—The revolution is mostly due to the fact that the protagonists of absolutism waged the war in an indifferent manner and brought the people on the verge of starvation with a view to bringing the war to a close and thus maintaining their own supremacy. The revolution has given independence to the Russians and has furnished an opportunity to them to prosecute the war with vigour to a successful termination. The eyes of the world are now turned to Russia to see what use the Russian people make of their present opportunities. [The *Sánj Vartáman* writes:—The revolution means a new birth of the Russian nation with the end of the tyranny of the Czar and those who used him as their tool. An enlightened form of Government will take the place of ignorance and disorder. Other States in Europe, particularly Greece, are likely to be greatly affected by this revolution. We feel sure that the new Government will prosecute the war with vigour. The Kaiser should take a lesson from the fate of the Czar or else the German people will put an end to the Prussian Militarism by an open revolt. In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—We now see that it is the representatives of the people and not socialists or anarchists that have taken the administration of Russia into their own hands. The new Government will try to correct the mistakes of the old one. The added strength the nation has received by the popular success will go a great way in bringing about peace with victory. The revolution has strengthened the position of the Allies and weakened the enemy. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* adds:—Tyranny is at an end in Russia and the Russian people will be ruled by a responsible and a representative government. Russia will now be ranked with other civilised and popular governments. Let us wish success to the new democratic government in Russia. The *Prája Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We would congratulate the Russian people on the new form of government they have secured and wish them success. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks:—The awakening in the Russian people and the abdication of the Czar may be taken as clear signs of the impending fall of Germany. The *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* writes:—A backward nation like Russia has taken the Government in its own hands with a view to vigorous prosecution of the war. It is believed that the British Government will recognise the new government without any hesitation. What surprises has time in store for us! The *Hindusthán* says:—All the German calculations seem to have been upset by the turn the Russian revolution has taken. The revolution has clearly shown that the people are anxious to prosecute the war.]

Gujaráti (13), 18th Mar.; **Indian Social Reformer* (3), 25th Mar.

17. Commenting upon the revolution in Russia, the *Gujaráti* writes:—The Czar has abdicated but we do not know anything as to his whereabouts. It is to be regretted that the news of the revolution should come at a time when the enemy is on the point of being defeated. Mr. Bonar Law says that it is not peace but the vigorous prosecution of the war, that is the object of the revolution and so the progress of the war will not be adversely affected thereby. The messages that have been exchanged between the Czar and the Duma lead us to the belief that the Czar is with the army. The Czar is in the danger of losing of his sovereign power at a time when he is conducting an expedition for the capturing of Constantinople. [The *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"**Russia is fortunate at this grave crisis in her history in having for her ally the one and only nation which has proved its capacity to accomplish political revolutions with the minimum**

[illegible] to the established order of things.......... The most striking feature of the Revolution in Russia has been the ferocity of the mob towards the Police, especially the secret or detective Police. The bureaucracy with the help of the secret Police had made life a burden to the people, and no wonder that the first outbreak of the Revolution should be signalised by the destruction of the offices which were the head-quarters of this detested organisation."]

Kesari (95), 20th Mar.

18. The *Kesari* thinks there are not sufficient grounds to believe that the revolution was brought about to counteract pro-German influences in the administration. If the theory of German intrigue were true, what becomes, it asks, of the bold front which Russia has shown against Germany since the beginning of the war? It rather believes that the revolution was directed against the oppressive bureaucracy which was ruling the country and that the movement which was going on in that country for nearly a century has now borne visible fruit. It declares that the revolution has taught the lesson that bureaucracy in every part of the world must in the end be prepared to give up its powers and place them in the hands of the people. It points out that though the Duma hitherto held a position similar to that of the Indian Legislative Councils as its deliberations could be utterly disregarded by the Czar or his advisers, the scales are now completely turned and the Russian Royal House is itself in danger. It feels confident that the new Government will add to the glory of Russia.

Mahrátta (5), 25th Mar.

*19. "The forces of absolutism, whether autocratic or bureaucratic, cannot but give way before a well-organised people who know their own minds and have the *will* to rule themselves. The American Revolution proved this proposition. The revolutions in France have proved it. The Turkish, the Chinese and now the Russian Revolution have illustrated it anew. The world is progressing from Darkness to Light. But this progress is neither smooth nor rapid. The dark forces have a self-love, equally with the forces of light. And the former by reason of their self-love struggle to perpetuate their hold on the world. This struggle, though futile in the long run, results in much suffering while it is going on. Those who are ranged on the side of Light have to suffer immensely. *Through suffering lies the road to salvation*.......... The young men and women of Russia, ever since the wave of the New Spirit took possession of them in the sixties of the last century, have been toiling continuously amongst their ignorant brethren with the single purpose of making true men and women of them. So must we work for as long as may be necessary if we are really desirous of giving to India the place she deserves in the Empire. Home Rule is not to be easily got. We have no Mikados to look up to. We have a hardened bureaucracy to fight against and we have to fight without the usual weapons of warfare. Very imperious, therefore, is the necessity for a sustained effort on our part to enlighten and organise our brethren for the constitutional and spiritual resistance which we shall have to offer in case our just demands are treated with scant courtesy by the men in power. Russia has solved her problem in one way. We mean to solve ours quite in another. Russia has used the bomb, the revolver and what not. We mean to use nothing of the sort. But this our pious resolution necessitates all the more effort on our part. Let us take note of this and work accordingly. *Vande Mataram*!"

Comments on the publication of the Dardanelles Commission's report.

Sind Observer (10), 16th Mar.

20. "The publication of the Dardanelles Commission's report and the withholding of the evidence on which the report is based smacks of an attempt to discredit the late Government in the eyes of the public. It is difficult to see what good it has done to place such a document before the people at the present time of stress when every effort should be directed at an avoidance of contention and recrimination.......... Public men who were in power when the operations were initiated and the Commission was appointed are no longer in the Ministry, and one of them died for the country while proceeding to

give his advice to our Allies, the Russians. Whether the expedition was or was not muddled, or whether it was or was not muddled in the manner and by the men the Commission saddles with the blame, makes absolutely no difference at this stage when we need unity and not acrimoneus discussion in the presence of the representatives of the Dominions who have arrived for the War Conference. It is as miserable a spectacle as the unfortunate manner in which the Prime Minister has handled the Irish Home Rule question. We are afraid that neither the one nor the other will impress the Dominions, our Allies or neutrals in favour of the Government over which Mr. Lloyd George presides."

The Imperial War Conference and the Secretary of State for India.
Message (6), 23rd Mar.

21. "When the 'Push and go' Premier resolved to take the Dominion *representatives*—mark, you! not '*assistants*'—into active council in 'Imperial' matters the last nail was hit in the coffin of precedent. There is no doubt that Mr. Lloyd George would have carried his 'push and go' policy to its legitimate conclusion, if the reactionary forces working at the India Office had not interposed themselves in his path. A war cabinet without the Secretary of State for India in it! It was incomprehensible at Whitehall, and Mr. Chamberlain said that he would be *India's representative* and so he is. We do not doubt that considerations of 'prestige' that have for half a century blocked the path of progress weighed against India being directly represented. 'Oh, what would India think to-morrow if her elected representatives sat in the cabinet by their own right!' The permanent officials must have whispered in the ears of a quiescent secretary: 'It would make it impossible for us to govern India, unless you put a brake upon the break-neck speed of the precedent-breaking Premier and induce him to accept you as India's representative.' Otherwise, Mr. Chamberlain, as the honourable man he is who has all these years fought his principles, and has sunk all political differences on behalf of national unity and concord, would have certainly welcomed the Premier's desire to take the representatives of the 'Indian' people into the inner councils of the Empire. We are strengthened in this belief by his vigorous defence of the principle and practice too—of justice as between Indian and Lancashire mill industry. He knows and he feels like an 'Imperial' Englishman that justice and righteousness alone are the sure foundations of a glorious and lasting Empire. We wish Mr. Chamberlain could have risen in this matter to the full height of his conception of true and lasting 'Imperialism'. It is not too late to mend the wrong that is done to India. There are already two Indians, one drawn from the ranks of the people and the other from the aristocracy of India. Though they are the nominees of the Indian Government, the wrong could be somewhat righted by treating them as the full-fledged representatives of India, entitled to as much voice as the Dominion representatives are accorded. But 'will the Imperial Government do it'? That is a question for Mr. Lloyd George to answer."

The Indian Defence Force.
Gujaráti (13), 18th Mar.; *Káthiáwár Times* (22), 18th Mar.

22. People naturally ask why no meetings are held by the officials to ask people to enlist in the Defence Force as is being done in the case of the War Loan. Why is no meeting held under the presidentship of His Excellency Lord Willingdon for enlistment in the Defence Force? Are not Indians needed for the protection of the Empire? In our opinion both men and money are needed for the prosecution of the war and any delay in issuing an appeal for men is harmful. The impression that Government want money and not men from India must not be allowed to gain ground. The Indian section of the Defence Force will be governed by the Army Act with only this difference that it will not be sent outside India. But Indians serving in the Defence Force will have to labour under the same disabilities in the matter of Commissions as the men in the regular army. The discussion in the Imperial Legislative Council makes it clear that while European British subjects will be eligible for the King's Commissions the

[illegible] will not be open to Indians. Indians have gained a small opening for becoming Volunteers but the law does not make it clear that they will be treated on an equal footing with European British subjects in the matter of receiving commissions. [The *Káthiáwár Times* makes an appeal to the young men studying in schools and colleges to readily come forward to join the Indian Defence Force. It holds forth the example of the Japanese who came forward to serve on the ships that were sure to be sunk and some of whom had written out their offers of service in their own blood, and asks Indian youths to fully avail themselves of the opportunity offered to them by the Defence of India Force Act of serving the country and the Empire.]

Kesari (95), 20th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 22nd Mar.

23. All are unanimous in holding that it would be better for our youths to undergo military training for a couple of years, and we earnestly request our young men to register their names as soon as Government publish the rules. It is unfortunate that Government are silent on the point of higher military training. But what is gained is not little and, as Dr. Mackichan has said, officers are produced from the ranks and we expect hundreds, nay, thousands will join the colours and astonish the people and Government. There are, however, some people who are our enemies in the guise of friends. *Capital* has remarked that *Chitpawans* should not at all be admitted to the force and that Home Rulers would be like Grattan's volunteers, if admitted. The military authorities had entertained a similar distrust and denied admission to educated Indians so long. If Indians had been given military training freely they would have gone in lakhs to Europe and defended the Empire. But the short-sighted Anglo-Indians could see nothing else than their own interest and the Empire was denied the advantage. Whatever the Anglo-Indian papers may say, it is not possible that the old unstatesmanlike, absurd and short-sighted policy would continue hereafter or the British statesmen would allow it to continue. It is necessary in the interests of the Empire itself that India should be given the rights of *swarájya* and that Indians should be admitted into the Army. This should be borne in mind while calling upon the educated classes to join the army. Sons of millionaires like the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji are not joining the Army to accept slavery for life on Rs. 15 or 20. Many rich youths joined the Territorials considering it to be an honour to defend the country and the Empire. If such an army is to be raised in India it can only be raised on the principle of trust. Government have noted it and they are attempting to raise an army of educated classes, slowly though it might be. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* expresses disappointment at the inadequacy of the pay admissible to Indian recruits of the Defence Force. It remarks that Government should have laid down a higher scale of pay as the Force is to be recruited from a better class of people. It regards the distinction between Europeans and Indians in the matter of commissions as most annoying. It, however, exhorts young men not to let these considerations come in the way of their determination to enlist in the army.]

The Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri's appeal to the young men of Sind to join the Indian Defence Force.

Al-Haq (42), 10th Mar.

24. "We heartily endorse the lofty ideal which the Honourable Mr. G. M. Bhurgri of Hyderabad, Sind, has set in his important appeal which he has recently addressed to the young men in Sind on the subject of enlistment for the purpose of Indian Defence. We have published the appeal in our correspondence columns to-day. Our young men will find that the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri has offered himself for enlistment and he wants those who intend to enrol themselves to communicate with him. Our young men in Sind should know that similar appeals have also been issued by Mrs. Annie Besant in Madras, Babu Surrendranath Bannerjee in Bengal and Mr. B. G. Tilak in Bombay. We hope our young men here will seize the opportunity that has now been presented to them and thus prove themselves fit for getting self-government."

Comments on the rules for the voluntary recruits of the Indian Defence Force.

Message (6), 21st Mar.

25. "It will be noticed that one of the questions to be put to the intending recruit is vaguely worded and is liable to misconstruction. The question runs thus:—*Are you willing to allow no caste usages* to interfere with your duty? Now, one may be quite willing 'to allow no caste usages to interfere with one's military duty'; but what exactly is a caste usage? For instance, is refusal to eat mutton or beef a matter of 'caste usage' only, or is it not? We think that the authorities would clear up the matter by stating what 'caste usage' exactly means. We can understand the difficulties of such definition, but it ought not to be above the capabilities of Government. It must be clearly understood that we do not want to insist on strict caste rules being observed in military camps, but there must be some sort of understanding as to how far we will have to break the caste rules. For instance, most of the volunteers will be prepared to give up, while in the field or in the barracks, the rigour of the rules as regards touching this person and not touching that person, but few will be perpared to give up the 'usage' against flesh-eating."

Hindusthán (17), 23rd Mar.

26. The bright hopes and pleasant dreams we entertained about the Indian Defence Force are one by one coming to naught and we get fresh proofs of the continued and unshakable existence of caste and colour prejudice. Our youths have been and still are anxious to join the Defence Force, but it is to be regretted that sufficient care is not taken to respect their feelings. The rules under the Indian Defence Force Act have lately been issued and they have greatly tended to damp the enthusiasm of the Indian youth. Apart from the question of enlistment being compulsory for European British subjects and voluntary for Indians, the rules embody certain unwarranted and unjust distinctions that are greatly to be deplored and it is feared they will eccentuate the discontent prevalent among the people. Is it not unjust that the age limit for enlistment of Indians has been fixed between 18 and 30 when European British subjects are to be enlisted upto the age of 41? We are constrained to ask why such a galling distinction has been made in the rules. A person of good character will not be able to enlist in the Defence Force merely on the score that he belongs to the criminal tribes or the menial classes! In the matter of commissions, as is evident from the interpellations in the Imperial Legislative Council, the disabilities Indians already suffer in this respect will be continued in the Defence Force. It is said that those who enlist in the Force will be treated as regulars and full time servants and sent to any part of India This means that business men will not be able to join the Force as they expected to do by drilling for some time every day. Now only students and fresh graduates will be able to join the Force. Moreover, flogging, which has been abolished in British Army is still resorted to in the case of the Indian Army and so a graduate must be prepared to subject himself to such a disgraceful form of punishment by joining the Force. Should flogging be continued in the army, very few Indian youths will come forward to join the force voluntarily. However, we hope Indian youths will not fail to avail themselves of the concessions given to them. It would, no doubt, have been in the fitness of things if Government had shown broadmindedness and liberality of spirit in framing the rules.

Grant of Commissions to Indians in the army.

Message (6), 22nd Mar.

27. Referring to the statement made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding grant of Commissions to Indians, the *Message* remarks:—"On the whole, the Commander-in-Chief's reply has left us under the impression that nothing will be done in respect of granting Commissions to Indians, even to those who have already joined the ranks of existing forces and distinguished themselves in the field.......... As regards the publication of the correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State, the Commander-in-Chief repeated the well-worn formula that it would not be 'in the interest of the public services.' If so controversial a

documents as the Dardanelles Commission Report could be published, one is tempted to speculate what might be there in this correspondence which makes it inexpedient for publication. Is the public to infer from it that the correspondence is most unfavourable to the cherished hopes of Indians?"

Comments on the statement that Europeans in Bombay are feeling uneasy that Indian Home Rulers will be enrolled as volunteers.

Message (6), 18th Mar.

28. Referring to the statement of the Bombay correspondent of a Calcutta Anglo-Indian paper that the European population of the city was feeling "growing anxiety" at "the bold attempt of the Indian Home Rule party to turn to their account the Government's concession of volunteering for Indians", the *Message* remarks:—"That the 'European population' should view with 'growing anxiety' the patriotic and loyal move of Mr. Tilak is natural, in view of the fact that that population is taught to think of him as an incorrigible seditionist and the further fact that one does not like to see that the opinion one held about a man was wrong. That the Bombay correspondent who expressed the more 'growing anxiety' of the Europeans should also like to know how many of the 500 young volunteers were *Chitpavans* is also quite natural in view of the fact, among others that the Punjab Government has unduly emphasised Mr. Tilak's *Chitpavan* parentage. What is natural, however, is not always just, nor is it necessarily very wise. It is natural for asses to bray and though the braying may not be very pleasant to hear one sometimes comes across it and has to bear it much in the same way as the effusion of the 'Bombay correspondent'."

Comments on the proposed formation of a Labour Corps in India for service in Europe.

Praja Mitra and Parsi (24), 19th Mar.

29. We would take this opportunity of thanking the Government of His Majesty the King Emperor and the Government of India for the opportunity they have given our labourers of serving the Empire by the proposed formation of a Labour Corps. We share the hope of the Government of India that the provincial governments will find no difficulty in securing the required number of men. Let us hope our popular leaders will think it a part of their duty to use their influence to enable Government to secure an adequate number of people to serve in the Labour Corps. The employment of Indian labour in Europe will go a great way in removing the misunderstanding that now exists in the west about the Indian people and in teaching new labour saving methods to our people.

Comments on the appeal addressed to the people by the Chairman of the Bombay Citizens' War Loan Execution Committee.

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 17th Mar., Eng. cols.

30. "The appeal addressed to the citizens of Bombay by Mr. T. W Birkett, Chairman of the Bombay Citizens' Executive Committee does not err on the side of over zealousness. In the first place an unnecessarily large part of the space devoted to the appeal is taken up by instructions to the public as to what and how to buy things with which they are supposed to be familiar by this time. Too much stress is laid on the fact that the capital invested is safe, too little on the cardinal points that the safety of the whole Empire is at stake and that on the amount tendered depends the prestige of the whole of India. Even at this stage it is certainly not too late to vary the wording of the appeal and we sincerely hope this will be done as early as possible."

Her Excellency Lady Willingdon and the War Loan.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 20th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 24th Mar.

31. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the steps taken by Her Excellency Lady Willingdon to open a branch office for the War Loan in connection with the Women's Branch of the War Relief Fund and thus giving an opportunity to Indian women to contribute their share towards the successful prosecution of the war. It is of opinion that the Bearer Bonds will specially be suitable for well-to-do Indian women who cannot sign or are averse to signing their own names. It appeals

to rich and well-to-do Indian women to invest their *Stri Dhan* or their personal property in the war loan and asks all Indian women to effect economies in the matter of their dress and other comforts and purchase the post office cash certificates month by month. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* dwells on the various philanthropic movements undertaken by Her Excellency Lady Willingdon and thanks her for the opportunity she has afforded to the women of this Presidency to serve the Empire by contributing to the War Loan.]

Muhammadan activity in Bombay for entertaining wounded soldiers.
Islámic Mail (4), 11th Mar.

32. "There was a complaint, not quite groundless, that the Muhammadans of Bombay did not evince the same enthusiasm in co-operating with the Relief workers as they showed in other public matters. The fact is that Muhammadans in Bombay are mostly men of business, too engrossed in their trades to think of anything else, but when an appeal is made to them they rise to the occasion and display their large heartedness. The officials of the relief work have made a mistake in not including the Muhammadans in their committees. When Sir Claude Hill was here and was a chairman of the Hospitals Committee, he always took some Muhammadans to work with him and the late Mr. Chinoy was a member and an active member of all such Committees as did relief work. After his death no Muhammadan has been allowed to take his place. The Muhammadans are eager to do something for the wounded but they are too bashful to push themselves forward and this shyness is mistaken for indifference of which Bai Dilshad Bai complained in one of her speeches. Mr. Mohamed Kadir Shaikh, Oriental Translator, who has been taking a deep interest in the affairs of his community and trying to promote a better understanding between Government and Muhammadans, called up a meeting of prominent Muhammadans last week, and impressed upon them the duty they owed not only to Government but also to their co-religionists and countrymen who were fighting for the Empire and upholding the honour of the country and of their own community in a glorious way. Those present cheerfully agreed to do their best to encourage the wounded soldiers and make them feel that it was something for them to fight for the Empire. The Honourable Mr. Salehboy and Sirdar Suleman Mitha avowed themselves to do all in their power and are arranging magnificent entertainments for the wounded soldiers in Bombay. We are indebted to Mr. Shaikh for his patriotic and loyal action, and hope that Sirdar Suleman Mitha and Mr. Salehboy's action will serve as an incentive for leaders of other communities and the Muhammadans will show that they are second to none in their appreciation of the loyal services of those who are laying down their lives for their beloved sovereign."

Comments on Government's reply to the Maharaja of Cossimbazar's interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council about Indians in the Telegraph Department.
Message (6), 22nd Mar.

33. "In reply to a question by the Maharaja of Cossimbazar regarding the appointment of Indians to the Telegraph Department, Sir George Barnes said that Indians have been practically excluded from direct appointment to the General Scale, as the result of a decision of the Government of India that the majority of the telegraph operators should be non-Indians. The decision was, he added, in accord with reasons of State, though he failed to state those reasons. There can only be one reason for the exclusion of 'Indian' Indians and that is a distrust of them. But Sir George Barnes said that the majority of the Telegraph operators were non-Indians. Unless it can be explained on the score of confusion of terms, it is difficult to understand what the Commerce Member meant. For all that we know, there are many Eurasians and Indian Christians working as operators in the Telegraph Department, and are these people, most of whom are classified in the census list as belonging to the Indian nationality, to be considered as 'non-Indians' for purposes of meeting the demands of the department? Is religion, then, synonymous to 'nationality'? It would be interesting to know, as otherwise Sir George Barnes' statement would lead one to think that foreigners were very largely employed in the Department."

Comments on the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

Sánj Vartamán (29), 22nd Mar.

34. The *Sánj Vartamán* endorses the arguments advanced by the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in support of his resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council urging Government not to take action on the recommendations contained in the report of the Public Services Commission and adds:—We would go a step further and ask Government not to give any consideration whatsoever to the recommendations till the duration of the war. The report is full of contentious and controversial matters and public interests require the postponement of its consideration. We are gratified at the assurance Government have given to allow members of the Imperial Legislative Council to bring forward resolutions on the recommendations of the Commission. We hope the Council will move resolutions on the subject and urge Government to give an adequate number of posts to Indians in all branches of the public service with a view to allaying public discontent.

The resolution about free and compulsory primary education in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 21st Mar.

35. The policy of the Government of India governing primary education is most disappointing. Recent experience shows that they oppose each and every proposal of the non-official members of the Legislative Council regarding education on very flimsy grounds. The attitude of Sir Sankaran Nair is particularly to be deplored. We wonder whether Government service has a tendency to adversely affect one's mind. The Honourable Mr. Sarma moved that steps be taken to make primary education free and compulsory within a period of fifteen years. This is a perfectly reasonable request. Sir Sankaran Nair, however, opposed it on the ground that there was no universal demand for compulsory education. Why should Government wait until there is a 'universal' demand? The educated classes are in favour of compulsion and that, in our opinion, ought to suffice. If the whole population desired compulsory primary education there would be no need no resort to compulsion. Government do not make primary education free and compulsory nor do they take steps to impart it on an extensive scale. They trotted out the familiar plea of want of funds even when the exchequer was full during peace time. It is useless, therefore, to expect a liberal grant for primary education during the progress of the war. It may be convenient always to plead financial stringency but it is not just.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council on the subject of elective majorities in Municipalities.

Bombay Samáchár (55), 20th Mar.; *Kesari* (95), 20th Mar.

36. In view of the progress local self-government has made in other parts of India, the *Bombay Samáchár* regrets that the Honourable Mr. Patel felt himself compelled to withdraw the first part of the resolution brought by him in the Bombay Legislative Council wherein he recommended that the number of elective members on all Municipalities constituted under the Bombay District Municipal Act should be not less than two-thirds of the total number of members. It remarks that the disappointment of the 57 municipalities in the Presidency that will yet remain debarred from the abovesaid right will be enhanced by the arguments advanced by the official members in the Council who opposed Mr. Patel's resolution. In the face of the wave of nationalism that has swept over the country, it is regrettable, observes the paper, to doubt the capacity of particular municipalities before granting them the necessary rights. It then goes on to maintain that though the public will rejoice at the passing of the latter part of the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution for allowing those municipalities that have already got the right of electing their own presidents to have a two-thirds majority of elected members, in view of the manner in which the officials opposed the resolution it remains to be seen how far it will be carried into effect. The paper attributes this partial success of Mr. Patel to the sympathy and solicitude of Lord Willingdon's Government for the people. It wishes that when the Bill for the reconsti tution of district municipalities comes before the Council, the expectations cherished by the public may be realised in much the same way as they have been realised to some extent on the present occasion. [The *Kesari* congratulates the Honourable Mr. Patel on getting his resolution conferring on some of the municipalities the right of electing two-thirds of the total number of members in the board and says that it is a sign of great conceit on the part of Government to propose that the right would be granted if all such municipalities would accept a Government official as Executive Officer. It adds :—The local bureaucracy does not want to give the people any rights but at the same time it makes a show so that it may not be termed backward in comparison with other Governments. The Honourable Mr. Patel brought to light such an instance. It was proved in the course of the evidence recorded by the Decentralisation Commission that Bombay lagged behind all other provinces in the matter of granting local self-government rights. The Bombay Government, anticipating adverse remarks, issued a resolution hurriedly in 1908 conferring the right of electing two-thirds of the councillors but limited it to municipalities having a population of 15,000. Nearly 70 municipalities were thus denied the privilege. In the new Local Board Bill the right is not conferred clearly and definitely and it rests with the Commissioners to recommend a Board for this privilege. But these tactics are known to the people and we hope the members of the Select Committee would see that a definite clause is introduced instead of a vague one, bearing in mind the old bitter experience.]

Young India (11), 21st Mar.

37. "His Excellency Lord Willingdon seemed to resent somewhat strongly the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel's remarks concerning the reactionary and retrograde policy of his Government in regard to local self-government. It is an open secret that notwithstanding all his professions of deep sympathy with the aspirations of the people, Lord Willingdon has failed to exert his personal influence over the administration and left it too much in the hands of his bureaucratic advisers. His administration has suffered by his reposing too much trust in the wisdom of 'the men on the spot'; and if His Excellency has found himself occasionally in awkward positions it cannot at all be surprising. The defeat of Government on Mr. Patel's resolution regarding the elective franchise in municipalities at the last session of the Council, in spite of the very strong opposition, which, at first, the official members and subsequently His Excellency himself presented, carries its own lesson, and if Lord Willingdon is sincerely desirous of proving his sympathy with popular aspirations he cannot do better than profit by that lesson. We should certainly like to see a changed angle of vision on the part of His Excellency, if not on that of the members of his Government, for this latter, we think, is obviously impossible, and that changed angle given more and more free play in the administration for the rest of His Excellency's term of office."

Interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Gujaráti Punch (15), 18th Mar.

38. Referring to the interpellations made in the recent session of the local Legislative Council, the *Gujaráti Punch* expresses its disapproval of the question put by the Honourable Mr. Belvi as to whether the Local Board of the Belgaum District contained a single Jain or Muhammadan member. It maintains the view that neither the elections for nor the nominations to the District and Local Boards should be influenced by communal considerations, but the question should rest simply on the merits of individuals. The paper then refers to the Government reply to the interpellation put by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri in connection with the Preventive Service of the Customs Department, Karáchi, and regrets that out of 22 posts of officers in the service 20 are filled by Europeans or Anglo-Indians and only one post is filled by an Indian. It wishes that Government would give their consideration to this question. With reference to the Government reply to the question of the Honourable Khan Bahadur Pirbux on the subject of frequent changes in school text-books, the paper expresses the wish, from considerations among others of economy, that the English text-books prescribed in High and Anglo-Vernacular schools should not be changed every year. It also refers to the smallness of the number of women taking medical education in the Bombay Presidency and hopes that efforts will be made by Government to attract females in a larger numbers to this sort of training.

Kesari (95), 20th Mar.

39. Commenting upon the interpellation and reply in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the *Sudhakar* security case (Pen, district Kolába), the *Kesari* says:—If Government had mentioned the grounds that led the District Magistrate to demand the security the public could have judged for themselves the correctness of the reply. Our Government is a wise one and it has maintained silence on this point. But the District Magistrate himself seems to have entertained some doubt regarding the demand of a security heavier than the price of the press and while Government are maintaining that the demand was a proper one he has intimated to the owner that a security of Rs. 500 would be sufficient. But the chief ground of complaint is not the exact amount of the security but the needlessness of the demand for it. Just as the District Magistrate saw the unreasonableness of the demand of a security heavier than the price of the press any reasonable man would see that it is not proper to demand a security when the change in the declaration was in the name of the rightful heir of the former owner, whatever be the opinion of the District Magistrate of Kolába and other officials.

An incident at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council.
Message (6), 20th Mar.

40. "During the session of the Bombay Legislative Council, which concluded on Friday, an amusing incident took place in connection with one of Mr. Patel's many speeches. In one of his speeches, we believe, *apropos* of Government's appointment of a special officer to inquire into the many problems connected with the development of taluka boards and panchayats, Mr. Patel had to refer to the special officer by name frequently and perhaps inadvertently, he once referred to the officer's named without using the formal term "Mr". Mr. G. S. Curtis was at once seen to be on his legs protesting against Mr. Patel's omission to speak of 'Mr. so and so' for the hundreth and first time. We think the omission could not have been either intentional or deliberate, having regard to the fact that Mr. Patel had frequently referred to 'Mr. so and so', and when his attention was drawn to the omission he was very glad to correct himself and say 'Mr. so and so'. There was nothing especial in it for Mr. Curtis to be so fastidious about forms and rise to a point of order, inasmuch as in official speeches references are made to non-officials even when they are present or alive, sometimes in language which does not quite become the dignity of the Council chamber or those who utter it. Non-official members do not generally take notice of such omissions and commissions on the part of their official colleages, as not being worth any powder and shot.......... To turn, however, from this somewhat prosaic speculation to an actual fact, we should like to draw the attention of our readers to an even more interesting incident. It was, we believe, Mr. Chaubal who referred to Mr. Mazumdar, late of the Sydenham College, as the '*late* Mr. Mazumdar'. It must have no doubt been a perfectly inadvertent mistake and remembering that Mr. Chaubal had been called upon to defend the indefensible, we do not wonder if he had lost his presence of mind and made an utterance of this sort.......... We should have ourselves attached no importance to Mr. Chaubal's inadvertence, were it not for Mr. Curtis' exception to Mr. Patel's omission. We have noticed in the Council debates that references are very often made to Indian members of the service without the prefix of 'Mr.' or suffix of 'esquire' and yet official members of Government do not seem to have been chivalrous enough to take exception to it."

The Bombay Budget.
Hindusthán (17), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.

41. Commenting upon the discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council over the Local Budget, the *Hindusthán* writes:—"The Honourable Mr. Patel's adjournment proposal came as a shock and created a flutter in the official dovecotes, for the Finance Statement should be presented on the 13th March and cannot be postponed. The solution was found out of the difficulty by His Excellency the President ruling the proposal out of order. It is an easy way of silencing criticism but neither dignified nor calculated to convince non-official members of their importance in Legislative Councils. It is significant that almost at the same time strong protests have been lodged by non-official members in the Imperial, Bombay and Madras Councils against the policy of distrust shown by Government and the way in which even their most reasonable requests are flouted. We hear much about Minto-Morley reforms. If they have to achieve any result even at this stage when far broader vistas have opened before the public gaze, greater consideration needs be shown to demands and suggestions of the representatives of the people. The Budget is otherwise a quiet affair though we are glad that there is an increase in expenditure on education proposed therein.......... It was in connection with this increase in expenditure on education that the Honourable Mr. Upasani brought forward his ill-advised proposal that the provision made for the appointment of a lecturer on Geography for the Sydenham College of Commerce be omitted.......... It is greatly disconcerting that while on the one hand we are asking for increased grants for education, on the other we raise up protests against steps calculated to increase the progress of an important branch of education like commercial education. A visit on the part of these outside critics to this institution will serve greatly to clear the atmosphere for them. They will then be able to judge whether a specialist in statistics can lecture on commercial geography or whether a lecturer on public affairs can teach accountancy."

Mahrátta (5), 25th Mar.

***42.** Commenting on the motion of the Honourable Mr. Patel to postpone the Bombay Budget, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"The President found something to throw in the face of Mr. Patel and ruled his proposition out of order. The point of it all is that the Finance Committee is a mere show, inasmuch as its nominated majority makes it almost impossible for an elected non-official to secure a majority in favour of any proposal of his. Next, this proposal, even if it passes, goes in the form of a recommendation to the Executive Government which is not at all bound to accept that recommendation. Similar is the case with any non-official resolution that may be carried in the Council. It has no binding force. It is this root-grievance—this our inability to control even to a small extent the expenditure of the money that we pay into the Government treasury—it is this grievance that is most galling. And the demand for *Swarájya* has become insistent because of such grave disabilities under which the people are labouring."

Mahrátta (5), 25th Mar.

***43.** "Mr. Curtis, for want of anything solid to offer in the way of reply determined to amuse himself. The movements of His Excellency were also shadowed by the police and Honourable Members must after all remember that they were distinguished persons. Thus spoke Mr. Curtis after giving an assurance to Mr. Parekh that he personally would be exempted in future from the attentions which were annoying to him. We cannot understand how an official of a high standing can bring himself to speak in a light and sarcastic vein on such an occasion as the above. An ordinary man with a modicum of courtesy in him would be ashamed to make an attempt to raise a laugh in this wise.......... The question of the attentions of the C. I. D. was raised in the Madras Council also. Honourable Mr. A. S. Krishnarao moved that the expenditure on C. I. D. should be reduced by 50,000. Honourable Mr. Ramchandrarao in supporting this resolution said that it was within the personal knowledge of several men who were doing public work in the Madras Presidency that they were subjected to unnecessary suspicion and unnecessary watching as if they were suspicious characters. He gave instances of respectable men who were given certain numbers by the C. I. D. by which they were referred to in correspondence. He pleaded that the C. I. D. annoyance caused unnecessary friction and should therefore be removed. Mr. Gillman replied that the Government recognised the trouble to which respectable people were at times unnecessarily put and promised that endeavour would be made for this annoyance to be obviated as much as possible. The difference between the reply of Mr. Curtis and that of Mr. Gillman will not fail to be observed. Mr. Gillman is dignified in tone—and Mr. Curtis not so."

Will Mr. Curtis believe that Honourable Members expect a certain amount of courtesy from officials?"

Comments on the order of the Government of India prohibiting the emigration of labour.

Young India (11), 21st Mar.

44. Commenting upon the order issued by the Government of India under the Defence of India Act prohibiting the emigation of labour, *Young India* remarks:—"We welcome the present decision of Government, conditional as it is, to prohibit the emigation of labour from this country save to the minimum extent to the Federated Malay States and Ceylon. We should have been very much pleased if this decision had been made applicable to all parts alike without exception. The prohibition holds good in the first instance during the continuance of the war and is made to appear as dictated by the needs of the war. But we are sure that it is the thin end of the wedge. When the war is over and the many questions which are awaiting solution come up for settlement in the calm and dispassionate atmosphere which would then prevail, the system will, we feel sure, be put an end to. We welcome the decision of Government as a reasonable concession to public opinion and sentiment; and in that sense, we congratulate Government on the wise step. It would no doubt have been more graceful, if Government had acknowledged openly the fact that, in deference to the unanimous public opinion displayed in this country, it had taken the step. Whether it was an undue sense of 'prestige' or whether it was the fear of opposition from the interested Colonies, that has prompted Government to pursue an indirect method where a direct method would have produced a tremendous reaction in its favour, is more than we can think of. But we believe that both the reasons must have weighed strongly with Government. All is well that ends well."

Mahrátta (5), 25th Mar.; *Gujaráti* (13), 25th Mar., Eng. cols.

*45. "Last time we gave the news that Government of India had prohibited all emigration of labour to the colonies for the time being. The reason for this unexpected move is now before us. We are now told that at the request of the Home Government, the Government of India propose to raise a labour corps in various provinces of India for service in Europe. So the necessities of Europe have come in the way of the Colonial employers of Indian labour.......... We have no doubt that care will be taken by Government to see that the Indian labourers are well looked after wherever their lot may be cast. But an independent Indian Committee to protect Indian labour interests will still be a useful body. In our opinion, there is also the necessity of a non-official Indian Committee in each province in which recruits are to be raised for the labour corps. The Committee should be given facilities to ascertain that every recruit has understood the terms and is willing to take advantage of them. But what are the terms? We hope that Government will publish them for the information of the general public." [The *Gujaráti* remarks:—"It appears that the object is to conserve the man-power of India for the purposes of labour in connection with the war. But the restriction does not go far enough, because labour emigration will, according to the *Chronicle*, be allowed to the extent of supplying the minimum requirement of Ceylon and the Federated Malaya States. The Ceylon planters and those in the Malay States can surely take care of themselves and their plantations by availing themselves of local labour on payment. it may be, of higher wages. We are sorry any exception should have been made by Government in their favour."]

Kesari (95), 20th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (84), 18th Mar.; *Gujaráti* (13), 18th Mar.

*46. Though we are glad that Government have stopped emigration to the Fiji Islands under the Defence of India Act the prohibition does not appear to be as straightforward as it ought to be. It is not also quite unselfish considering that it is proposed to raise a labour corps for England. The said Act appears to be like the Tree in paradise able to give Government anything they ask for, and a very curious use has been made of it in prohibiting emigration. We think the Emigration Act itself should have been amended and emigration to the Fiji Islands should have been permanently stopped. It is a question of principle, and why should we be so evasive? If Indian labour is needed for the war, why is emigration allowed to Ceylon and the Malay States? If Government are afraid of the Colonials and if they have prohibited emigration under the cover of war, cannot the Colonials see through it? We are not yet free from doubt as to whether after the war we shall have to suffer again from this evil. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—So long Government used to tell us they could not abolish the indentured system till it was replaced by some other system. But as the agitation began to grow in strength they thought it necessary to end it. It only shows that once Government make up their mind to do something they can do it one way or the other. It is very creditable that the popular agitation had such an effect and the whole credit is due to Messrs. Andrews, Polak and Gandhi.] [The *Gujaráti* writes:—We do not know whether we should rejoice at the prohibition of indentured labour. It is clear at the very outset that the step has been taken as a war measure to enable Government to secure an adequate number of labourers for service in Mesopotamia and other war zones. Besides, no prohibition will be laid on emigration under section 11 of the Emigration Act! We do not know what this section says. The prohibition is no doubt a temporary gain. We, however, should not go into ecstasies over the matter. It looks ridiculous on the face of it to congratulate Government for making a temporary concession.]

Hindusthán (17), 19th Mar.; *Gujaráti Punch* (15), 18th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 18th Mar., Eng. cols.; **Indian Social Reformer* (3), 25th Mar.

47. The prohibition of the emigration of labour from India under the Defence of India Act will put an end to the disgraceful system of indentured labour for the time being during the continuance of the war and we feel sure the measure will be welcomed in all parts of India. While safeguarding Indian labour against the disgrace of indenture, the prohibition will give sufficient time to Government to give the fullest consideration to the question. We have every hope that Government will eventually put an end to the system of indentured labour. Let us hope that the deputation of Indian ladies that will shortly wait upon His Excellency Lord Chelmsford will, by their gentle pleading, induce Government to change their attitude towards the demand made by the Indian people for putting an end to indentured labour. [The *Gujaráti Punch* wishes that Government had put an end to the system of indenture altogether. The *Hindusthán* writes:—"This is indeed a triumph of public opinion which has been striving its best to press upon the attention of the Government of India the necessity of stopping all indentured emigration. Unfortunately attempts have been made in certain quarters to whittle the importance of the declaration by representing it as being due to the desire of the Government to conserve Indian labour for India during the war period. Would it not have appeared more graceful if the Government had acknowledged the force of public opinion and attributed the temporary suspension to their strong distaste for the system"? The *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"We rejoice that the indentured system is thus practically at an end. The abolition of it will be associated with the names of Mr. Gandhi, the late Mr. Gokhale, and, last but not least, Mr. Andrews who concentrated on the moral issue and thus dealt the deathblow to the heartless system. The Government and the people of India have now to make up their minds as to what they are going to do for those whose indentures are yet running. Some of these have just started their five-year term of semi-slavery—we heard that only a few weeks ago a shipload left for Fiji—and surely something has to be done to make their condition tolerable if, indeed, there is no chance of procuring their liberation by paying compensation to their employers."]

His Excellency the Governor's advice to Indian politicians not to carry on political agitation at the present juncture.

Message (6), 18th Mar.

48. Referring to the advice given by His Excellency Lord Willingdon in the course of his War Loan speech at the Town Hall to Indian politicians to give up strong political agitation in the country at the present juncture, the *Message*, after stating that "a highly esteemed private gentleman plainly intimated to His Excellency that so long as Government was wedded to a policy of silence in regard to the after war status of this country people would go on agitating in this [illegible] remarks:—"We believe His Excellency did himself entertain the opinion that Government ought to give a definite assurance in advance to the people as to their real position in the Empire in the post-war re-adjustments which are bound to take place.......... We also believe that Lord Willingdon had addressed to the authorities higher than himself a note to the effect mentioned above. It is not clear in what light it was received in the quarters to which the note was directed. But it seems as if he, too, met with a snub courteous, if we may say so, and His Excellency thereafter changed his mind. We may be right; we may be wrong in this respect. We write this subject to correction. But considering the vast change that has come over in the views of a professedly 'Liberal' English gentleman, our inference appears to us to be perfectly justified.......... It is justifiable to expect people to think more of war than of other things. But to ask them to give up everything else is asking, we do not say for the moon, but obviously for the impossible. Nobody has ventured to suggest to the Self-Governing Dominions anything of the nature suggested to the 'one other class of public in this presidency' by Lord Willingdon. To say nothing of the Dominions or of the United Kingdom, is it possible to expect people to standstill when 'the Governments are indulging in unnecessary law making and unnecessarily irritating the people by uncalled-for orders and prosecutions and so forth?' If the Government in this country want political agitation to cease forthwith, the best talisman for it is for the authorities here to make and for the Imperial authorities to confirm, in unequivocal language the declaration of policy as regards the future political status of India within the Empire and give proper assurance that when the time comes for it, they will both adhere to that policy in letter as well as spirit."

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech at the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 24th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 24th Mar.

49. Referring to the speech made by His Excellency Lord Willingdon at the recent annual meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while appreciating His Excellency's observations pointing to the necessity of making suitable provision for the growing expansion of the city as a result of the present prosperity of its trade and commerce, remarks that the Bombay public will be anxious to know what reasons influenced His Excellency's mind in changing his former views which were opposed to the Back Bay Reclamation scheme. It doubts if the development of Bombay on the proper lines would be helped by the undertaking of such a costly scheme. It believes that the development of Bombay could be better effected by first improving the slum areas of the city. The paper then goes on to express its approval of the recommendation made by Lord Willingdon to the employers of labour to raise a permanent class of workers in decent homes and healthy surroundings and advises the latter promptly to put this suggestion into practice in order to effectually meet the steadily increasing want of skilled as well as unskilled labour. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes about the speech in a similar strain and attaches greater importance to the development of the northern parts of the town, specially Salsette, at the present juncture rather than to the taking in hand of the Back Bay Reclamation scheme.]

Comments on the Bombay High Court's decision in the case in connection with the powers of the Bombay Municipality under the Weights and Measures Act.
Bombay Samáchár (55), 20th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 20th Mar.

50. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to a recent decision of the Bombay High Court in which it was held that the Bombay Municipality could not legally enforce the use of measures fixed by it upon those who are doing business outside municipal markets and, dwelling upon the necessity of avoiding confusion which the simultaneous use of the two rival measures the Mapli and Paili, creates in the city among the retail purchasers of grain, urges the municipality to move in the matter of obtaining powers from Government authorising it to enforce the use of uniform weights and measures to be fixed by it upon all merchants irrespective of the place in which they carry on their business. [The *Hindusthán* considers it harmful to public interests that merchants should have the liberty of foisting upon the buyers any measures that suit their convenience. It, therefore, emphasises the necessity on the part of the Bombay Municipality, of getting the present law altered with a view to putting an end to the anomaly. It remarks that arrangements should be made to ensure that the same measures are used for business purposes throughout the whole of the Bombay City.]

51. Commenting upon the rejection by a Full Bench of the Madras High Court of Mrs. Besant's application for permission to appeal to the Privy Council in the *New India* Security case, *Young India* remarks:—"This is very unfortunate, as a decision by the Privy Council on the various points raised by Mrs. Besant would have been of the greatest value at this juncture when the Viceroy himself has entered the aren for reviewing judicial decisions and the condu of judges in judicial proceedings. We are sur Mrs. Besant will still find a way. But the cost and the worry of it!"

Comments on the rejection by a Full Bench of the Madras High Court of Mrs. Besant's application for permission to appeal to the Privy Council in the *New India* Security case.

Young India (11), 21st Mar.

*52. "Our readers will be glad to learn that Mrs. Besant does not intend to take the decision of the Madras High Court lying down. The Special Bench has refused her leave to appeal to the Privy Council against the forfeiture decision of the Bench. But she can still appeal to the Sovereign and it appears that she is going to do it.......... The utter badness of the Press Law has been the theme of many an article in the press and many a speech from the platform.......... Still the unexpected decision of the Madras High Court deserves a word of comment. As our readers know, two judges on the special Bench held that they had no power to grant leave, while the third differed. Now if the majority decision in this case may be taken to represent respectable judicial opinion on the intention and potency of the Press Act, then we cannot get away from the conclusion that the special Bench and trial are a mere farce. What power has the High Court? It has been brought out in the Besant case that the High Court can pronounce an action of the Executive to be illegal, but, as *New India* puts it, it is powerless to prevent the Executive from trampling on the law and can extend no protection to the victim of the broken law. Again, it now appears that the High Court cannot grant leave to appeal against its decision though very grave issues may be involved. Thus the much-boomed remedy has been proved to be inutile. Add to this the admission of nearly all eminent judges who have had to try cases under the Press Law that any criticism howsoever innocent can be brought within the all-embracing section 4. Add to these counts the further one that the power vested in the Magistrate to demand security works havoc in numberless ways, as the Press Deputation explained so clearly. And when these few counts are put together, what can we think of the Press Law? What except that 'it is naked tyranny'—to once more use the happy phraseology of *New India*?"

Mahrátta (5), 25th Mar.

53. The *Indu Prakásh* expresses dissatisfaction at the increasing annual expenditure on the Police Department. There is no corresponding increse in crime, it says, to justify this additional expenditure. It remarks that Government spend lavishly on the C. I. D. and employ detectives to dog the footsteps of men like the Honourable Mr. Parekh. It urges Government to abandon the policy of distrust and observes that as Indians are loyal to the core the increasing expenditure on the Police is mere waste of money.

Government is needlessly spending money on the C. I. D.

Indu Prakásh (36), 16th Mar.

54. The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* dwells upon the imperative necessity of the continuance of the Press Act in view of the present situation and characterises the reply given by the Viceroy to the deputation of the Press Association as proper and seasonable. It remarks that it is a matter for shame if the representatives of the press should have failed, as they have done in the present case, to realise what should be regarded as the

Comments on the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Press Association.

Káthiáwár Samáchár (64), 21st Mar.

proper time for making a movement like the present. It maintains that it is no use for the Indian journalists to style themselves honest and well-meaning as long as the authorities hold a different opinion about them. The paper advises them to purge themselves of their uncleanness before they can expect Government to place confidence in them. It asks the members of the deputation how they mean to explain the persistence with which seditious writings continue to appear in the press in spite of the severity of the Press Act, complained of by them. It declares that the journalists have, by taking the rash action of sending the present deputation, failed to secure the confidence of Government.

Comments on the Report of the Public Services Commission.

Islámic Mail (4), 11th Mar., and (121), 5th Mar.

55. "British diplomacy in India has been of late guilty of many eggregious blunders but nothing will exceed the folly of publishing a highly controversial report at a time when public feeling is strained, to the breaking point, unless it be to make it the prelude of very far-reaching and liberal concessions in order to show to the people in India how far the angle of vision has changed during the war.......... In all probability the object in placing the Report before the public is to show the angle of vision that was before the war and then to follow it with liberal concessions in order to show their appreciation of the loyal services rendered by this country during the war. Unless this view is correct we find ourselves at a loss to appreciate the advisability of so-to-say throwing a bomb upon the people, for the report is nothing short of a bomb. It has caused tremendous consternation eveywhere.......... But it is the general belief that a large measure of self-government will be granted to enable the Indians to take a large share in the government of their country.......... When the Commission was holding its sittings, and evidence was being collected, it was feared from the drift of the proceedings that the Commission's labour could not be in any way fruitful. Subsequently when the publishing of the report was withheld by Government these suspicions were confirmed.......... As we have just said it has caused satisfaction to no one. From one corner of the country to the other has gone up one emphatic protest, extremists and moderates both joining their voices against it. Even the lawyers whom the Report endeavours to conciliate by providing greater and large posts in the judiciary are far from being satisfied, rather are they more vehement in their denunciation.......... The colour bar which is so offensive to every Indian has not been removed and no real authority has been delegated to the Indians. These were the objects for which the public were agitating and not one of them has been achieved. But it is not only the non-official class which is dissatisfied. The Provincial Civil Service which is the backbone of the public services in India has very little cause for thankfulness.......... A European may rise to the highest eminence, he may become a Lieutenant Governor, but the Indian Deputy Collector cannot expect for anything more than a Deputy Collectorship unless by some fluke of *kismat* he may get one of the two Collectorships open to the members of the Provincial Service. We were talking the other day with a Deputy Collector in the United Provinces. He is a distinguished officer and has been given the title of Khan Bahadur in recognition of his meritorious services. He was greatly depressed by the Commission's Report. He said, they (the members of the Provincial Service) thought that at least four appointments of Collectorships will be thrown open to the Provincial Service; but not only had they been disappointed in this respect, but also their starting pay had been so reduced that it would be impossible for a junior Deputy Collector to maintain his position. Even now we find it hard to make both ends meet and there are various disgraceful cases of bribery and corruption coming to light in every province resulting in the conviction of the persons concerned which impairs the prestige of the Provincial Service in the eyes of the people, but in future when a Junior Deputy Collector will hardly get more than a Tahsildar's emoluments it will be impossible for him to maintain his position and dignity. That the report is opposed to the Indian feeling is apparent from the fact that the Indian members of the Commission have dissented from it. Gokhale

was not a man given to foolish talk or extravagant demands. He was the most reasonable and sober-minded Indian politician and so is Justice Abdul Rahim. When they both differed from it we think Government will be well advised to take the Indian objections to the Commission's recommendations into their consideration. We would be failing in our duty if we refrain from joining our voice to the appeal so emphatically made to Government to reconsider the whole matter from the new angle of vision, and from what we have seen of Lord Chelmsford's sympathy and public-spiritedness we feel confident that India's appeal will not go in vain. [The *Islámic Mail*, Urdu Edition, writes in the same strain.]

A complaint against the Public Works Department.
Mahrátta (5), 25th Mar.

*56. "A Traveller" writes to the *Mahrátta* :—"Those who have travelled by the Khamatki Ghat *en route* to Mahábleshwar or Sátára, know that there is a spot about the middle of the Ghat where water is obtainable from a cave.......... The water is a very welcome boon to foot passengers and animals in the hot season. When and by whom the cave was excavated is not known. Nearly half of it was demolished by the Public Works Department to make room for the road that now exists. This mutilation however did not wholly impair the usefulness of the tank. There was a resting place built in front of the cave. It was built by the Rastay family of Wái, when under the Peshawa's Government the old road was built.......... The rest house stood on its place for over a century. It was recently destroyed by the action of the Public Works Department. Soon after the establisment of the motor traffic between Poona and Mahableshwar the necessity arose of improving Ghat road by widening it at some places and by clearing it of boulders and large stones that stood loose on the hill over the road, menacing danger to the taffic. There were lots of such stones on the top of the cave which contained the water. They were removed from their places and hurled down the slope of the hill-side. They came with tremendous velocity and force on the shed and crushed it entirely. The foundation and plinth on which it stood remain to speak of the effect of the action of the Public Works Department. In this way the comfort and protection received by weary wayfarers was lost. It is some years since this took place but the benevolent department never thought of replacing the shed. The reason of this seems to be the fact that this watering spot and shed were not useful to Europeans or to rich travellers who do the journey by motors. It is the poor class of travellers who suffers. ....I hope this communication will attract the attention of the authorities concerned and the public grievance will be removed at an early date."

Comments on the proposal to confer the degree of Doctor of Laws on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford by the Punjab University.
Message (6), 24th Mar.

57. Referring to the proposal to confer the honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford by the Punjab University, the *Message* remarks :—"We are led to speculate somewhat whether this is the best time for showing public approbation of Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty. In the normal course of things His Excellency's term has yet to run four more summers and the best time for publicly recognizing his work in this country is when he lays down the reins of office. That was what was done in the case of so popular a Viceroy as Lord Hardinge. Why the Puniab University could not have waited till that time passes our comprehension. It is a mistaken policy to publicly honour men holding high offices, when they are still in office.......... If it is true that coming events cast their shadows before, we have little reason to think that Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty will be a liberal one. The prelude to the play does not argue a very happy ending of the drama,—from a popular point of view, of course— any more than that of the late Indian autocrat who is now installed in the Imperial War Cabinet. It is possible no doubt that Lord Chelmsford may have in store for us a great surprise and though he has not begun quite well, he may still end his administration very agreeably. Therefore we say that the best time for showing our appreciation of his work is when the drama is over."

Comments on the inquiry into corrupt practices in the Abkari Department of the Thana District.

Rást Goftár (28), 18th Mar.

58. Referring to the inquiry conducted by Mr. S. R. Arthur, Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium and Ábkari, assisted by Mr. Bharucha, Collector of Thana, into the alleged corrupt practices of the Abkari servants of the Thana District which has thus far resulted in the dismissal and suspension of certain officers, the *Rást Goftár* wishes that the inquiry may be persisted in and that the task of bringing the offenders to book should not be left half done from the erroneous consideration that such a course might reveal a state of things which would injure the prestige of Government. The paper is inclined to attribute the present condition of things to the policy of the late Excise Commissioner Mr. Quin of dealing lightly with Europeans in the department who were found guilty of corrupt practices while he severely punished the Indians similarly circumstanced. While praising the action taken by Mr. Arthur in instituting the present inquiry, it warns the Commissioner and the Collector of Thana against what it considers to be the danger of employing the zamindars of Umbergaon for giving them the information necessary for the conduct of the inquiry on account of the Hindus being at logger-heads with the Parsis and on account of inimical relations subsisting among the Parsis themselves. In view of the likelihood of even big officers like Assistant Collectors being involved in the present muddle, the paper begs His Excellency to appoint, in the place of the two officers now conducting the inquiry, a commission composed of experienced and impartial officers like Mr. Baker, the late Collector of Násik, Mr. Anderson, Mr. J. K. N. Kabraji and Mr. J. L. Rieu, to investigate into the question of the existance of corruption in the Department as a whole.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Bombay Local Boards Act Amendment Bill introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Young India (11), 21st Mar.

59. "One of the characteristics of the Government in this country is the favour shown to piecemeal Legislation. It appears from various recent enactments that the genius of the present race of British rulers in India is not fitted for any comprehensive or magnificient achievements. The way in which they are proceeding to make laws reminds us of the story of a famous Indian humorist who, when entrusted with the decoration of a palace, proceeded to paint a figure with the head in one place, the nose in another and the eyes in a third. The District Boards Law Amendment Bill, which the Honourable Mr. Curtis introduced in the Bombay Council the other day, reminds us of the story....... That the representatives of the people did not feel the need for this absurd piece of legislation is shown by Mr. Patel's motion that the Bill should be held in abeyance. But no! Government would not hear of it.......... That the Bill is a reactionary and highly mischievous one there can be no doubt. It seeks in the first place to introduce caste and communal differences which never existed before and to which Indian opinion is practically wholly opposed. Secondly, it introduces into the composition of these bodies an overwhelming element of weakness in the shape of title-holders and honorary magistrates, who, Mr. Patel rightly described, were at the mercy of Government. The Bill further seeks to leave the conferring of elected majorities to the discretion of the Executive instead of being embodied in the Bill itself. Having regard to the arbitrary manner in which the executive is exercising the vast amount of discretion already vested in it, there is no wonder that the elected non-official members of the Council fought shy of Government's move. The whole tendency of Government legislation in recent years has been to make the executive supreme and make everything dependent on its sweet will and pleasure.......... It is a striking proof of the extremely retrograde character of the proposed measure that even members with decidedly pro-bureaucratic tendencies felt constrained to give expression to their disapproval of it."

Mahrátta (5), 25th Mar.

*60. "The debate on the first reading of the Local Boards Bill showed clearly that Mr. Patel was in the right and Government were in the wrong. The retrograde character of the measure came out so clearly in the course of the discussion that Mr. Patel, in our opinion, deserves to be thanked for opposing its very introduction. Such an opposition shows the keen perception on the part of the opposer of the defective and injurious character of the measure concerned. It is *wasting time* to bring forward such measures and mislead people. It is not wasting time, but putting it to the best use possible, when a conscientious member tries to save the people from the *burdensome* 'gift' which Government in their 'liberality' seek to thrust upon them with a view to make *real progress* an affair of wearisome delay!"

Bombay Samáchár (55), 19th Mar.

61. Commenting upon the Bill brought before the Bombay Legislative Council to provide for increasing the number of elective members on district local boards, the *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its disapproval of the reflections made by the Honourable Mr. Patel on the policy and attitude of the present Government towards the subject of local self-government. It views with disfavour the opposition raised by him against the first reading of the Bill and remarks that since there are opportunities for giving a proper shape to a Bill in the Select Committee, all opposition to the reading of a Bill which is not based on a question of principle is unprofitable. The paper maintains that the reasons adduced by Mr. Patel in support of his opposition are untenable and that His Excellency was right in exhorting him to urge all his objections at the first reading of the Bill. The paper then dwells on the advisability of fixing by law the proportion of the popular majority in the local boards and hopes that the elected members of the Council will make their best endeavours in the Select Committee to fix that proportion at 66 per cent. It supports the suggestion made by some of the Muhammadan members of the Council for making a provision for fixing the number of Moslem representatives on the Local Boards and declares that, in view of the fact that such a course has been approved both by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League, there is no probability of its being opposed by the public if its adoption in particular parts of the Presidency be found expedient by Government.

Comments on the Muhammadan agitation against a certain line in the Third Gujarati Reader.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (24), 21st Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (52), 21st, 23rd and 29th Mar.

62. In the course of a letter addressed to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* "Momin" dwells upon the futility of the protest made by the Anjuman-e-Islám, Rander, against the retention of a line in the eighth lesson of Book Third of the Gujarati Reading Series (*vide* paragraph 53 of Weekly Report No. 9 of 1917), and observes that he cannot comprehend how any bad impression can be created upon the minds of young Moslem children by teaching them the line in which God is described as being one's "mother and father". He asks the abovementioned Anjuman if God does not maintain the whole world much in the same way as parents maintain their children. He is of opinion that the Rander Muhammadans have not been able to understand the drift of the line taken exception to and supports himself by questioning if the application of the term "mother and father" by a servant to his master should be taken to mean that he expects to be regarded as his master's son and to get an inheritance from him under such a claim. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* publishes a letter on this subject from Moulvi Abdul Raufkhan, Secretary of the Anjuman-e-Zia-ul-Islam, Bombay, wherein the writer condemns the action of the Rander Anjuman in raising their protest and sarcastically observes that if the Honourable Saiyed Ali El Edrus puts an interpellation in this connection in the local Legislative Council, non-Moslem members of the Council will simply envy his religious zeal in his attempt at saving the Muhammadan children from the sin of *Shirk*! He also respectfully requests the Rander Anjuman, if they detect *Shrik* in the abovementioned lines in the Third Gujarati Reader, to get expunged from the hundreds of books that are read by Moslem children attending missionary schools the Christain doctrine of the Trinity. He also urges them to get stopped the promulgation of the whole Arya Samaj literature which contains criticism against holy Islam as also the books on sufism, poems, and odes in praise of God. The writer very much regrets the lack of even ordinary commonsense among the present day Muhammadans which does not enable them to distinguish between spiritual and temporal writings. In its leading article in the subsequent issue the paper ridicules the protest made by the Rander Anjuman and the interpellation of the Honourable Saiyed Zain El Edrus and remarking that such agitation is calculated to cause bad blood between the Hindus and the Muhammadans opines that such agitators should be either hauled up before courts of law or should be called to account in some other way. The paper then goes on to refer to a passage on page 89 of of a book entitled Bhárat Itihás (History of Bhárat) published by Messrs. P. Mukhopadya and Sons and taught in Bengal, wherein in reply to King Allanddin's question as to what sort of treatment the Hindus deserved, a Kazi is represented to have said that the ordanation of prophet Muhammad was that the Hindus should be massacred, robbed or taken prisoners and that of other Moslem Olmas (learned men) was that they should be converted into Muhammadans or should be killed. The paper regards this passage as one constituting a libel on Islam and the Muhammadans and hopes that Mr. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, will see that the above passage is expunged from the book. It is also of opinion that writers of such passages create bitterness of feelings between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities and that they should be proceeded against under section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code. It remarks that the writer of the "Bhárat Itihás" is ignorant of Prophet Muhammad's admonition to Moslems not to interfere with the happiness even of those who are alien to the faith of Islam. The paper concludes with observing that the Honourable Saiyid Zain El Edrus will serve the Moslems much better in the Legislative Council by drawing the attention of Government to the abovementioned passage in the "Bhárat Itihás". In the issue of the 29th instant the paper remarks that neither the Rander Anjuman nor the Honourable Saiyed Ali El Edrus seem to have carefully gone through the whole of the Third Gujarati Reader as well as other books of the Gujarati Reading Series; for otherwise it wonders why no exception was taken to the 4th line of the last quatrain in the 7th lesson of the Third Book which, rendered into English means, "The father of the universe knows all our imaginings", as also to the line in one of the readers in another series which says "Oh Lord our mighty father", as they have done with regard to the 5th line in the 8th lesson of the Third Book.]

The scope of the Calcutta University Commission should be enlarged to include secondary education.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 25th Mar.

***63.** "His Excellency the Viceroy has announced the acceptance by Dr. Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of the Leads University, of the Presidentship of the Calcutta University Commission. Dr. Sadler is undoubtedly an authority on education whose advice cannot but be of immense assistance to us in shaping our policy .... We, therefore, welcome the announcement that he has agreed to preside over the Commission with sincere satisfaction. But we would once again ask Government to reconsider their decision to confine the scope of the Commission to the affairs of the Calcutta University. We ask them to consider the advisability of extending it so as to include not only the other territorial Universities, but also so as to include our system of secondary education....... As it happens, Dr. Sadler is an even greater authority on secondary than on University education, and it will be throwing away a great opportunity not to avail ourselves of his services in regard to our system of secondary education, the weakest link in the educational chain. His Excellency the Viceroy and the Honourable the Education Member have shown themselves so reasonably amenable to the influence of public opinion that we do not despair of their reconsidering their decision as to the scope of the Sadler Commission."

RAILWAYS.

Zoolum on third class passengers on Railways in India can be ended only by doing away with Company management.
Young India (11), 21st Mar.

64. In the course of a letter on the subject of Company *versus* State management of Railways in India contributed to *Young India*, one signing himself "Dinshaw, R.," remarks :—"The one and only cause of the *zoolum* on third class passengers is the Companies' insatiable greed for gold and the insane economy which is always inseparable from the greed—a greed and an economy which, Government can never control. In short, company management means insane economy and insane economy means *zoolum.* No power on earth or in heaven can end the *zoolum* without ending Company management. The Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel says :—'The only way to end the innumerable grievances of third class passengers is to put the railways under State Management.' And this is the opinion held by everyone who has not sold his conscience to the Companies. 'That the railways in the United States and the United Kingdom are managed by Companies to the perfect satisfaction of the public is a sufficient proof of the superiority of Company management over State Management.' This is a falsehood. The truth is that a persistent campaign against Company management is being conducted in both the countries."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Alleged incompetance of the Poona Municipality.
Message (6), 22nd Mar.

65. "At a meeting of the General Body of the Poona Municipality, the Chief Officer reported that he was without any cash to pay the bills due from the Municipality and that ways and means should be found to supply him with the necessary funds. We agree with Professor Bhagwat who, at that meeting, pointed out the gross negligence and culpability of the management in not making the General Body acquainted with the financial condition of the Municipality earlier than was done. A way out of the financil *impasse* was found by sanctioning the sale of Deposit Receipts at a discount. We do not mean to suggest that the Poona Municipality is on the verge of bankruptcy, but we feel that that management is grossly incompetent which allows such a thing to happen as that which came before the General Body on the 16th instant."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 30th March 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY : PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 13 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 31st March 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's advice to Indian politicians to give up political agitation during the war 7
Comments on the alleged treatment received by Mr. Jackson of the Canada-India League at the hands of British Police at Hongkong. 8
Comments on the Secretary of State's reply to the Lancashire deputation on the subject of the cotton duties 10
Comments on the working of the Defence of India Act 9
Complaint that the people of Bhingar (Ahmednagar) are put to hardships owing to the inclusion of the place within Cantonment limits 12
Complaint that women and children in Belgaum are frightened at the sight of English soldiers aimlessly wandering in the streets . 11
Excise: Comments on the Abkári Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1915-16 36

Imperial Legislative Council:

Comments on the acceptance by Government of the resolution regarding the Boy Scout movement in the — 4
Comments on the Indian Budget . . . . 5 & 6
Comments on the Viceroy's closing speech at the Delhi session of the — . . . . 1—3
Indian National Congress: The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the proposed Congress deputation to England 35

India in Parliament:

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's reply in the House of Commons regarding the Abkari policy of Government 27
Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's reply to Mr. Rees' question as to whether the Dominion authorities will be given a voice in deciding questions about India 26
Indians in the Colonies: Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Indian Ladies' Deputation on the subject of indentured labour . 31
Moslem League: Comments on the failure to render an account of the — funds on the part of Mr. Vazir Hasan and others 39

Police:

Complaint about the sale of Goa lottery tickets in Bombay 37
Complaint that the prohibition by the — of the bullock cart traffic between Wathar and Mahabaleshwar is causing much inconvenience to the public 38

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Press Act : The working of the — . . . . 28—30

Public Service :

Comments on the appointment of an English Barrister as Advocate-General of Bengal 32
Comments on the appointment of Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan as a Member of the India Council 33
Protest against the *Bombay Chronicle's* criticism of Sir Shamsul Huda's appointment as Judge of the Calcutta High Court . . 34
Sind : Claims of Muhammadans to the posts of Public Prosecutors in Sind. 40

War :

Comments on the paragraph in the *Capital* of Calcutta about the activities of the Indian Home Rule party in Bombay with regard to the Indian Defence Force 21
Comments on the Rules under the Defence of India Force Act . . 16—20
Reflections on the progress of the — 25
The Imperial—Conference and the position of Indian delegates . . 13—15
Reflections on the Revolution in Russia . . . . 22 & 23
What lesson Indian Muhammadans should learn from the fall of Baghdad 24

EDUCATION—

Comments on the appointment of the Honourable Mr. Setalvad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University . . . . 41 & 42

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Viceroy's closing speech at the last Delhi session of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Message (6), 25th Mar.

1. Commenting upon His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the close of the Delhi session of the Imperial Legislative Council the *Message* says:—" 'We are all members,' said his Excellency, 'one of another and in the great task which is set before us we can only succeed if we work together in closest co-operation.' This is no doubt an excellent sentiment; but will the same sentiment pervade the minds of those of whom you expect co-operation, if you tell them at the same time: You are non-officials and are therefore not members of Government. We can trust only those who are members of Government.......... We have been insistently asking Government to give us a mere indication, a mere assurance about their policy. But have not Government resolutely wedded themselves to silence? And why? Are the people of India so stupid that they will not listen to any reasonable proposals? If the Tsar who has now abdicated the throne of Russia could definitely promise within a fortnight after the outbreak of war internal autonomy to the Poles, could not the British Government and the Government of India jointly find their way to advise our gracious sovereign to issue to his loyal and devoted Indian subjects a proclamation to the effect that India would be raised to the status of the self-governing dominions and with that end in view, when the war was over the reforms jointly proposed by the Hindus and Muhammadans, Parsis and Christians of India would be conceded to them? We are told the Government of India have addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State and yet the people of India who stand to be deeply affected by them for good or evil may not know what the nature of that despatch is. 'It is not in the public interests,' this is practically what the non-official members are told on every conceivable subject on which the feelings and sentiments of the people are not in accord with those of Government."

**Mahrátta* (5), 1st Apl.; *Kesari* (95), 27th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (34), 27th Mar.

2. " 'We are all members, one of another, and in the great task which is set before us we can only succeed if we work together in the *closest* co-operation.' This sentiment of H. E. the Viceroy is most laudable. But how is the *closest co-operation* possible between men who wield 'irresponsible' power and men who possess none, unless the latter place themselves unconditionally in the hands of the former? The Honourable Members of Council have, notwithstanding the disabilities they labour under, given all co-operation possible. Their resolutions are seldom accepted, yet they bring them forward. .... Despite discourteous treatment at the hands of members of Government (Mr. Curtis' rejoinder to Mr. Parekh in the Local Council may be cited as a recent instance), Honourable representatives are never tired of placing before Government facts and principles which need to be so placed for the enlightenment of Government. What is true of the elected members of Council is truer still of those whom they represent, *viz.*, the people. *Co-operation* is exactly what is desired by the people. But Government are not over enthusiastic about working hand in hand with the people. The people ask for certain rights, which will enable them to give considerable co-operation in solving the military problem. And what have Government to say?......... 'Do not let the present scheme of the Indian Defence Force be marred on the ground that it does not contain all that you would desire.' Leaders have of course made up their minds about the scheme. Whatever the defects in the scheme they have advised and are advising young men belonging to the 'classes' to join the Force. This is an indication of generous foresight on the part of the leaders. But what does the grudging attitude tell us respecting Government? Their insistent cry for co-operation—when co-operation has always been given and is given even under irritating circumstances—does it not strike rather as a formal *mantra* to be repeated on occasions of a certain nature? When will things change? When will there be mutual trust?" [The *Kesari* terms the Viceroy's closing speech as unsatisfactory and says that the only happy feature in it was his declaration that the indenture system would not be revived in any form. It adds:—The Viceroy referred to Mr. Lloyd George's message to India. In a message to Russia the

Prime Minister says that the present war is a struggle for popular government equally with liberty. Why should not unfortunate India which has helped the Allies to carry on the fight, receive the benefit of this doctrine? Though controversial questions are to be avoided during the war, Government themselves have raised the question of Home Rule for Ireland. What objection is there to give India a similar assurance? If the British Parliament gives a plain assurance India is likely to be helpful in this war many times more than Ireland. We hope that the British Ministry will bear this in mind and that they will not postpone the question. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the attempt of the Viceroy to justify the promise of Government to pay England £100 millions, without consulting the Legislative Council, is vain. It thinks that the only way to reward justly the self-sacrifice of India is to take up the question of reforming the system of administration from the top to the bottom. It adds :—If Government place the administration under the control of the Indian people then only can we say that they have realised the value of the assistance of India. It is pleasing to note that the Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy took the opportunity of declaring that India would never allow the Colonies to have control over it. We are hopeful about the position of Indians in the Indian Defence Force after the war, but we do not think that the Viceroy could not have followed a courageous policy regarding the appointment of Indians as commissioned officers and the equal treatment of Indians and Europeans now.]

Sánj Vartamán (29), 24th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 26th Mar.

3. The appeal made by Lord Chelmsford for co-operation on the part of the people in the scheme of the Indian Defence Force, though it does not satisfy all their desires, is not a very proper one for the Viceroy to make, still we hope that the people will respond to it. It may be said to be a triumph of public opinion that the doors of volunteering have been opened for Indians. The next question that requires to be solved is that of granting commissions to Indians. This is a matter which mostly depends upon the future policy of Government and should be solved without much delay. Sympathy, imagination, statesmanship and wisdom will be required in determining the future policy of Government. Should commissions be opened to Indians, thousands will enlist in the Defence Force, but the absence of this privilege should not deter young Indians from joining the Force as a part of their duty. A time will come when Government will be forced by circumstances to give commissions to Indians. It seems the Government of India are favourably disposed towards Indian aspirations in this respect and that they want time to consider the question. Indians will not grumble if reasonable time is taken, but undue delay would mean want of statesmanship. The Indian public will feel thankful to His Excellency for the assurance he has given for not reviving the system of indentured labour. We heave a sigh of relief at the abolition of the cruel system and hope that its evils will not be allowed to reappear under any other guise [The *Hindusthán* writes :—We are thankful to His Excellency for the assurance he has given, but would like to point out that the final decision in the matter will greatly depend upon the firm stand that the Government of India are disposed to take. The Colonial planters possess great influence in Parliament and we cannot say for certain what turn the question will take in future. Besides, our apprehensions receive support from the fact that the system has been prohibited only temporarily under the Defence of India Act. The Indian public should not rest content till the system is put an end to for all time.]

Comments on the acceptance by Government of the resolution regarding the Boy Scout Movement introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Young India (11), 28th Mar.

4. "The acceptance by the Government of India of Mr. B. N. Sarma's resolution regarding the urgent desirability of encouraging the Boy Scout movement among Indian students is a matter for some gratification. We are not quite sure if we can take it as an indication that Government did not any longer consider that 'education was not making for loyalty'.......... But we may fairly assume that the readiness with which the resolution was accepted will tend to promote a keener interest among the well-wishers of the Indian youth and encourage the formation of Scout organisations in all important towns and cities. We realise that the ultimate success of the movement depends to a considerable extent on the attitude of officials in the

mofussil. If they are not disposed to lend active support to the movement, they should at least remain neutral. Any interference on their part will only result in hampering those who undertake the work and effectually set back a movement which, if carried out in a broad and liberal spirit, will be one of the best means of promoting harmony and better mutual understanding among the coming generations, and also help effectively in doing away with the evils of caste which divides Indians and Europeans into water tight compartments."

Comments on the Indian Budget.
Mahrátta (5), 1st Apl.

***5.** "The gloomy fact that these Budget days brought out, not for the first time, is the utter helplessness of elected representatives to influence in any appreciable measure the raising or disposal of public money. We now know the story of the war gift. The Council was not consulted before the gift was made.......... Officials can think what they please and do what they please from their high places—but the elected representatives have a duty to discharge and they did well in emphasising the illegality and bad policy of the procedure adopted by Government in putting a heavy burden on our shoulders without taking the Legislative Council into confidence, as law and custom required. The reform Despatch of Lord Morley promised great results. 'I anticipate valuable results from the knowledge which your Government will acquire in these debates (financial) of the views of those whom the proposed measures will chiefly and directly affect, and which it will be able to utilise in shaping its final financial proposals for the year.' And what are these valuable results? The *Chronicle* has drawn up a table of financial resolutions introduced in the various councils during the Budget month just closed. [Here the paper quotes the table.] Who will think of waxing eloquent over the 'Reforms' when he finds that not one of the 109 resolutions was accepted by the Governments concerned? The Imperial Budget is presented to the Council as an unalterable document. Discussion is of course allowed, but it is only to be treasured up by the members of Government for future use—but we wonder if it is ever utilised. The Provincial budget goes before a Finance Committee, but this latter is dominated by nominated members and as Honourable Mr. Patel proved by his recent experiences related in the local Council, the powers of non-official members to shape provincial finances are merely illusory."

Indu Prakásh (36), 24th Mar., Eng cols.

6. "We sincerely congratulate Sir William Meyer on rising to the occasion during the present world crisis and framing a budget which embodies in a large measure the healthy principles of Lloyd-Georgian economics. The call is not for text-book theorists, nor for 'sophisticators, economists and calculators' of the usual familiar type, not for the selfish upholders of vested interests, but for Lloyd-Georges and Sir William Meyers who have the courage to grapple with the extraordinary economic situation of modern times characterised by general poverty and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few.......... All honour to Sir William Meyer for displaying rare economic insight and vision in framing his budgets."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's advice to Indian politicians to give up political agitation during the war.
Shetkari (38), 25th Mar.

7. The *Shetkari* waxes sarcastic over the advice of His Excellency the Governor to suspend the Home Rule movement during the progress of the war and remarks:—We are indeed a very lucky people. We are given the prievilege of sacrificing blood and treasure freely in this war. We are now offered yet another and a far more valuable right, *viz.*, that of sacrificing the demand for Home Rule. His Excellency the Governor told his hearers at the Town Hall meeting that the present is not the time to agitate for Home Rule. We wish His Excellency had made it clear how the Home Rule movement comes in the way of the successful prosecution of the war. No one can seriously argue that the money which really ought to be invested in the War Loan is unnecessarily being diverted to the Home Rule propaganda as every member of the Home Rule League has to pay only a rupee whereas the minimum contribution to the War Loan is

Rs. 7-12-0. Moreover, while everyone has the fullest liberty and every inducement to contribute as much money as possible to the War Loan, one has to be very careful indeed before one pays his rupee and becomes a Home Ruler! We understand Government are about to tap another source of income. Some fertile brains have seriously suggested that the required amount of the loan can very easily be made up if every land-holder is made to contribute as much as or preferably twice the amount of his land assessment. Our Indian princes are noted for their traditional liberality. Since Government gave them the opportunity of contributing towards the war expenditure they are displaying a simply marvellous amount of zeal in that direction! We were denied so long the privilege of parting with our money, but kind-hearted England has now removed that disability. Recent events in Russia, Poland and Ireland show that the war has not prevented the peoples of Europe from agitating for popular government. But we are a coloured people. Therefore, in the eyes of our rulers, what is right in the case of Europeans is not necessarily so in our case. We earnestly wish we shall not be asked to make the sacrifice of abandoning the principle of Home Rule. We are, however, an obliging people and will give it up if the authorities insist on it.

Comments on the alleged treatment received by Mr. Jackson of the Canada-India League at the hands of British Police at Hongkong.

Mahratta (5), 1st Apl.

*8. "We have given elsewhere an extract from *New India* giving the 'adventures' of Mr. Jackson of the Canada-India League—an institution founded in Toronto in 1915 with the object of promoting a better understanding between the Canadian and Indian peoples. The treatment which Mr. Jackson received at Hongkong is indicative of the attitude which British officials seem to be apt to take in regard to Indian affairs. 'Why do you meddle in these things when there are Governments and authorities to look after them (Indians) and you know nothing about them?' Bravo! Mr. Marris of the Curtis group has a brother police official in the British service who seems to hold views the very opposite of those of Mr. Marris. Mr. Marris believes in people who 'know nothing about India' meddling with Indian affairs. Mr. Curtis differed not a whit from Mr. Jackson in this matter of knowing nothing. If anything, we should be prepared to credit Mr. Jackson with more knowledge of 'things' Indian than Mr. Curtis could possibly be credited with. But Mr. Curtis received whole-hearted welcome and liberal hospitality at the hands of the Police official Mr. Marris and officials higher-placed still. Poor Mr. Jackson met with a different type of man! But—we must not be too sure. Mr. Marris would probably have treated Mr Jackson with the same courtesy which he actually received at the hands of another. For there is a difference between Mr. Curtis and Mr. Jackson. The latter strove to promote a better understanding between colonials of his nationality (Canadians) and the Indian people, while Mr. Curtis was the emissary of a group apparently bent upon foisting *colonial domination* on India, never having a thought to the idea of a better or worse understanding between Indians and the people of the colonies. This difference in 'missions'—and not the fact of the Superintendent at Hongkong being an A. B. C.—is very probably responsible for the difference in treatment!"

Comments on the working of the Defence of India Act.

Young India (11), 28th Mar.

9. In the course of a very lengthy article contributed to *Young India*, in which he deals with the Defence of India Act and Lord Carmichael's recent pronouncements on its working in Bengal, "V. R." writes:—"The Honourable Mr. Dadabhoy of the Central Provinces is not a member who would to our mind, do anything likely to embarrass the Government.......... When he moved the resolution, we feel certain that he had himself felt that some such safeguard as he proposed was urgently called for. Sir Reginald Craddock on this occasion expressed considerable chagrin that the public had failed to take the officials at their word.......... If as he said in his speech, it is the executive Government alone that has to decide upon the information before it as to who should be deprived of their liberty and as to how many should be condemned without even the mockery of a trial, would it not be too

much to expect that 'no member of (the Imperial) Council, no educated person throughout this country and no one who has any influence should leave anything undone to check the growth of this conspiracy?' If really public co-operation is required, it must be sought on only one ground, namely, by their responsible association with the Government officials. Failing that and so long as the executive Government continues to labour under the notion that with it, first and last, rests the responsibility for maintaining 'public safety' and for suppressing conspiracies, no self-respecting person would ever venture to pledge his whole-hearted support to the wholesale and indiscriminate coercion of the innocent as well as the guilty. If, as Sir Reginald claimed, 'the responsibility is theirs and they cannot delegate any of their powers to outside persons, whether lawyers or laymen,' the consequences also must be theirs and they have no right to expect either the members of the Council or any educated persons to share with them in the odium and unpleasantness which their arbitrary proceeding will provoke.......... Apart from the internments of persons suspected or supposed to be suspected, there is another class of persons, the political leaders, for whose coercion the powers conferred by the Act have been freely availed of, in other words 'used for purposes of civil administration and for purposes that are not connected with the war'. Can any one who has followed in their logical sequence the orders of various Local Governments against Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak, Mr. Pal and a host of others less known to fame including a number of Arya Samajist preachers, say that the executive Government have used the powers vested in them for anything but a legitimate purpose—In none of these cases has it been shown that the persons named here were dangerous 'to public safety,' and yet neither Lord Hardinge nor Lord Carmichael ever ventured to defend these acts......... It is this which has given point to the dissatisfaction of the people. It is a pity that so good and so wise a ruler among his generation as Lord Carmichael should have allowed himself to lend his support to a measure which, if he were a free man, he was least likely to countenance. The plea of Sir Reginald that 'to confine' a man without trial is repugnant to British instincts and that Government officers do not lose their British instincts merely because their lives have been spent in India is too specious to escape notice. However honest and high-minded the British officers in India, it is too much to think that they are more scrupulous in respecting individual liberty in this land than their *confrères* are in England. If with all the checks and counterchecks of criticism and control over its bureaucracy, the British public has not deemed it expedient to give its executive unlimited power, what reason is there that in India they should enjoy this unheard of power over the person and property of the subject? The circumstances in which the British officers find themselves in this country are the least conducive to the continued maintenance of their British instincts, which soon become warped owing to the absence of all known safeguards, which confine their *confrères* in England strictly within their bounds, under dread of public criticism and censure."

Comments on the Secretary of State's reply to the Lancashire deputation on the subject of the cotton duties.

Gujaráti (13), 25th Mar.; *Kalpataru* (93), 25th Mar.

10. The *Gujaráti* writes in terms of great praise about the reply Mr. Chamberlain gave to the deputation that waited upon him to represent the interests of the Lancashire manufacturers. It refers to the fact of the willingness of the representatives of Lancashire to support in the House of Commons the resolution for allowing India to make a gift of £ 100 millions for war purposes only on the condition that the excise duty on cotton goods may be raised in India from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and remarks that purblind selfishness could go no further. The paper also refers to the unwillingness expressed by Mr. Chamberlain before the deputation to disregard Indian opinion particularly in matters like the imposition of an additional excise duty in which it found support from every Englishman in India and observes that this sentiment of the Secretary of State for India indicates in what direction Indians should agitate if they expect to achieve victory in the

and. The paper cordially wishes that time may soon bring about harmony between Indians and the Englishmen residing in India. [The *Kalpataru* expresses its apprehension that the cotton duty will be lowered soon after the war in deference to the clamour of the Lancashire mill-owners.]

Complaint that women and children in Belgaum are frightened at the sight of English soldiers aimlessly wandering in the streets.
Belgaum Samáchár (84), 26th Mar.

11. The *Belgaum Samáchár* states that several men of the Territorials stationed at Belgaum aimlessly wander about the town, and complains that although there has yet been no report of their having molested anyone, women and children are frightened to see them loitering in the streets or standing in the vicinity of temples. It, therefore, suggests that they should be prohibited from going outside the limits of the cantonment.

Complaint that the people of Bhingar (Ahmednagar) are put to hardships owing to the inclusion of the place in cantonment limits.
Shetkari (38), 25th Mar.

12. The *Shetkari* complains that the people of Bhingar (Ahmednagar) are put to unnecessary hardships since its inclusion in the Ahmednagar cantonment limits. It says that it is customary with the Hindus to devote, before retiring to bed, a little time to *bhajan*, *kirtan*, etc., which is accompanied with music and is particularly relished by the people. The cantonment rules, however, disallow these to continue after 10 o'clock at night. The paper considers this a real grievance and requests the authorities to redress it.

The Imperial War Conference and the position of Indian delegates.
Message (6), 29th Mar.

13. Referring to Reuter's account of the warm reception given to the Indian delegates at the Imperial War Conference in recognition of the great part played by India in the war, the *Message* writes:—"We welcome this authoritative announcement as tending to remove much of the misunderstanding which had resulted from the needless secrecy of the India Office. What we would, however, like to know is as regards the voting power of these delegates in respect of the questions that may come up for decision. The London *Times* which in matters like this seems to be usually inspired says that the representatives of India at the Conference have a status identical with that of the Dominion Members. This identity of status seems to hold good only so far as the voting is concerned. The voting is by states—not by members and each state has one vote when any resolution is put to the vote. What we are unable to understand is how it enhances the prestige of the Indian representatives—it would be more accurate to say the representatives of the Government of India. The original admission of the Secretary of State, 'I shall be India's representative at the Conference,' remains yet unrepudiated, for all that we know. That Indians who were hitherto strangers to the charmed circle of Imperial *cum* Dominion deliberations should have been admitted to the Conference and allowed equal liberty of speech is itself a distinct gain, and the people of India who have all these years remained content with small mercies have not much reason to be dissatisfied so far as this concession goes. The voting will be looked after by Mr. Chamberlain as *the* representative of India.......... If like the Dominion Ministers the Secretary of State for India had possessed the confidence of the country on whose behalf he is expected to vote, we should not have demurred to it. As it is, he is the nominee of the Imperial Government and his position as a member of that Government utterly disqualifies him for playing the self-assumed rôle of India's representative. In giving his vote, he may be guided by the views of those who have been sent from here to assist him; but he is not bound in any way by those views, which may be disregarded at his will. We have ventured to reiterate what we have stated more than once, as we do not wish that our countrymen should delude themselves into a fond belief that they have scored a 'big' success."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 1st Apl.

*14. "The academic difficulties raised by constitution-mongers to the reception of Indian delegates in the Imperial Conference, would seem to have been completely ignored by those responsible for the organisation of the Conference. The Secretary of State for India has informed the Viceroy that the Indian delegates have been admitted as full members on terms of absolute equality with the Colonial representatives who welcomed their Indian colleagues.......... We may now safely take it that the position of India in the Empire has been officially recognised by all the sister Dominions as well as by the United Kingdom as one of equal status. This is a great step forward, and we are grateful to His Majesty's Government for the tact and firmness with which they have brought about this result."

Bombay Samáchár (55), 26th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (29), 28th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (20), 31st Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (24), 28th and 30th Mar.

15. The meeting of the Conference is a landmark in the history of the British Empire. Its deliberations will lead to strengthen the Empire. The hearts of the Indian people will be delighted to learn that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner was given an opportunity to make a speech in reply to the opening address of the Premier. We feel sure His Highness must have given an assurance on behalf of India that her people are ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of achieving victory. This Conference will surely lead to the unification of the Empire and thus acclerate the progress of India. [The *Sanj Vartaman* writes:—The fears entertained about a right status not being given to the representatives of India in the Imperial Conference have all been allayed by the report of the meeting of the Conference which is to the effect that they were given a place on a footing of equality with other members and were given an opportunity of expressing their views. The position the representatives of India secured in the Conference is due to the part played by India in the war and the rapid progress she is making in all directions. We feel sure India will be given an increasing share in the administration of her internal affairs in order to be able to share the responsibility as a component part of the Empire. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is also gratified at the news that Indian representatives have been given a place of equality with other representatives and have been granted the freedom of the city of London. It expresses hope that India will soon be given a form of Government like that of the Colonies. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers the position accorded to Indian representatives in the conference as a clear indication that India will be given political rights that will lead to *swarájya*. In the subsequent issue the paper expresses its gratification at the granting of the freedom of the city of London by the Corporation of London to the Indian representatives. The *Hindusthán* expresses hope that India's representation on the Conference will lead to justice being done to the claims of India in all matters.]

Comments on the Rules under the Defence of India Force Act.

Young India (11), 28th Mar.

16. "The rules regarding the Indian Defence Force which were published sometime ago leave much to be desired. The second part of these rules which relates to the voluntary enlistment of Indians is more or less of a negative character. Beyond setting forth as to who may not volunteer it does not give any idea as to the numerical strength, pay, prospects and other conditions of service. It appears to us that the progress from the Act to the Rules is one from Tweedledum to Tweedledee. Apart from the paucity of information, the most discouraging feature is the attitude of the Government officials. These gentlemen seem to view the movement with considerable disfavour if they have not also interposed practical difficulties in the way of the success of recruitment. It had naturally been expected that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford would throw some light on the various aspects of the question in his closing speech at the Delhi session of the Imperial Council. His reference to the Indian Defence Force has suffered from extreme brevity. Without unnecessarily reiterating that the Act is confessedly a war measure, he might have enlightened the public as to how many people they were going to accept and whether the conditions of service would or would not materially differ from what the public had been told to expect. It appears from all accounts that in the rules the authorities have gone back on their original intentions, which in themselves were not very liberally conceived. These rules lend emphasis to the view that it is unwise to leave things undetermined in the Statute itself. In this particular instance, the rules were framed at the Indian Army head-quarters with the assistance of a committee in which were included the present volunteer officers, and in the illiberal conception which underlies the rules are fully reflected the little minds which were called upon to advice and suggest to the military authorities. At first, great hopes were roused in us that at last a grudging measure of long delayed justice was being dealt out to us. But since the passing of the Act, the substance has disappeared and we are left to grapple with the shadow.......... If Government are really anxious to avoid controversy and criticism, the best way of doing it would be to tell the public something more than what you and I and everybody also know."

Máhratta (5), 1st Apl.

***17.** "Whatever the disabilities, Indians will do well to take advantage of the opportunity offered. We hope that 'the exigencies of war' will not come in the way of increasing the number of units to a decent number before long, also that at the headquarters of each unit arrangements will be made for the training of more than one company at a time. The volunteers will do well to bear in mind that if they desire training they must prepare themselves to bear a certain measure of inconsiderate treatment that they may possibly receive at the hands of their instructors and officers. Even 'select' British officers may, some of them, show a suprising want of consideration for the feelings of the volunteers. It is well to be mentally prepared for a great deal of worry, though of course there is a limit beyond which patience is both unwise and immoral. We hope that instructors and officers will be able to establish the best possible relations between themselves and the new volunteers, for they will require nothing beyond a little tact and moderation to achieve this result."

Message (6), 30th Mar.

18. "It is with a sigh of relief that we have now received definite particulars regarding the recruitment of volunteers from among Indians. These particulars are satisfactory in so far as they enable us to see how we stand. The only consideration which must induce people now is a high sense of patriotism and nothing else. Even then by the lowering of the age limit from 41 to 30, the doors of admission are 'banged, barred and bolted' in the face of many patriotic sons of the Motherland, who are willing and can afford to volunteer. They may possess a wonderful physical fitness; yet they may not join because they are above 30 years of age. Next, the area of recruitment and training has been considerably circumscribed. It is intended by the authorities to form Indian territorial units 'all over India,' only with their 'head-quarters at convenient centres.'......... To complete the training of one unit consisting of 1,000 men it will take up about a whole year and by that time—assuming that the war will last during that time—no more than six units will have been trained, 6,000 to 60 millions—a magnificient proportion indeed! It seems to us that on the whole Government are not so anxious to mobilise Indian man-power as they are in regard to her money power. The pay and prospects are not very alluring, though the fact that after the period of training people will be allowed to return to their civil avocations, should be an inducement to many people to join the force. One has only to look upon this period of training as a period of holiday, though without its amenities and away from their homes and hearths. Those who have the means can conveniently make a little sacrifice and enrol in the unit."

Kesari (95), 27th Mar.

19. Referring to the rules under the Indian Defence Force Act, the *Kesari* says they are not quite up to the mark, but it advises people not to delay any longer and wait for further explanations. It requests them to correspond with the District Magistrates and join the force. It is of opinion that a man cannot join the force while serving elsewhere and that he should either resign his former appointment or take leave. It also asks them not to be terrified by the rule regarding religious restrictions and says that the daily routine of the sepoys in no way interferes with their religious observances. It finally exhorts patriotic people not to bring forward any excuse and requests them to enjoy the right of defending the mother country which was being demanded from Government so long.

Aryavart (82), 24th Mar.

20. The *Aryavart* says that Government do not display the same zeal for collecting recruits for the Defence of India Force as they do for collecting contributions to the War Loan, and points out that while meetings are being held at several places under the auspices of Government officials to collect subscriptions, no steps have been taken to encourage volunteering among Indians. It remarks that India is ready to supply both men and money, but if Government want only the latter and do not care much about recruits they need not have taken the trouble of passing the Defence of India Force Act.

Comments on the paragraph in the *Capital* of Calcutta about the activities of the Indian Home Rule party in Bombay with regard to the Indian Defence Force.

Young India (11), 28th Mar.

21. *Young India* reproduces from the *Capital*, newspaper of Calcutta, the paragraph contributed to it by its Bombay correspondent in which he dwells on "the growing anxiety of the Europeans at the bold attempt of the Indian Home Rule party to turn to their own account the Government's concession for volunteering for Indians", and remarks:—"If the paragraph which we have reproduced above had appeared in the columns of an Indian journal, it would have exposed itself to the terrors of the obnoxious Press Act. It is quite over a fortnight since the mischievous paragraph, undoubtedly designed to provoke class hatred, appeared in the *Capital* and yet no notice seems to have been taken of it by the ever vigilant and scrupulous authorities. The insinuation of the correspondent that if Government accepts Mr. Tilak's recruits it would soon find itself 'in a mess very much similar to that in which the Irish Parliament fell when confronted with the muskets of Grattan's volunteers', cannot but be keenly resented and must certainly tend to destroy the good feelings that exist between the two communities in Bombay and elsewhere. One thing, however, that stands out in bold relief is that the Chitpavan Brahmin has become a red rag to the Anglo-Indian bull. It is a pity that in these days when Cabinet Ministers and statesmen feel the necessity for conciliation and co-operation, the Government of India should tolerate the existence of journalistic Bohemians of this type in this country. Will Government tolerate these dirty and mean sentiments simply because they have found place in the columns of an Anglo-Indian journal?"

Reflections on the Revolution in Russia.

Kesari (95), 27th Mar.

22. Lord Sydenham writing in the *Nineteenth Century* on "The Danger in India" has compared the Russian and Indian educated classes in order to abuse the latter. But the present Russian Revolution is in every way the victory of the educated classes in Russia. The new system of education was begun in that country in 1860. Since then there were very few of the educated classes who did not join the Revolutionary party. The Russian educated classes went to villages and taught the villagers. They bridged the gulf between the classes and the masses and spread revolutionary doctrines along with education amongst the people. Government looked upon all of them with suspicion. Though they were revolutionaries they did not commit outrages. In fact if anybody has committed outrages it is the Russian Government which has persecuted the educated classes for these forty years. These classes were not foolish enough to suppose that they would be successful by proclaiming an open fight with Government. They wanted to educate the nation and make it liberty-loving and prepare the ground from within. The Royal power arrogantly treading such a ground was swallowed up by it. Two weeks ago the Emperor's unjust word was able to trample the nation under foot. Now the same Emperor plaintively says that he is willing to be taken wherever the people wished. The credit of all this must be given to the educated classes only. As soon as education begins to spread the bureaucracy should wisely realise that its days are numbered. Once the fight between tyrannical tendencies born of long enjoyment of bureaucratic powers and ideas of independence that owe their birth to education, begins, it will end only in one way, in the victory of the latter. Many are the historical examples testifying to this principle. The Russian Revolution has given us but one more proof of its truth.

Gujaráti (13), 21st Mar.; *Arya Prakásh* (12), 25th Mar.

23. What will be the effect of the Russian revolution on Germany and Austria? It is believed that if Germany and Austria are defeated their forms of government will be changed on the lines followed by Russia, that is to say, these countries will get republican forms of government. But will that lead to the ambitions of the people being damped or altered? France has not forgotten its former possession of Alsace and Lorraine as also of Monacca and wants to regain possession of them. Will a change in the form of government lead to Germany giving up all ideas of commercial supremacy and a colonial empire? Will not Russia now think of getting Constantinople and other open ports? Will it not try to extend its sphere of political influence in Turkey and Persia? In spite of the war political movements are undertaken in Russia and Ireland. But in India the Provincial Governments do not even dream of introducing any political reform at such a time. The British Parliament has recognised the new Government of Russia. Should not the officials issue a proclamation instructing Indians as to what attitude they should adopt towards the Russian revolution? [The *Arya Prakásh* writes :—Russia deserves the praises of the rest of the world for the firmness and tact with which it has achieved the change in its form of government. All join in wishing success to the new Government.]

What lesson Indian Muhammadans should learn from the fall of Baghdad.

Arya Prakásh (12), 25th Mar.

24. Referring to the fall of Baghdad, the *Arya Prakásh* remarks :—The Moslems of India venerate the Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph. They are also the co-religionists of the Turks and, therefore, it is but natural that the Indian Muhammadans may, in spite of their perfect loyalty towards the English, wish that Turkey may remain independent. It is, however, a question, regard being had to a number of circumstances, whether the conquered territory will be restored to Turkey after the conclusion of peace. It would, therefore, be advisable if the Muhammadans in India were to learn to love their fellow-countrymen though of an alien religion, at least as much, if not more, as they love their co-religionists in a foreign country and to cherish as much enthusiasm for their country as for their religion. Our Moslem brethren entertain greater solicitude for their co-religionists residing in foreign countries than for their fellow countrymen professing an alien faith and it is for this reason that they cannot achieve their salvation in the way they should. The present event has dealt a severe blow to the doctrine of Pan-Islamism. The Muhammadans should now wake up from their dreams and looking upon India as their own country for all time to come should try to work out their own advancement along with communities professing other faiths under the protection of British rule.

Reflections on the progress of the war.

Islámic Mail, Urdu edition (121), 26th Mar.

25. Reviewing the progress of the war in all theatres, the *Islámic Mail* lays stress on the fact that the Allies have repulsed the enemy in France and Moldavia, as well as in the region of Monastir and Lake Urumia. It holds that the day is not far off when German militarism will collapse like a pack of cards, and it refers to history which tells how every nation in the past, has either triumphed or fallen according as it embraced a righteous cause or the reverse. Referring to the capture of Baghdad it remarks that judging from the astonishing speed with which General Maude is driving the Turks before him, and the enthusiasm with which the Russians have assumed the offensive and have inflicted defeat on the Turks near Kirman, the hearts of the people are buoyed up with hopes and

even the most pessimistic among them have now come round to entertaining a firm conviction regarding the eventual success of Britain and her Allies. It concludes by referring to the fact that the Arabs and Egyptians sympathise with the Allies, and it exhorts all concerned to help Government according to their means.

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's reply to Mr. Rees' question as to whether the Dominion authorities will be given a voice in deciding questions about India.
Message (6), 29th Mar.

26. "Mr. Chamberlain's reply to Sir John D. Rees that Government did not contemplate any action which would give the Dominion representatives authority to decide Indian questions appears to us to be somewhat ambiguous. In view of the persistent attempt which is being made by a small but influentially represented section of people in England to obtain for the Dominions a decent share in the administration of India, it is encouraging to be told authoritatively that the Dominion representatives will not be given any authority to 'decide exclusively Indian questions.' But it is not so satisfactory to know that Mr. Chamberlain made an implication, which if it should prove correct will give rise to considerable misgiving about the real intention of the Imperial Government. From the second part of his statement, it naturally follows that in exclusively Indian questions, they will be allowed to exercise the same influence as the representatives of India. It is not clear whether this inconsistency is merely apparent. It is there, however, and unless we are assured in plain unequivocal terms that the Dominions will have no authority to decide Indian questions nor exercise any influence over any decision touching them, we cannot but continue to view the matter with great apprehension."

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's reply in the House of Commons regarding the abkari policy of Government.
Mahrátta (5), 1st Apl.

*27. Referring to the statements of Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons that Government did not consider restrictions on drink traffic in India necessary as they would tend to encourage illicit production and compulsion, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"This confession of the Indian Government excites pity as well as indignation. Russia, France, Great Britain have all 'restricted' the drink traffic in their several territories and their experience as reported now and then in the papers has been reassuring. Is India a country so different in its soil-constitution that what helped Russia and others to take a forward step on the path of progress will work like a reactionary measure in this country? Not in the soil, but in the ruler-class which dominates the soil and the people lies the root of such an anomalous result if, as the Indian Government pitifully puts it, increased restriction would tend to encourage illicit production and consumption and would not increase the supply of raw material or supply and efficiency of labour.......... Does our Government mean to say that it is powerless to track out *illicit* production and punish it! We cannot believe it. What it is powerless to do is to bring itself to cooperate with the people in removing the drink evil from their midst. The *resolve* to cooperate is wanting and *not the means* to carry out the resolve if it be once taken."

The working of the Press Act.
Mahrátta (5), 1st Apl.

*28. "From the returns in connection with the working of the Press Act placed upon the table of the Imperial Council, now published with the *Government of India Gazette*, we learn that the Act has been responsible for a great deal of harm. The amount of the deposits forfeited and unforfeited taken from printing presses as security for good behaviour amounts to Rs. 3,25,400. That of deposits taken from newspapers amounts to Rs. 1,21,000. 200 presses which were asked to find initial security failed to find it and therefore never came into existence. 105 newspapers had a similar fate. These figures may seem large or small, terrible or insignificant according to the view-point of the observer. The Viceroy in his reply to the Press deputation seemed to look upon the Press Act as an innocent measure, striking only those who were 'not honest'. Did the Viceroy know the full details which are now before the public? Does he still think that the Act is a beneficent measure? The fact that a number of presses and papers—not at all a small number—failed to come into existence because of the initial security clause is proof enough of the oppressive nature of the Act. It is not a measure that can commend itself to partisans of ordered progress. It is a diabolical instrument of tyranny which in a land less peaceful and easy-going than ours would have been sufficient to give a strong impetus to revolutionary activity. Combined with its elder brother the Defence of India Act, this Press Law is undoubtedly responsible even here in peaceful India for a number of disconsolate and angry hearts which are no longer capable of wishing well to British rule."

Indian Social Reformer (8), 1st Apl.

***29.** Referring to the list of newspapers dealt with under the Press Act published in the *Gazette of India*, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks :—"The list includes the names of newspapers which no one would have thought of in association with the Press Act, and what is more, some of these newspapers would seem to have learned for the first time from their inclusion in the list, that they had been dealt with under the Act. Some of them, which appear in the list as having been warned, declared that they are at a loss to know what the warning consisted in and how it was conveyed. It may be that memory might have played them false. A conclusion which will be widely drawn from this long list, is that it may fall to the most careful of newspapers in India, to be warned under the Press Act, and that, therefore, there is no special demerit attaching to a journalist in being so warned. At the same time it behoves the authorities to consider if by overdoing their warning, they do not place themselves in the predicament of the pastoral lad who cried 'wolf' when there was no wolf."

Sánj Vartamán (29), 27th Mar.; *Hitechhu* (61), 18th Mar.; *Political Bhomiyo* (New), 30th Mar.

30. Quoting figures from the statistics about the working of the Press Act published by the Government of India in the *Gazette of India* of the 24th March 1917, the *Sánj Vartamán* declares that it does not agree with the view expressed by the Viceroy in the course of the reply he gave to the deputation of the Indian Press Association to the effect that the Press Act was not being administered in a harsh manner as was represented by the deputation. It remarks that the increase of 500 and 131 in the number of presses and newspapers respectively in the course of five years in a country of the size and population of India, which is more a continent than a country, is quite insignificant and it goes only to establish the harsh character of the Act. It also inquires if the closure during the period from 1910 to 1915 of 201 presses and 129 journals as a result of their not being able to furnish the security demanded from them under the Press Act does not mean the withholding from the country of so many media for the spread of knowledge and education. [The *Hitechhu* remarks that journalists cannot swallow the Viceroy's statement belittling the rigorous nature of the Press Act, in the face of the opinions expressed to that effect by legal tribunals. It regards the power the Press Act vests in the Executive, uncontrolled by the Judiciary, as a sort of poison in the law governing the Press and as a blot on the British ideal of liberty. The *Political Bhomiyo* considers the present agitation against the Press Act to be ill-timed and, dwelling upon the propriety of the Viceroy's reply to the deputation, expresses itself in favour of the continuance of the Act at least for the period of the war.]

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Indian Ladies' Deputation on the subject of indentured labour.

Sánj Vartamán (29), 26th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (55), 2[illegible]th Mar.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti* (13), 25th Mar.

31. The sympathetic reply given by His Excellency Lord Chelmsord to the Indian Ladies' Deputation may be said to be the last word on the subject of indentured labour. Now that a definite assurance has been given that the system of indentured labour will not be revived, steps should be taken to remove the Emigration Act from the statute book at the earliest opportunity. We are thankful to His Excellency for the assurance he has given, but we hope he will take care to see that the evils of indentured labour are not reintroduced by the sanctioning of any other form of labour emigration from India. [The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the reply given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Ladies' Deputation and expresses hope that in view of the fact that labourers will be required in large numbers for the development of Indian industries after the war, Government will be pleased to put a stop to indentured labour altogether. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* points out that "these ladies had not waited upon the head of the British administration in India to ventilate their own grievances but to plead at the bar of British statesmanship the cause of womanhood, woman's honour and woman's self-respect." It then continues :—"Are these matters, important as they are, to be brought to the notice of the Viceroy by others? Are they not plain and simple and degrading and disgraceful enough to have already drawn Governments's attention? However, we welcome the sympathetic promise Lord Chelmsford has been pleased to make and we trust when the time comes this matter will have its due place in the thought and care which have been promised to it." The *Gujaráti* writes :—People naturally ask how the system of indentured labour has now been stopped with one stroke of the pen. We are inclined to think that it is due to popular agitation of Indians, Anglo-Indians and officials on the question. Should these classes continue to be unanimous in all matters, we have every hope that India will secure *Swarajya* and acquire the highest position among all the countries of Asia.]

Comments on the appointment of an English Barrister as Advocate-General of Bengal.
Message (6), 30th Mar.

32. "The importation of a barrister from England to fill the Advocate-Generalship of Bengal is thoroughly in keeping with the India Office traditions under the benevolent regimé of Mr. Chamberlain. .... Though the present Viceroy has been described as a neutral in politics, events during the past twelve months have shown that he is no less staunch in his adhesion to Conservatism than the Parliamentarian who presides at Withehall. Mr. Chamberlain gave Bengal to Lord Romaldshay, another Conservative, and if he continues long enough in office, we have no doubt he will similarly bless Bombay and Madras with Conservative statesmen. Lord Chelmsford has faithfully reproduced Mr. Chamberlain's methods by conferring the Lieutenant-Governorships of Burma and the United Provinces on two typically reactionary members of the Government of India. The appointment of a Conservative candidate as the Advocate-General of Bengal belongs to the same category. The question is not whether there are competent Indians in the Calcutta Bar to step into the shoes of Sir S. P. Sinha. It is really whether the ranks of the Conservative party have become exhausted. So long as there are men left on whom Mr. Chamberlain's choice may fall, the Calcutta bar need not feel disappointed if the loaves and fishes of office, limitted as they are, are denied to them."

Comments on the appointment of Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan as a member of the India Council.
Islámic Mail, Urdu edition (121), 26th Mar.

33. Commenting on the news that Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan, Bar.-at-Law of Aligarh, has been appointed to be a member of the India Council in succession to Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, the *Islámic Mail* takes the occasion to congratulate Government on the selection of one who is fully conversant with the needs and aspirations of the Indian Musalmans, and who is, moreover, a practical, unostentatious, and sincere worker in the sphere of education and social reform. It characterises him as the moving spirit of the Aligarh College and the Muhammadan Educational Conference, and it expresses concern as to what their condition will be after the guiding hand of the Sahibzada is removed from them. It is convinced that the appointment in question will prove useful both to the rulers and the ruled.

Protest against the *Bombay Chronicle's* criticism of Sir Shamsul Huda's appointment as Judge of the Calcutta High Court.
Islámic Mail (4), 24th Mar., Eng. cols.

34. "Our contemporary of the *Chronicle* which poses as a Hindu and Muhammadan leader and professes to be an advocate of Nationalism (whatever that may mean) is very wroth with the Governor of Bengal for Justice Digamber Chatterjea's place in the High Court of Fort William being given to Nawab Sir Shamsul Huda, at whom our friend has made a passing hit which would contrast discordantly with the encomiums bestowed upon the Nawab by other Congress organs in Bengal. So far as we can understand,

all a small number—failed to come into existence because of the initial security clause is proof enough of the oppressive nature of the Act. It is not a measure that can commend itself to partisans of ordered progress. It is a diabolical instrument of tyranny which in a land less peaceful and easy-going than ours would have been sufficient to give a strong impetus to revolutionary activity. Combined with its elder brother the Defence of India Act, this Press Law is undoubtedly responsible even here in peaceful India for a number of disconsolate and angry hearts which are no longer capable of wishing well to British rule."

Indian Social Reformer (8), 1st Apl.

*29. Referring to the list of newspapers dealt with under the Press Act published in the *Gazette of India*, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks :—"The list includes the names of newspapers which no one would have thought of in association with the Press Act, and what is more, some of these newspapers would seem to have learned for the first time from their inclusion in the list, that they had been dealt with under the Act. Some of them, which appear in the list as having been warned, declared that they are at a loss to know what the warning consisted in and how it was conveyed. It may be that memory might have played them false. A conclusion which will be widely drawn from this long list, is that it may fall to the most careful of newspapers in India, to be warned under the Press Act, and that, therefore, there is no special demerit attaching to a journalist in being so warned. At the same time it behoves the authorities to consider if by overdoing their warning, they do not place themselves in the predicament of the pastoral lad who cried 'wolf' when there was no wolf."

Sánj Vartamán (29), 27th Mar.; *Hitechhu* (61), 18th Mar.; *Political Bhomiyo* (New), 30th Mar.

30. Quoting figures from the statistics about the working of the Press Act published by the Government of India in the *Gazette of India* of the 24th March 1917, the *Sánj Vartamán* declares that it does not agree with the view expressed by the Viceroy in the course of the reply he gave to the deputation of the Indian Press Association to the effect that the Press Act was not being administered in a harsh manner as was represented by the deputation. It remarks that the increase of 500 and 131 in the number of presses and newspapers respectively in the course of five years in a country of the size and population of India, which is more a continent than a country, is quite insignificant and it goes only to establish the harsh character of the Act. It also inquires if the closure during the period from 1910 to 1915 of 201 presses and 129 journals as a result of their not being able to furnish the security demanded from them under the Press Act does not mean the withholding from the country of so many media for the spread of knowledge and education. [The *Hitechhu* remarks that journalists cannot swallow the Viceroy's statement belittling the rigorous nature of the Press Act, in the face of the opinions expressed to that effect by legal tribunals. It regards the power the Press Act vests in the Executive, uncontrolled by the Judiciary, as a sort of poison in the law governing the Press and as a blot on the British ideal of liberty. The *Political Bhomiyo* considers the present agitation against the Press Act to be ill-timed and, dwelling upon the propriety of the Viceroy's reply to the deputation, expresses itself in favour of the continuance of the Act at least for the period of the war.]

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Indian Ladies' Deputation on the subject of indentured labour.

Sánj Vartamán (29), 26th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (55), 2[illegible]th Mar.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti* (13), 25th Mar.

31. The sympathetic reply given by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to the Indian Ladies' Deputation may be said to be the last word on the subject of indentured labour. Now that a definite assurance has been given that the system of indentured labour will not be revived, steps should be taken to remove the Emigration Act from the statute book at the earliest opportunity. We are thankful to His Excellency for the assurance he has given, but we hope he will take care to see that the evils of indentured labour are not reintroduced by the sanctioning of any other form of labour emigration from India. [The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the reply given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the Ladies' Deputation and expresses hope that in view of the fact that labourers will be required in large numbers for the development of Indian industries after the war, Government will be pleased to put a stop to indentured labour altogether. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* points out that "these ladies had not waited upon the head of the British administration in India to ventilate their own grievances but to plead at the bar of British statesmanship the cause of womanhood, woman's honour and woman's self-respect." It then continues:—"Are these matters, important as they are, to be brought to the notice of the Viceroy by others? Are they not plain and simple and degrading and disgraceful enough to have already drawn Governments's attention? However, we welcome the sympathetic promise Lord Chelmsford has been pleased to make and we trust when the time comes this matter will have its due place in the thought and care which have been promised to it." The *Gujarâti* writes:—People naturally ask how the system of indentured labour has now been stopped with one stroke of the pen. We are inclined to think that it is due to popular agitation of Indians, Anglo-Indians and officials on the question. Should these classes continue to be unanimous in all matters, we have every hope that India will secure *Swarajya* and acquire the highest position among all the countries of Asia.]

Comments on the appointment of an English Barrister as Advocate-General of Bengal.
Message (6), 30th Mar.

32. "The importation of a barrister from England to fill the Advocate-Generalship of Bengal is thoroughly in keeping with the India Office traditions under the benevolent regimé of Mr. Chamberlain. .... Though the present Viceroy has been described as a neutral in politics, events during the past twelve months have shown that he is no less staunch in his adhesion to Conservatism than the Parliamentarian who presides at Withehall. Mr. Chamberlain gave Bengal to Lord Romaldshay, another Conservative, and if he continues long enough in office, we have no doubt he will similarly bless Bombay and Madras with Conservative statesmen. Lord Chelmsford has faithfully reproduced Mr. Chamberlain's methods by conferring the Lieutenant-Governorships of Burma and the United Provinces on two typically reactionary members of the Government of India. The appointment of a Conservative candidate as the Advocate-General of Bengal belongs to the same category. The question is not whether there are competent Indians in the Calcutta Bar to step into the shoes of Sir S. P. Sinha. It is really whether the ranks of the Conservative party have become exhausted. So long as there are men left on whom Mr. Chamberlain's choice may fall, the Calcutta bar need not feel disappointed if the loaves and fishes of office, limitted as they are, are denied to them."

Comments on the appointment of Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan as a member of the India Council.
Islâmic Mail, Urdu edition (121), 26th Mar.

33. Commenting on the news that Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan, Bar.-at-Law of Aligarh, has been appointed to be a member of the India Council in succession to Mirza Abbas Ali Baig, the *Islâmic Mail* takes the occasion to congratulate Government on the selection of one who is fully conversant with the needs and aspirations of the Indian Musalmans, and who is, moreover, a practical, unostentatious, and sincere worker in the sphere of education and social reform. It characterises him as the moving spirit of the Aligarh College and the Muhammadan Educational Conference, and it expresses concern as to what their condition will be after the guiding hand of the Sahibzada is removed from them. It is convinced that the appointment in question will prove useful both to the rulers and the ruled.

Protest against the *Bombay Chronicle's* criticism of Sir Shamsul Huda's appointment as Judge of the Calcutta High Court.
Islâmic Mail (4), 24th Mar., Eng. cols.

34. "Our contemporary of the *Chronicle* which poses as a Hindu and Muhammadan leader and professes to be an advocate of Nationalism (whatever that may mean) is very wroth with the Governor of Bengal for Justice Digamber Chatterjea's place in the High Court of Fort William being given to Nawab Sir Shamsul Huda, at whom our friend has made a passing hit which would contrast discordantly with the encomiums bestowed upon the Nawab by other Congress organs in Bengal. So far as we can understand,

beyond the fact of the Nawab being a Mussalman, there is no other thing which would discredit his appointment to the High Court. He may not see eye to eye with the advanced politician of the Home Rule School, but he is a progressive Moderate and has taken no mean part in the development of local self-government in Bengal. When his name was mentioned in connection with the vacancy in the Madras Executive Council, our local contemporary did indeed fret at the name of a Muhammadan being mentioned and made no secret of his feelings, but the Bengal papers, such as the *Bengali* and the *A. B. Patrika* supported it. He is a brilliant lawyer, a capable administrator, a zealous worker of sound judical temperament but he is also a staunch Muhamnadan, as he once confessed, and that is a fault. Our contemporary cannot evidently view with equanimity the elevation of a Muhammadan unless that Muhammadan happens to belong to the Horniman clique. It has written so much about increasing the Indian element in the Bombay High Court but never a word *about the claims* of a Muhammadan not even about those of Mr. Azad. On the Honourable Mr. Chaubal's retirement a vacancy is likely to occur in the Bombay Executive Council. Will Government be pleased to consult the *Chronicle* whether it has any objection to the appointment of a Muhammadan in future?"

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the proposed Congress deputation to England.
Message (6), 30th Mar.

35. "It is rather interesting to learn on reliable authority that the Council of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has come to the conclusion—not unanimous, of course—that the consideration of the question of the Congress deputation to England should be postponed. We presume the 'loyalists' in the Council have been so deeply moved by the sympathetic exhortations of His Excellency Lord Willingdon at the War Loan meeting, as to inflict with a heroic sense of sacrifice, self-abnegation on themselves and on the country. But unfortunately this loyalist 'Cave' in the Committee's Council is reckoning without its host in this matter. It must be remembered in the first instance that the All-India Congress Committee has received its mandate from the Congress to carry out the arrangements for sending a deputation to England, and it cannot question or go back on that mandate."

Comments on the Abkári Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1915-16.
Bombay Samáchár (55), 31st Mar.

36. Referring to the Government resolution on the Abkári Administration Report for the Bombay Presidency including Aden for the year 1915-16, the *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the action of Government in ordering the Director of Public Instruction to arrange for an early introduction of lessons on temperance and on the danger of drink in the 5th, 6th, and 7th books of the Vernacular Readers Series. It dwells upon the beneficent and lasting effects such lessons learnt at a tender age are calculated to produce upon young readers, and remarks that this decision on the part of Government afforded a proof of their solicitude in the matter of checking the evil of drink. The paper wishes that the head of the Educational Department will take prompt steps to comply with the Government order. It maintains that the people receive with acclamation the assurance given by Government about their desire to mitigate the evil of drink by imposing restrictions upon its sale, but at the same time it expresses its disapprobation at the increase in the number of liquor shops in the Kaira District on the ground that the fear of illicit distillation of liquor in that district which prompted Government to increase those shops has been to a great extent removed by the recent amendment of the Bombay Abkári Act the effect of which has been to impose restrictions on the possession and sale of *Mhowra* flowers in the Kaira District.

Complaint about the sale of Goa lottery tickets in Bombay.
Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 27th Mar.

37. Writing in condemnation of the Goa lottery tickets which are being openly sold in Bombay, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses its eagerness to know the reasons that prompted Government to repermit the sale of these tickets after being once stopped by them. If these Goa lotteries are a legitimate means of trying one's luck the paper wants to know why British Indian subjects should be debarred from the enjoyment of the same privilege. It knows of a number of educational bodies and other institutions undertaking various kinds of relief work the conductors of which, if permitted to organise monthly sweeps, would be in a position to do immense good to the city. Why not, inquires the paper, allow Indian leaders to issue a "War Loan Sweep" instead of allowing the money of the British subjects to find its way to a foreign territory. It remarks that like the mysterious workings of nature some acts of Government are inscrutable.

Complaint that the prohibition by the Police of the bullock cart traffic between Wathar and Mahableshwar is causing much inconvenience to the public.
Vrittasar (113), 26th Mar.

38. The *Vrittasar* complains that the Police having prohibited *chhakadas* (bullock carts) from plying between Wai and Wathar and Wai and Mahableshwar the travelling public has been put to much inconvenience and suggests that as the owners of these carts are starving in consequence of the prohibition, the authorities may be pleased to restore the traffic.

Comments on the failure to render an account of the Moslem League funds on the part of Mr. Vazir Hasan and others.
Islámic Mail (4), 24th Mar.

39. "A member of the Moslem League writing from Allahabad draws our attention to a very serious matter which concerns all those who have subscribed to the funds of the League. Our correspondent says:—'Almost all contributed large amounts to the League funds and had a right to know how their money was spent. As trustees of the funds, it was the duty of the Raja of Mahamudabad and Wazir Hasan and Mazharul Haq to tell the subscribers in what way their money had been used. It is customary for the secretaries of public institutions to give a report of the year's work of the institution, its income and expenditure, its progress and its activities, at its annual sitting. But Mr. Wazir Hasan's League is an exception to this rule. No one knows what Mr. Wazir Hasan does with the huge funds that he collects in the name of the League. We admit that he has risen too high to deign to look down upon those humble persons who ask for light. But it is due to his own lofty position to give an account of the public funds entrusted to his keeping.' Our correspondent is perfectly right in demanding an account of the public funds in the hands of Wazir Hasan. He and his colleagues Mazharul Haq and the Raja, disdain to answer public queries. But they are bound by every law of honour and propriety to render an account of funds in their keeping. Mr. Mazharul Haq was entrusted with the huge funds collected for the relief of the Cawnpore riot victims. There was some correspondence in the newspapers who wanted him to render an account of the funds in his hands. There was much foul language used, but so far as we know he has never given any account and to this day we do not know how the money has been spent. We do not attribute any sinister motives to him as his detractors have done. If there were any other man in his place, people would have been justified in drawing ugly conclusions. But he and Mr. Wazir Hasan are honourable men."

Claims of Muhammadans to the posts of Public Prosecutors in Sind.
Islámic Mail (4), 24th Mar., Eng. cols.

40. "Our Sind contemporary writes. 'We should like to give prominence and publicity to a letter addressed by the Honorary Secretary of the Sind Muhammadan Association, Karáchi, to the Commissioner in Sind and the Judicial Commissioner in Sind. It is indeed a true sign of progress that the Sind Moslem leaders are applying themselves to discover the true sources of Muhammadan backwardness in Sind. They are approaching Government to confer high appointments on deserving Muhammadans in such departments where Muhammadans are not to be found at all. It is since a long time past that the claims of the Muhammadan community have not been considered in connection with the appointment of Public Prosecutors in Sind. The Province of Sind is wholly a Muhammadan Province, 90 per cent.

general population being the followers of Islam, and it is strange not one of them is a Musalman. It is but fair that all important communities should be represented as Public Prosecutors of Sind. There are many Muhammadan Barristers and Pleaders in Sind who are fit for the post of Public Prosecutor in Sind. The Sind Muhammadan Association has approached the authorities at a proper time as the post of the Public Prosecutor in Sind will shortly fall vacant on account of Mr. Raymond's appointment as an Additional Judicial Commissioner. We hope the request of the Association will be granted, not only because it is a just and fair one, but because it will serve as an incentive to the efforts the community is making to improve its education."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the appointment of the Honourable Mr. Setalvad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University.

Message (6), 30th Mar.; **Gujaráti* (13), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.

41. "It is gratifying that an Indian has been appointed as the Vice-Chancellor of our University. Mr. C. H. Setalvad is undoubtedly a great educationist.......... While we are pleased that he has been selected to fill the vacancy created by the absence of Dr. Mackichan we wonder if it is not after all a strategic move on the part of Government to ween him from Congress politics.......... Considering his lukewarm attitude in recent years, Congress politicians will not have much reason to be sorry for the loss, if loss it is, of Mr. Setalvad's active services. We hope that, as Vice-Chancellor, he will leave his personal impress on the affairs of the University and earn the gratitude of his countrymen in the field of education. His success in this will greatly make up for his possible failure in politics." [The *Gujaráti* remarks:—"In our opinion this selection will go far towards removing the feeling of suspicion and distrust that still prevails in the public mind regarding the educational policy of the Bombay Government, and convincing the educated people of this presidency that at least His Excellency Lord Willingdon is not going to perpetuate the mistakes of the past but is magnanimous enough to recognise meritorious services and brush aside old official prejudices."]

Jám-e-Jamshed (20), 30th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (17), 29th Mar.; * *Kaiser-i-Hind* (21), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.

42. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* congratulates the Honourable Mr. Setalvad on his being appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. It remarks that this action of the sympathetic Government of Lord Willingdon, coming as it is does after Sir P. M. Mehta's appointment to that post in the same *régime*, demonstrates the solicitude of the present Government to see relations of cordiality and confidence subsisting between the University and the people. In view of the Honourable Mr. Setalvad's opinions as to what part a university should play in the matter of the development of education among Indian students, the paper believes that his present appointment is sure to meet with the whole-hearted approval of the educated classes of the City. [While remarking that the educated public will rejoice at the appointment of the Honourable Mr. Setalvad, the *Hindusthán* maintains that the Bombay University is very backward, when compared with other Indian universities, in the matter of the appointment of leading educated Indians as its Vice-Chancellors. It points out that even a prodigy of learning like Justice Ranade was not accorded this honour and regrets that prominent men of learning in this country should not be able to win it. While not wishing to disparage here the merits of Dr. Mackichan in any way, the paper observes that it would have been better if other educated men of the same or even a little less calibre than that of Dr. Mackichan had in the past been appointed Vice-Chancellors instead of the latter having been appointed to the post not less than four times. It points out that besides being a member of the Bombay University Senate since 1895 and Chairman of the Schools Committee of the local municipality, the Honourable Mr. Setalvad has not achieved anything remarkable in the field of education; but at the same time it wishes that he may soon add to his past achievements. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"It

comes as a matter of genuine pleasure to learn of Mr. Setalvad's appointment to the Vice-Chancellorship in succession to the Rev. Dr. Mackichan. Not only will it go to the credit of Lord Willingdon's Government but also add to public confidence in it to know that an eminent educationist has been chosen to fill the highest place in the University; and it will go to establish much that the public have desired and will tend to promote harmony and sympathy between the official and public interests in the Senate."]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 5th April 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 14 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 7th April 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council: Comments on the proceedings of the last meeting of the— 34

British Rule:

- Alleged dislike of British officers for the Parsis 26
- Alleged unjust treatment of India by both the Imperial Government and the Government of India in the matter of post-war reforms . . 22
- Colonial interference in Indian affairs should not be allowed . . . 23
- Comments on a book named the "Indian Empire" . . . . 20 & 21
- Comments on the orders passed against Mr. Krishna Swami Varma of Chingleput (Madras) under the Defence of India Act 25
- Goverment's duty in the matter of controlling *wakf* properties . . 28
- Rights enjoyed by the Philippinoes compared with those enjoyed by Indians 19
- How the people cannot effectively co-operate with the officials under the present circumstances 24
- The Western India Turf Club should also contribute to Indian charities 27

Excise: Necessity of changing the constitution of the Abkári Committees . 42

Hajis: Comments on the system of issuing return tickets only to— . 46

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal: Comments on Lord Ronaldshay's replies to addresses of welcome . . . . 37 & 38

Imperial Legislative Council: The proceedings of the— . . . . 31—33

India in Parliament: Comments on the discussion in Parliament over the increase in the import duty on cotton goods . . . . 35 & 36

Indians in the Colonies: Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Ladies' deputation regarding indentured labour . . . . 29 & 30

Judicial matter. Comments on the decision in the *Bombay Chronicle* Libel appeal case 43

Police:

- Complaint about frequent thefts in the suburbs of Bombay . . . 45
- Necessity of an inquiry into enforced prostitution of women in Bombay. 44

Public service: Comments on the appointment of Mr. J. G. Covernton as Director of Public Instruction, Bombay 39

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Public Works Department :

Comments on the suggestions made by Mr. Wood, Principal of the Roorkee College, before the — Committee 41
Suggestions for the reduction of expenditure in the — 40

Sind :

Alleged highhandedness of the Commissioner in — 47
Claims of Muhammadans to the post of Public Prosecutor in — . 48

War :

Appeal to Muhammadans to subscribe to the — Loan out of regard for the interests of the Turks 9
Comments on England's congratulations to Russia on the Revolution. 17
Comments on General Smut's tribute to Indian troops in East Africa . 15
Comments on the rules under the Indian Defence Force Act . . 1—6
Comments on the — Loan Lottery sanctioned by Government . . 10
Suggestion that interest on the — Loan should be paid to Muhammadan landowners in the shape of remissions of land revenue . 8
Should the Allies imitate the savagery of the German Armies? . . 18
The declaration of — by the United States of America . . . 16
The Indian — Loan 7
Welcome accorded in England to the Indian representatives on the Imperial — Conference . . . . , . . . 11—14

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's two Bills regarding free and compulsory education in the Municipalities 49

EDUCATION—

Comments on the appointment of Mr. C. H. Setalvad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University 52
Comments on the Government of India's Resolution about encouraging the Boy Scout movement among Indian boys . . . . 50 & 51

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bandra: Reflections on the mismanagement in the — (Thána) Municipality 54
Bombay: Appeal to the Municipal Commissioner to allow the work of constructing a mosque in Grant Road, Bombay, to be proceeded with . 53

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(As it stood on the 1st April 1917.)

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay East Indian	Bombay	Weekly	J. L. Britt; East Indian; 70	300
2	Indian Social Reformer	Do.	Do.	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A.; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin); 46.	525
3	Islámic Mail	Do.	Do.	Saiyid Mohomed Abdulla Khan; Muhammadan (Sunni); 33.	1,500
4	Mahrátta	Poona	Do.	Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 44.	700
5	Message	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 37.	2,000
6	Phœnix	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	Jáffar Faldu; Muhammadan (Khoja); 63	425
7	Sind Advocate	Sukkur	Weekly	Pribhdas Kodanmal Gogia, Hindu; 42	500
8	Sind Journal	Hyderabad	Do.	Karamchand Gurumukhsing Mirchandani; 35.	500
9	Sind Observer	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	Dinsha Nánábhái Patel; Pársi; 32	375
10	Young India	Bombay	Weekly	Pandharinath Kashinath Telang; Hindu (Goud Saraswat Bráhmin); 40.	750
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
11	A'ryă Prakásh	Baroda	Weekly	Motilál Tribhovandás; Hindu (Bania); 46	1,000
12	Gujaráti	Bombay	Do.	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái; Hindu (Bania); 34.	16,000
13	Gujarát Mitră	Surat	Do.	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala; Hindu (Deolad Bania); 41.	1,200
14	Gujaráti Punch	Ahmedabad	Do.	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh; Hindu (Mesri Bania); 40.	3,600
15	Hindi Punch	Bombay	Do.	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár; Pársi; 59	550
16	Hindusthân	Do.	Do.	Ratanlál Atmárám Sháh, Modh Bania; 36.	1,500
17	Hindusthán and Akhbár-e-Soudágar.	Do.	Daily	Ratanlal Atma Ram Shah; Modh Bania; 36.	2,000
18	Indian Loyalist	Wadhwán	Weekly	Ganeshji Jethábhái; Hindu (Khatri); 64	575
19	Jám-e-Jamshed	Bombay	Daily	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A., Pársi; 41.	5,000
20	Kaiser-i-Hind	Do.	Weekly	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin; Pársi; 34.	2,000
21	Káthiáwár Times	Rájkot	Bi-weekly	Trikamji Govindji Kotak; Hindu (Lohána); 37.	800
22	Khurshed Prakásh	Bombay	Weekly	Dinsha Pestonji Madan; Pársi; 29	800
23	Pársi-Sansár	Karáchi	Do.	Rustomji Kharsedji Sidhwa; Pársi; 32	500
24	Praja Bandhu	Ahmedabad	Do.	Jagjivandas S. Trivedi; Hindu (Shrimáli Bráhman); 38.	2,700
25	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Bombay	Daily	Mihirjibhai Palanji Madon; Pársi; 57	3,000
26	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	1,700
27	Rást Goftár	Do.	Do.	Dhanjibhái Jiváji Dhondi; Pársi; 48	825
28	Sánj Vartamán	Do.	Daily	Rustamji N. Vácha-Gándhi; Pársi; 51	7,000
29	Suryă Prakásh	Surat	Weekly	Nagindás Dáyábhái; Hindu (Nagar Bania); 71.	550

	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
30	Chandrodaya	Dhárwár	Weekly	G. H. Honnapurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat); 47.	475
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARATHI.				
31	Kanara News	Kumta (Kanara) ...	Fortnightly ...	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin); 46.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
32	Dnyánodaya	Bombay	Weekly	Alden Hyde Clark ; Christain ; 38 ...	550
33	Dnyán Prakásh	Poona	Daily	Gopál [illegible]shna Deodhar, M.A. Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ;44.	3,000
34	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Do.	Weekly	Do. do. ...	4,000
35	Indu Prakásh ...	Bombay	Daily	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu ; (Marátha); 55.	2,000
36	Pragati and Jinvijay ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Anna Bábaji Latthe ; Jain ; 30.	300
37	Shetkari	Ahmednagar ...	Weekly ...	Ganesh Krishnă Chitale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Brahman) ; 48.	200
38	Subodh Patrika	Bombay	Do.	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 41.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
39	O Anglo-Lusitáno... ...	Bombay	Weekly	Dr. W. Pais, L. M. & S. ; Goanese ; 36 ...	1,000
	ANGLO-SINDI.				
40	Al-Haq	Sukkur	Weekly	Sheikh Abdul Majid Sheikh Adam ; Mahomedan ; 28.	800
41	Frontier Gazette ...	Jacobabad ...	Do.	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu Bhatia ; 35.	500
42	Lárkána Gazette	Lárkána (Sind) ...	Do.	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 28.	700
43	Sindhi	Sukkur (Sind) ...	Bi-weekly	Mulchand Bhágchand ; Hindu (Baláni); 39.	1,000
44	Sind Patrika	Lárkána (Sind) ...	Weekly	Deosing Shámsing ; Hindu (Amil) ; 30 ...	500
45	Sind Upkárak	Shikárpur	Monthly	Bhai Mohandev Ghanshamdas ; Hindu (Bhátia); 55.	300
46	Sind Vasi	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Daily	Vasomal Kishanchand ; 37	725
47	Sookhree	Karáchi (Sind) ...	Weekly	Jámatmal Lálchand ; Hindu (Chapráo) ; 44.	500
48	Trade Advertiser	Shikárpur (Sukkur).	Do.	Teckchand Verbamal ; Hindu (Goklani) ; 45.	800
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
49	O Goano	Bombay	Weekly	M. A. Fernandez ; Goanese ; 44	900
	GUJARA'TI.				
50	Akhbár-e-Islám	Bombay	Daily	Kási Ismáil Kási Muhammad Parbundri ; (Muhammadan) ; 47.	2,200
51	Baroda Vartamán ...	Baroda	Weekly	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel ; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár) ; 47.	1 700
52	Bombay Gujaráti ..	Bombay ...	Do.	Bhagvánlál Tribhuvan ; Hindu (Gujaráti Bráhman) ; 34.	600

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI—*concluded.*				
53	Bombay Samáchár	Bombay	Daily	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocheher-Homji, B.A.; Pársi ; 42.	4,200
54	Broach Mitră	Broach	Weekly	Trikamlál Harnáth Thákor ; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri) ; 35.	550
55	Broach Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Jehángirji Ardeshir ; Pársi ; 38	500
56	Chitramaya Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Tuljáshankar Gawrishankar Yádnik ; (Audich Sahasra Brahman) ; 35.	900
57	Deshi Mitră	Surat	Weekly	Maganlál Kikábhai ; Jain (Visa Shrimáli) ; 41.	1,200
58	Hind Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Dáyábhái Kasandás ; Hindu (Shrawak Bania) ; 51.	1,000
59	Hitechhu	Karáchi	Do.	Harilál Válji Thákur ; Hindu (Audich Bráhman) ; 32.	100
60	Islámic News	Amreli (Baroda)	Do.	Abdulla Ismail ; Muhammadan (Memon) ; 35.	550
61	Kaira Vartamán	Kaira	Do.	Somachand Panachand ; Hindu (Jain Bania) ; 41.	500
62	Káthiáwár Samáchár	Ahmedabad	Do.	Bhaishankar Chhaganlal ; Hindu (Bráhman); 47.	500
63	Loka Mitră	Bombay	Bi-weekly	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi ; 42.	700
64	Navsári Patrika	Navsári	Weekly	Harivallabhdás Pránjivandás Párekh ; Hindu (Bania) ; 43.	400
65	Political Bhomiyo	Ahmedabad	Do.	Nurkhan Amirkhan ; Muhammadan ; 62	...
66	Praja Mitră	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	Jaffar Faddu ; Muhammadan (Khoja) ; 63.	375
67	Praja Pokár	Surat	Weekly	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala ; Dásálád Brahman ; 41.	700
68	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor ; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania) ; 39.	4,100
69	Surat Akhbár	Surat	Do.	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel ; Pársi ; 42	750
70	Vivechak	Lachhras (Nándod, Rájpipla State).	Monthly	Chaganlal Naranbhai ; Hindu (Bhavsár) ; 32.	800
	HINDI.				
71	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Rámchandră Vásudeo Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 30 and Shankar Narahar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Brahman); 41.	1,250
72	Shri Venkateshwar	Bombay	Daily	Pandit Chandulál Mehta ; Hindu (Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 48.	1,000
73	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	10,000
	KANARESE.				
74	Karnátak Vaibhav	Bijápur	Weekly	G. R. Mannur ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 50.	500
75	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayă.	Dhárwár	Do.	Krishnáji Hanumant Mudvedekar ; Hindu (Vaishnav Bráhman) ; 44.	1,200
76	Lokă Bandhu	Do.	Do.	Gururáo Rághavendră Mamdápur ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhman) ; 49.	300
77	Raj Hansa	Do.	Daily	M. N. Tembe ; (Karháda Bráhman) ; 34	600
78	Raj Hansa	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	600
79	Rasik Ranjini	Gadag (Dhárwár)	Do.	Gaurishankar Rámprasád ; Hindu (Kanoja Bráhman) ; 54.	50

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI.				
80	A'ryávart	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly	Shakar Hari Joshi; Hindu (Deshasta Bráhman); 29.	200
81	Bakul	Ratnágiri	Do.	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi; Hindu (Bania); 40.	400
82	Belgaum Samáchár	Belgaum	Do	Hari Bhikáji Sámant; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 55.	230
83	Bhárat Máta	Islámpur (Sátára)	Fortnightly	Vishnu Sitárám Athale; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 31.	400
84	Chikitsak	Belgaum	Weekly	Abáji Rámchandră Sávant; Hindu (Marátha); 54.	540
85	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Rámchandră Vásudev Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30 and Shankar Narahar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Brahman); 41.	10,000
86	Din Mitră	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Weekly	Mukund Ganpat Pátil Hindu (Máli); 30.	600
87	Dnyán Ságar	Kolhápur	Do.	Vishnu Vithal Mantri; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 52.	600
88	Jagadádarsh	Ahmednagar	Do.	Káshináth Bahiray Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 66.	200
89	Jagad Vritt	Bombay	Do.	Shamrao Balkrishna Kirtikar; (Pathàre Prabhu); 42.	13,000
90	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit	Sholápur	Do.	Govind Náráyan Kákade; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 60.	450
91	Karmanuk	Poona	Do.	Hari Náráyan Apte; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 49.	3,400
92	Kesari	Do.	Do.	Narsinh Chintáman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 44.	20,000
93	Khándesh Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do.	Yádav Bálkrishnă Bahálkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 51.	500
94	Modă Vritt	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Dámodar Laxman Lele; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 38.	50
95	Mumukshu	Poona	Do.	Lakshman Rámchandră Pangárkar, B.A.; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 44.	1,700
96	Násik Vritt	Násik	Do.	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 37.	300
97	Pancham George Vijay	Belgaum	Do.	Balvant Ramchandra Sohoni; Hindu (Gaud Saraswat Brahman); 38.	1,000
98	Prabodh Chandrika	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do.	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 54.	200
99	Prakásh	Sátára	Do	Rámchandră Ganesh Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 41.	350
100	Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 37.	5,000
101	Satyă Shodhak	Ratnágiri	Weekly	Krishnáji Hari Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 32.	1,000
102	Sholápur Samáchár	Sholápur	Do.	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal; Hindu (Telgu Mali); 36.	400
103	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Bombay	Do.	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande; Hindu (Marátha); 55.	1,500
104	Shri Sháhu	Sátára	Do.	Váman Hari Dhavle; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) 36.	300
105	Shubh Suchak	Do.	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Chitale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 37.	250
106	Vichári	Kárwár (Kánara)	Tri-monthly	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 43.	450
107	Vinod	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Kulkarni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 28.	200

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Marathi—*concluded.*				
108	Vrittasár	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Purushottam Ganesh Vaidyă ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 26.	90
109	Vyápári	Poona	Do.	Nána Dádáji Gund ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 61.	500
110	Wárkari	Pandharpur (Sholápur).	Do.	Vithal Keshav Limaye ; Hindu (Chitpâvan Brahman) ; 45.	300
	Sindi.				
111	A'ftáb-i-Sind	Sukkur (Sind)	Weekly	Sháms-ud-din *walad* Muhammad ; Muhammadan (Abro); 50.	500
112	Khairkháh-i-Sind	Lárkhána (Sind)	Do.	Gurudinomal Tahilsing ; Hindu (Khatri) ; 44.	250
113	Musáfir	Hyderabad (Sind)	Do.	Abdul Wahab Khan ; Pathan	900
114	Prabhát	Do.	Tri-weekly	Gopaldás Lekhráj Thadani ; Hindu (Ámil) ; 29.	550
115	Sind Sudhár	Karáchi (Sind)	Do.	Khánchand Rahumal ; Hindu (Amil) ; 49	800
	Urdu.				
116	Islámic Mail	Bombay	Weekly	Saiyad Muhammad Abdulla Khán ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 33.	1,500
117	Mufid-e-Rozgár	......	Do.	Hazi Munshi Mahamad Husein, Muhammadan ; 46.	3,500
118	Muslim Herald	Bombay	Do.	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 38.	1,200
	Gujara'ti and Hindi.				
119	Jain	Bhawnagar	Weekly	Devchand Damji ; Hindu (Bania) ; 31	1,800
120	Jain Mitră	Bombay	Do.	Bábu Sital Prasád ; Jain ; 47	200
	English, Portuguese and Concanim.				
121	A Luz	Bombay	Weekly	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 36	500

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the rules under the Indian Defence Force Act.

Message (5), 31st Mar.

1. "The authorities seem to be labouring under the belief that those who are eager to volunteer are the tag-rag and bobtail of Indian humanity, irregular, unruly and undisciplined, among whom they are to first restore order and then introduce discipline. They seem to have completely lost sight of the fact that in the large number of people who are really eager to prove their earnestness, we have the best among the community, socially, intellectually, morally and materially, that they are not only the educated but are the most respected and esteemed among their people. We wish the military authorities to bear this in mind thoroughly and if they deal with those who will be enrolling before long, with becoming moderation, dignity and considerateness, it will go a long way to establish cordial relations between the officers and men. We are told that the training companies will be commanded by selected British Officers. We hope the authorities will take due care to elect officers possessing a sympathetic and broad outlook who can enter into and respect the feelings and sentiments of the men whom they may be called upon to command. We are constrained to add this gentle note of warning, in view of certain accounts which have reached us in the past as also on the present occasion regarding the manner in which a certain type of 'British' officers, who have long been stationed in India, treat the men under them. Without instituting any unfair comparison *against* them, we are constrained to admit that during their long stay in this country they have acquired all the prejudices which are inherent in the Civilian Anglo-Indian population and have been translating them in their practical daily conduct. We are referring to this in no light spirit. We feel that this sort of conduct is not the one which will remove rancour and distrust between the one and another and if such conduct be really tolerated among those into whose hands will be committed the task of moulding the new forces, there is less chance of the movement succeeding.......... We would urge upon our readers to keep in view the larger issues which are involved in the success or failure of the present move. If men are slow to come forward because the conditions are disappointing, our opponents—they are many—would readily seize it as an excuse to cry down the whole Indian Nation as a nation of effete, effeminate men, who, when the opportunity was offered them, would not take it. It would affect us in other directions also and must ultimately mean the prolongation of our arrested progress in political and social questions."

Young India (10), 14th Apl.

2. "Would-be volunteer writes:—'We regret very much that the rules and conditions regarding the voluntary enrolment of Indians have been conceived in a pettyfogging spirit. The rules as they have now been issued leave no doubt that recruitment is carried out under no better conditions than that for the regular Indian Army. Only, it is restricted ordinarily to classes other than those which have been exploited for the latter. Think as we might, there is hardly any extenuating circumstances in favour of the Indians. The class bias and discrimination seems to have been permitted full play in the Rules stage and the strong hopes held out to the ear have been broken to the heart. Too much is made of difficulties of training and equipment which ought to exist nowhere except in imagination. If the authorities were in earnest in the matter, we are sure they would have had no difficulty whatever in overcoming any obstacle.......... Having regard to the invidious distinction and discrimination which is sought to be perpetuated, we do not wonder if the enthusiasm of the people has been damped considerably. The sole motive for people to enrol under these circumstances must be nothing but a high sense of duty and love of country. We expect every true and honest Indian who is not over the prescribed military age of 30 years, to do his duty to his Motherland by enrolling himself at once at the centre most convenient to him, and making by his energy and enthusiasm the half-hearted attempt of the authorities an unqualified success.'"

Sánj Vartamán (28), 2nd Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 3rd Apl.

3. The six thousand men required by Government for the Defence Force will constitute an insignificant force, compared to the population of India and we have every hope that the number will be raised in a very short time. The rules under the Act are satis-

factory on the whole. People serving in private firms will be able to take leave for 90 days and join the Force. We hope that managers of commercial firms will allow full pay to their men wishing to join the Defence Force as the pay allowed by Government will be quite inadequate to support the families of people serving in it. Steps should be taken to convene public meetings for exhorting people to join the force and explaining to them the rules under the Act. Should India not be able to furnish six thousand men for the Defence Force those who are opposed to political rights being granted to us will say that we are unfit for *swarájya.* Those who want *swarájya* must in the first instance prove that they are able to defend their own country. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—It would be hasty to conclude from the small number which is to comprise the voluntary section of the Indian Defence Force that Government still continue to look with distrust upon the Indian people. We must in this connection recognise the difficulties of Government in providing arms and accoutrements to the men enlisted in the Defence Force who will only be required to serve in the country. The formation of the Defence Force is only an experiment which might lead to the formation of an Indian Reserve Force. We should, therefore, exert ourselves to make the experiment a success with a view to proving our claim to further concessions in the matter of political rights.]

Gujaráti (12), 1st Apl.

4. An impression prevailed in certain quarters that the Indian Defence Force Act did not satisfy the political aspirations of the Indian people beyond making hollow promises and some persons went the length of questioning the motives of Government. But the rules under the Act lately published will revive the hopes of the people. It seems Government want to raise six units of territorial troops in India and give training to 250 men at a time at each centre. It must be admitted that since only men between the age of 18 to 31 are to be allowed to enlist, able bodied men beyond that age will have to suffer disappointment. The question is how many educated men must there be in this country between the age of 18 and 31? If the figure were known it would be seen that Government are right in fixing the limit of the Indian section of the Defence Force at 6,000. The men who will enlist will get the benefit of a change of air and be fed and clothed at Government expense and get military training in the bargain. Apparently the gain is not a very substantial one, but we hope no young man will miss this unique opportunity of receiving military training.

Kesari (92), 3rd Apl.

5. We really regret to learn that Government have limited the number of recruits in the Defence of India Force to 6,000. The circumstances of the war are such as require the increase of man-power as much as possible and attempts are being made in this direction both in England and France. Those who have been rejected formerly are to be examined again in England. Is it not better to recruit as many men as possible in India rather than somehow obtain recruits from those once declared to be inefficient? Government do not seem to be ready to proceed in this matter with a mind quite free from suspicion. Otherwise they would not have made a ridiculous demand for 6,000 men out of 25 crores. As time goes on the little prejudices of Government may disappear and more recruits may be entertained. Something is better than nothing, and our only duty is to provide the men asked for and wait for a fresh call. We trust that Indian youths will not waver from performing this duty.

Hindusthán (16), 31st Mar.

6. Commenting upon the rules under the Indian Defence Force Act, the *Hindusthán* expresses its disappointment at the small number which is to constitute the Indian section of the Defence Force and adds:—Popular leaders convened public meetings and exhorted young men to join the Force; but we now see that Government are reluctant to fulfil their promises. The rules under the Defence Force Act are a sort of wet blanket on the enthusiasm of the people and the hopes they entertained of serving the country. Government are responsible for thus creating discontent among the people by frustrating their hopes. What prodigious efforts Government have made to secure enlistment in the Defence Force! Young men should come forward to join the Force prompted by no other motive but that of serving their mother-country. We wanted bread and they have given us a stone! However, we have every hope that self-sacrificing young men will come forward to avail themselves of the opportunity to become volunteers and do their part of the duty which every citizen owes to his country.

The War Loan.

Gujaráti (12), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.

***7.** Referring to the steps being taken in the mofussil to secure subscriptions to the War Loan, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—"We are not sure if over-zeal has not caused or is not likely to cause dissatisfaction in the moffussil. We do not think sufficient attention is being paid to the fact that it would operate as a hardship to call upon a landholder with a family who pays an assessment of ten rupees only to contribute an equal amount. It should be remembered that the call for subscriptions to the War Loan was preceded by a universal call for voluntary gifts of money or in some other form even in the moffussil, and whilst welcoming all legitimate methods for inducing those who are in a position to subscribe, we deprecate exhibitions of over-zeal in dealing with the mass of the people outside great cities and towns in the very interests of the War Loan.......... India is not England and what may not be felt to be a burden in England may become so in this land of poverty. We would advise the people in the moffussil to rise to the height of the occasion, in fact do their utmost to help the Imperial Government at this juncture in a spirit of self-sacrifice. At the same time it is the duty of Government to see that subordinate officials are themselves not pressed too hard so as to compel them to exhibit unjustifiable zeal in obtaining contributions. If those who are not in a position to pay are made to do so, that will only land them into indebtedness and the burden will perpetually remind them of the great hardship inflicted upon them, of course, with the best of intentions."

Suggestion that interest on the War Loan should be paid to Muhammadan landowners in the shape of remissions of land revenue.

Islámic Mail (116), Urdu edition, 2nd Apl.

8. Discussing the comparative smallness of the total amount of subscriptions to the Indian War Loan, the *Islámic Mail* urges each and every inhabitant of India to subscribe towards it according to his or her means, and in view of their religious objection to accepting interest it suggests that Government should arrange to remit land revenue due from Muhammadan landowners to the extent of the interest earned on the loans held by them. It is convinced that the proposed arrangement will lead many Musalmans to participate in the Loan, as they could not possibly be deterred then by any religious scruples.

Appeal to Muhammadans to subscribe to the War Loan out of regard for the interests of the Turks.

Akhbár-e-Islám (50), 4th Apl.

9. In exhorting the Muhammadans to subscribe to the War Loan the *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—In spite of putting up a tough fight the Turks have had to give up important harbours and holy places which fortunately have come into the possession of the British Government who are ever ready to respect the religious susceptibilities of their subjects. The Muhammadans should give a practical shape to their anxiety for saving that fragment of the Turkish Empire that still survives by subscribing to the War Loan and thus strengthening the hands of the British and thereby inducing Turkey to conclude a separate peace with Britain. The rapid progress the British army is making in Turkey will, we believe, make Turkey sue for a separate peace with the Allies and thus save its Kingdom from further disintegration.

Comments on the War Loan Lottery sanctioned by Government.

Gujaráti (12), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.

***10.** "The conditions of the Lottery are not, in our opinion, at all fair To award *three* prizes of 10,5 and 2½ lakhs is grossly unjust. It is nothing but a huge gamble from which only three fortunate persons will profit to an enormous extent.......... If a lottery was at all to be sanctioned, it should have been on more sensible and equitable conditions. Government should have looked into the terms with greater care than they seem to have done and we are sorry such a huge [illegible] should have been permitted in which a single person will win 10 lakhs, and lakhs of contributors will meet with absolute disappointment. We must enter our emphatic protest against a lottery being started under such grossly unfair conditions."

Welcome accorded in England to the Indian representatives on the Imperial War Conference.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 7th Apl.

11. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses gratification at the welcome given to the Indian representatives on the Imperial Conference in England and the eulogistic speeches made by the Premier and the Secretary of State at a luncheon given to Mr. Chamberlain and the three Indian members of the Imperial Conference, and adds :—We never thought that a Conservative Secretary of State would ever give expression to his feelings in such generous terms and declare that Indians should not be allowed to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. We now feel sure that steps will soon be taken to stimulate industrial progress in India with a view to making it self-supporting and thus conducing to the solidarity of the Empire.

Young India (10), 4th Apl.

12. Commenting on the proceedings of the first meeting of the Imperial War Conference and the treatment accorded to the Indian representatives, *Young India* remarks :—"The net gain, so far as India is concerned, is that the so-called Indian representatives have been allowed equal rights of speech and formality of vote also with the Dominion representatives. If we remember the exclusive character of the past Imperial Conferences, we may congratulate ourselves on the preliminary success we have gained. It cannot but largely be the result of the strong agitation that followed in the wake of the shabby treatment which the Government of India jointly with the Secretary of State meted out to Indian opinion. We did not expect that the prophecy of the jute bag politician of Calcutta would fulfil itself so soon. After all, by 'shouting loud enough' we have gained an inch where formerly we were unable to obtain half an inch by passing cart-loads of pious resolutions from our solemn conclaves of annual Congresses and Conferences."

Gujaráti (12), 1st Apl.

13. The news regarding the war sittings of the Cabinet recently received are hope-inspiring. The Indian representatives on the Imperial Conference are treated on a footing of equality with the representatives of the Dominions. Each Colony is to be given one vote and the Secretary of State for India will give his vote on behalf of India. We believe he will not give his vote against the wishes of his Indian advisers. The difference lies in this that the representatives of the Colonies are not the nominees of their respective Governments, but the chosen representatives of the people to whom they are responsible. It is clear that the Secretary of State for India, or the nominated representatives of the Government of India, are not similarly responsible to the Indian people. On the other hand, the Secretary of State has declared in Parliament that the Dominion members will not be given any powers to deal with Indian questions, that are not given to the Indian representatives. Again, the freedom of the City of London has been conferred upon the Indian representatives at the Conference along with the Dominion members. All these things are gratifying inasmuch as they tend to show that the Indian representatives are being treated on a footing of equality with the representatives of the Colonies.

Message (5), 31st Mar.

14. "When some time ago, it was stated by Reuter that there was a movement afoot in London to accord a public reception to the oversea delegates to the Imperial War Conference, some doubts were naturally entertained whether the delegates would come in for their proper share of appreciation. The present decision clears away the existing doubts and will be welcomed as an indication of the growing desire of the English people to recognize the magnificent part India has played in this war. This is, we believe, for the first time Indians are being admitted to the freedom of the City of London, and it will, we are sure, have a splendid effect on the imagination of the people."

Comments on General Smut's tribute to Indian troops in East Africa.
Mahrátta (4), 8th Apl.

*15. "General Smuts paid a tribute to Indian troops saying that he had never commanded more loyal or brave men. We are now accustomed to these tributes and expect them from every commander who has Indian troops under his command.......... Will these laurels be remembered when the reconstruction of the Empire is effected after the war? The Indian soldiers and officers who have fought in this War for 'the Freedom of humanity' and have brushed shoulders and enjoyed tete-a-tete with citizens of the Free nations will not return to India unchanged in outlook and ideals. They have seen with their own eyes how clearly is National Freedom loved and adored abroad and they cannot fail to institute a comparison between India and these free countries. They will naturally wish to see India on a high pedestal. When the soldier class of India and the ordinary citizens all desire that their country should occupy a higher place than is her share at the present day, no efforts of interested parties to thwart our aims are likely to suceed. England will be well-advised to grant India the Freedom which in South Africa has borne such healthy fruit......... If England deals fairly by India in the after-war readjustments, she will be acting wisely. For the Indian temperament is fast changing under the pressure of circumstances and England may not count upon easy days in India if her demands are slighted."

The declaration of war by the United States of America.
Bombay Samáchár (53), 6th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (16), 4th and 6th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 4th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 5th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (50), 6th Apl.

16. The *Bombay Samáchár* maintains that the speech with which President Wilson recommended to the House of Representatives the declaration of war against Germany will mark a golden page in the annals of the liberty-loving Americans. From this speech the paper infers that America has now awakened in the matter of her responsibility towards humanity. It expresses its joy at the news announcing that the Senate has adopted the resolution for declaring war against Germany. The paper is sanguine that on America joining the Allies the war will end sooner and in a sure defeat of the enemy. [The *Hindusthán* is of opinion that America's entry into the war will greatly help the Allies. It believes that the great financial help the latter will receive from America will go to remove their apprehensions about their economic situation. The paper remarks that if America had, instead of waiting till her own national self-respect was at stake, declared war against Germany when the latter violated the neutrality of Belgium and if Italy and Roumania had soon followed her example the present war would have come to a close much sooner. In the subsequent issue the paper regards America's present decision as a sure precursor of the Allies' victory. The *Sánj Vartamán* looks upon America's joining hands with the Allies at the present concluding stage of the war as the surest guarantee of the Allies' victory. It observes that the event has struck the death-knell of Germany. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that President Wilson's recommendation to the Congress in favour of rendering the Allies all possible help, pecuniary and otherwise, in the successful prosecution of the war, will evoke great feelings of joy in the Allies' territories. It prays that the Allies may, with the co-operation of America, soon succeed in crushing the arbitrary Prussian militarism. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses the wish that the present union between America and the Allies may not suffer any hitch. It dwells on the probability of this union, as well as the Russian revolution, compelling Germany, Austria and Turkey to think of soon concluding a peace.]

Comments on England's congratulations to Russia on the Revolution.
Mahrátta (4), 8th Apl.

*17. "Mr. Bonar Law stated in the House of Commons on the 4th instant that two Labour M. P.s were going to visit Russia at the request of the Imperial Government with the object of conveying the congratulations and sympathy of British Labour to its comrades in Russia. There is quite a flood of congratulations pouring from England into Russia. If this flood is to be taken as an indication of England's genuine happiness at seeing the Russians free, how are we to explain British indifference in regard to India's affairs? Does

Britain think we are happy and contented without Freedom? Or are successful revolutionary attempts the only passport to British sympathy?......... Before the Russians, there was no question of securing National Independence, because they possesed it already. Before us, similarly, there is no question of winning National Independence, because we have made up our minds to remain within the British Empire. Before us, as before the Russians, the question that has demanded solution has been that of the establishment of popular freedom within the Empire. Russians have solved it as far they are concerned. We have still to solve it. We are on our way to solve it. Will our Government hinder us in our work as the Russian Government hindered regenerative work in Russia? We hope that we shall get active co-operation of our Government in solving our problem. We cannot remain in the mire with peace and contentment. Out of it we must get, whatever the effort may cost.'"

Should the Allies imitate the savagery of the German Armies?

Dnydn Prakdsh (33), 1st Apl.; **Mahrdtta* (4), 8th Apl.

18. Commenting on the retirement of the German armies on the Western front, the *Dnydn Prakdsh* remarks:—The criticisms of the *Times of India* are usually sober and well-informed. Our contemporary, however, seems to have recently lost its balance of mind inasmuch as it is advocating that the horrors of war cannot be sufficiently brought home to the Germans unless the Allies imitate the savagery of the German armies when they cross into enemy territory. A number of correspondents of the *Times* have acclaimed the suggestion with a chorus of approval. These worthy people seem however to forget that in spite of the substantial advance that the Allies have made in the West, it is still a far cry to the German frontier. Their vehemence would lead one to suppose that the entry of the Allied army into Germany was only a question of hours! Now, no sane man would attempt to justify the cruelties of the Germans. Their inhumanity in the present war certainly merits condign punishment. That does not, however, mean that the Allies should pay them the compliment of imitation. It is enough, we think, if the Allies exact suitable reparation and make the Germans realise that war is not necessarily a paying game. The avowed object of the Allies is to prevent the recurrence of a similar war in the future. Will that object be achieved by imitating the ways of the enemy? If that be done the Germans will only brood over their sufferings and renew the conflict at a convenient opportunity. We trust, therefore, that all talk of visiting on the Germans the horrors of which they have been guilty will be abandoned. [The *Mahrdtta* remarks:—"We do believe that 'wholesale devastation of a country by burning and razing towns and villages' is not a *sound policy*. When the war operations have ceased and formal peace is established, the wantonly devastated villages will cry out to sensitive patriotism to keep up the flame of hate and revenge within the secret chambers of the heart.......... Once the superior strength of the Allies is brought home to the Germans, it is only reasonable to suppose that every village and town of Germans left whole and treated with chivalrous considerateness will be a distinct accession of strength to the Allied 'Cause'—which is a cause of Honour and National and Popular Liberty."]

Rights enjoyed by the Philippinoes compared with those enjoyed by Indians.

Dnydn Prakdsh (33), 1st Apl.

19. Those who regard the scheme of self-government outlined by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League as impracticable should compare our modest demands made after 150 years of British rule, with the rights enjoyed by the Philippinoes after only 20 years of American occupation. The following items will be found of interest:—(1) We want four-fifths of the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils to be elected by the Indians. In the Philippine Assembly all the members are elected by the people. (2) We claim that in the Executive Councils half the members should be Indians whereas in the Philippines, 5 out of 8 are Philippinoes. (3) We desire that the Indian members of the Executive Councils should be elected by the elected members of the Legislative

Councils. In the Philippines a Bill has been introduced to abolish the Philippines Commission and to establish a Senate, all the members of which are to be natives. (4) We ask that each province should have a Governor; in the Philippines all the 38 provinces have Governors, 32 out of these 38 Governors are elected by the people. (5) At present Indians form only 5 or 6 per cent. of the Indian Civil Service. In the Philippines 75 per cent. of similar posts are held by natives. (6) In India we have no control over military expenditure and no one dreams of making England pay for the army maintained in India and a third of the Indian revenue is expended on the army. In the Philippines all the expenditure on the army is borne by America and the Philippinoes are not made to pay anything.

Comments on a book named "The Indian Empire".

Mahrátta (4), 8th April.

*20. "We have before us a small brochure in which opinions of a few Americans are collected together. What is the subject the American opinion on which is sought to be presented to us in a concise form? It is 'The Indian Empire.' And who sends us this 'collection'? It comes to us through the Political Department of the Local Government. It is indeed a most momentous undertaking. It could not possibly have been put off to a later date, Indians are pointing at defects in the present system and demanding Home Rule. The demand is made in insistent terms. It was incumbent, therefore, on our benign Government to go through the trouble of acquainting us with the view which some Americans take of the Indian situation. For are we not bound to respect the 'impartial' vision of third parties? So, we are put in possession of what Colonel Roosevelt said on *Jan 18th May 1909*, and Rev. Jones (?) wrote *in April 1907*, etc., etc.......... Mr. Bryan's 'diatribes' against the British in India have not been extracted, but Rev. Jones' condemnation of Mr. Bryan for charging the British people with having done injustice and cruelty to India has found a place in the pamphlet under notice. We wonder if the Government desires the Press to attempt a refutation of the views expressed in the publication they have so generously patronised. We think such an attempt if conscientiously carried out by any publicist will involve him in trouble. Here is no *American* freedom of the Press. Here we live under the rule of the Press Act and a series of other Acts made for the purpose of 'a successful administration'. The following is the first sentence of the first extract (Col. Roosevelt's opinion):—'In India we encounter the most colossal example history affords of the successful administration by men of European blood of a thickly populated region in another continent.' Successful, forsooth! The American administration of the Philippines has evidently been unsuccessful, for America has chosen to give them responsible Government after a rule of only 18 years. While Britain cannot think of throwing any responsibility on our shoulders even after more than a century of her rule in India! Poor America! She cannot manage the Filippinos—hence her haste in entrusting them with the management of their islands! Successful Britain—she can keep out Indians from any real and substantial share in the governance of their country and hence she has not had to suffer the fate of America! Were America successful in the islands, we should not have heard of any grant to the islanders of responsible Government! Will Col. Roosevelt advance such a view? Between American rule in the Philippines and British rule in India which will he put down as the *successful* one? Whatever Col. Roosevelt and others whose opinions we have been favoured with may say, *we* look upon the American rule as *successful* and the British rule as comparatively a *failure*.......... We think Government would have been well-advised to resist the temptation of patronising a poor collection of old antiquated expressions of opinion which miss the real point at issue. And who cares what the American says—when our hearts are actually aching? Does that American opinion feed our poor when they are hungry—and how many are half-starved all their lives, lives cut off before their time simply because of want of sufficient food and want of decent sanitary conditions and want of timely medical assistance? Can that 'impartial' opinion console us in our distress caused by our just but unfulfilled aspirations? The whole attempt is futile and we are sorry that our Government has patronised it."

Kesari (92), 3rd Apl.

21. It is difficult to obtain correct information about the influence really exercised by the Home Rule agitation upon Government. Who can know the schemes hatched against the *Swardjya* movement in Government house or in the dark chambers of the Secretariat? We do not know what progress the anti-Home Rule League of Bombay has made. The non-Brahmins of Madras have started a daily journal against Home Rule. Some Rajas on that side have begun to write articles and deliver speeches. One would feel surprised at first at the new power of speech obtained by these dumb golden parrots. But what cannot Royal grace do? What wonder is there that these Rajas parade as real leaders when Government honour the unfit and invest them with the honour of speaking on behalf of the public? We can imagine what sort of victory would be gained by Government when their forces contain Rajas who have no subjects and learned men who are innocent of education and orators who cannot utter a word and writers who cannot write even a line. But what can Government do? Almost all people have treacherously left them and joined the opposing forces. They tried to rely first on the educated classes, then on Muhammadans and the uneducated. The game of rallying the Moderates was also tried. Now the only forces left on the Government side are the Rajas and Jahagirdars and the ignorant masses. Can it be said that these classes have no grievances of their own? A drowning man catches at a straw, and Government have asked for help from America. We cannot help pitying them for their helpless condition. Before us lies a pamphlet sent to us by the Political Department containing opinions of Americans on the British administration of India. The other side cannot be presented as the sword of Damocles of the Press Act hangs over our head. We do not know whether the ancestors of Roosevelt, Taft and Jones helped the American Revolution against England. But even now have they not indirectly condemned the British Government by granting the Philippinoes, who are far less educated and fit than Indians, a form of *Swardjya* far higher than that enjoyed by India? The question is not whether the British Government is on the whole good or bad but whether Indians have been rendered fit by British administration for *Swardjya* or not. We would have welcomed more a comparison by Government between the Philippinoes and Indians. Why was *Swardjya* granted to them so early and why does not India get it? A discussion of these points also would have been advisable. The opinions of the sixteen Americans are irrelevant. No one asks Government to leave India immediately as is implied by them. If Government have come across any such statement by Home Rulers they should honestly publish it. What is the use of wasting paper and ink in these days of high prices to refute statements which have never been made?

Alleged unjust treatment of India by both the Imperial Government and the Government of India in the matter of post-war reforms.

Young India (10), 4th Apl.

22. "An extraordinary proposal was suddenly sprung upon the House of Commons by one of the M. P.'s—Sir Charles Henry—for the appointment of a Parliamentary Commission to investigate and report upon the policy that might be recommended by the Government of the day (?) in connection with Indian affairs. Mr. Bonar Law with considerable zeal replied that 'as at present advised the Government did not propose to take the course suggested by the Honourable gentleman'. He added, however, that Government was 'carefully' considering the whole subject. His Excellency the Viceroy has also informed the public in this country that the subject of post-war reforms is receiving their sympathetic consideration (*pace* the expedition with which the Public Services Commission Report is being considered). In this matter, we are at a loss to decide who is to be congratulated the most—whether the Imperial or the Indian Government. It would, we think, be invidious to single out either of these for special praise in connection with its treatment of Indian questions. Perhaps, Mr. Bonar Law did not realise the ludicrousness of the situation when he stated they were carefully considering the whole subject. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford also stated that they had submitted to the Secretary of State a despatch on post-war reforms. But what this despatch contains nobody knows and the Government of India have a by no means strange aversion to take the public into confidence. It is no doubt not agreeable to the people or their representatives that 'the Government of the day' should initiate and carry out plans behind their back and that is the fear which is largely shared among them."

Colonial interference in Indian affairs should not be allowed.

Kesari (92), 3rd Apl.; *Sandesh* (100), 31st Mar.

23. Mr. Chamberlain replying to an interpellation in the House of Commons condemned strongly the uncalled for interference of the Round-Table group and gave an assurance that in matters purely Indian the Colonies will not be consulted. But judging from the suggestion made by Mr. Asquith that the Colonies should be consulted in the settlement of the Irish question, we doubt how far Mr. Chamberlain would be supported by the Ministers in his liberal attitude. The question now raised with reference to Ireland may be raised tomorow in connection with India. We think that a ministerial declaration is necessary in this connection. We think that men belonging to the 'Round-Table' group must have been quite enraged to see the honours showered upon the Indian representatives in England. But we should not miss the point at issue. India has only one vote in the Imperial War Conference and even when the Secretary of State differs from the Maharaja of Bikáner and Sir S. P. Sinha, his vote will be counted as the vote for India. But we cannot help it in the present circumstances. Let us for the present be satisfied with the progress achieved. [The *Sandesh* says :—We are glad that Mr. Chamberlain gave an assurance that the Colonies will not be allowed to have a hand in the administration of India. India has been accorded an equal position along with the Colonies not simply because of her help to England in the war. It may be the immediate cause but our fitness is also the real cause for this recognition. Our agitation for equal treatment with the Colonies dates from 1906 and we did not begin the demand in the expectation that the war would occur in 1914. We have relied on our capacity and we have kept up our demand. It is necessary that the Native States that have an existence independent of India should be given separate representation in the Imperial War Conference. The Colonies are represented by elected Ministers whereas British India is represented by the Secretary of State. This defect should be remedied early.]

How the people cannot effectively co-operate with the officials under the present circumstances.

Message (5), 5th Apl.

24. Commenting on one of His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay's speeches at Calcutta in the course of which he said he looked confidently to the people to assist him in realising his ideals, the *Message* remarks :—" Every new ruler has said the same thing when he entered upon his charge. Not so very long ago, Lord Chelmsford said as much. His Excellency asked for the co-operation of the people. The people might as well ask 'co-operation in what direction and in what manner?' If you really want co-operation, you can have it for the mere asking; but it cannot be lasting or fruitful so long as those of whom co-operation is expected are treated as if they were aliens in their own country and in regard to their own interests. Where merely advice and suggestion are looked for, it is meaningless to pretend, as is generally done in some popular quarters, that their co-operation is sought after......... As for the officials themselves, of course by long usage and custom, they have come to regard themselves in this land as all-knowing, all-powerful and in some cases above law. With some of them it seems a rule of life that laws are more made for the people than for the officials.......... If they are slow to take the people into their confidence, one need not wonder. Sometimes, if they choose, they may condescend to consult the people as to what they would like best, just as parents do sometimes with their children. But are parents bound to follow the wishes of the children? Or if at times they gratify their wishes can it be the result of co-operation? Without pursuing the analogy further, we simply wish to make this point clear that so long as the officials and the people feel towards each other a restrained sense of want of trust and confidence, there can be no co-operation, no effective assistance rendered on either side and the wish itself for co-operation or assistance under such conditions may degenerate into a vague meaningless longing."

Comments on the orders passed against Mr. Krishna Swami Varma of Chingleput (Madras) under the Defence of India Act.

Kesari (92), 3rd Apl.

25. Government are disporting themselves in any way they like under the Defence of India Act. Mr. Krishna Swami Varma of Chingleput (Madras) has been prohibited from speaking on any subject or publishing anything which has not been pre-censored by the District Magistrate. As Government cannot be compelled to publish any particulars that may have led them to pass this absurd order, they are free after they have signed the order. But does any one consider what harm is done by such proceedings to the freedom enjoyed by British subjects which pro-Government people themselves are bruiting about? Has the maintenance of the British Government become so delicate a task that one Krishna Swami's word or speech would upset it? How can Government not see that they are committing the absurdity of using a sword for cutting grass? If any writing is seditious Government have got means enough to deal with it. It is very surprising that Government entertain a desire to do such a manifest injustice. Or what wonder is there? When a mind becomes callous enough to brave the infamy of injustice and foolishness, how can it suppress the tendency to be whimsical while enjoying bureaucratic ease? Sometimes medicine itself becomes food if used abnormally. Such is exactly the case of the Defence of India Act. With the preamble that the order is issued under the Defence Act anything can be said and written. No need to go to the courts of justice, no bother of any evidence and no responsibility of making good any heavy loss if inflicted on the people! The war has blessed the bureaucrats with such an easy instrument, and they are using it at their sweet will.

Alleged dislike of British officers for the Parsis.

Râst Goftâr (27), 1st Apl.

26. In giving away at one stroke a big sum of rupees one lakh and a half for the purchase of sea-planes to provide for the defence of the Bombay harbour Sir Dorab Tata has done an act of which the Parsi community can be proud. Really, this news has very much gladdened our heart as well as the hearts of the community. Though it would be unreasonable to write anything that is unpleasant on such a joyful occasion, yet we feel tempted to ask when Englishmen will begin to appreciate the true worth of the Parsis. To a large section of them the very sight of the Parsis is hateful. When an object has to be accomplished the Parsis are raised to the seventh heaven but when found convenient they are also hurled down from the same height. Englishmen do not like Parsis because the latter are not given to flattery but are men who would call a spade a spade. Government officials do not show the slighest amount of sympathy towards the Parsis both in service and elsewhere. Government derive their Abkari revenue in crores of rupees through the Parsis and yet when helpless men and women from among them are done an injustice there is no one to listen to their complaint or redress their grievances. Is it a wonder if the hearts of the people get estranged as a result of such conduct on the part of Government? We regret that we have to write thus at a time like the present but if we do not make Government acquainted with what we complain about in private and in our clubs they would either take us to be fools or would persuade themselves to believe that we are satisfied with everything that they do.

The Western India Turf Club should also contribute to Indian charities.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 1st Apl.

27. Remarking that 70 per cent. of the income derived by the Western India Turf Club from horse-racing comes from the pockets of the Indian public, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses its belief that the Club will cause great satisfaction among the Indians if it will extend its sphere of liberality and contribute a portion of the money it annually contributes in support of the War Relief Fund and some English charitable organisations, towards helping institutions like the Victoria School for the Blind and the Maternity Homes started in furtherence of the Lady Willingdon Scheme and in support of the Sheppard After Care Fund, which are being maintained for the benefit of the Indian community generally. It maintains that if the Turf Club is at all disposed to practise real charity instead of allowing itself to be influenced by narrow and communal considerations it would do well if it were to include within the scope of its liberality public institutions benefiting the community from which it derives the bulk of its huge annual income.

Government's duty in the matter of controlling *wakf* properties.
Islámic Mail (3), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.

28. " So far as the Muhammedans of Bombay are concerned there can be no matter of greater concern to them than the management of their *Wakfs*.......... It is no exaggeration to say that nowhere *Wakfs* are more mismanaged than here and the pity is that our benevolent Government which exercises a beneficent reforming influence in all matters of public good is sorely indifferent to the *Wakf* question. The authorities cannot be unaware of the cruel—nay criminal—way in which the *Wakfs* are diverted from their charitable purposes. We could go on counting instances in which the trustees have misappropriated the funds and mortgaged the *Wakf* properties for their personal use. We have been told of a revered and respectable trustee in Surat, who has mortgaged and encumbered *Wakf* trusts and is making the *Wakfs* a source of his living. We hear of trustees who utilise *Wakf* for their profligacy and have endowed *Wakf* properties on their mistresses. We know of trustees who utilise *Wakf* funds for satisfying their own whims and caprices. Government have provided some safeguards against their mismanagement and the Law Courts are authorised to take cognisance of such cases; but we have never heard of any such case ever coming before the Court and at least so far as our province is concerned any law that may be there to prevent mismanagement of *Wakf* amounts to a dead letter.......... 'The *wakf* is an endowment' says Kazi Ayaz—the greatest of our theologians—'meant for the benefit of the public and is administered by certain trustees over whom the State keeps supervision in order that they may not divert it from the purpose for which it is intended.' We have advisedly substituted the word 'State' for the Ecclesiastical Department which occurs in the original text because there is no Ecclesiastical Department for the settlement of Muhammadan questions and they are decided by British Courts of Law. It would, therefore, appear that Government have the power of supervision over the *Wakfs* in order that they may not be used for purposes other than those for which they have been made. Unfortunately Government—and particularly the Government of Bombay—have never used their prerogative in this respect or the Muhammadan progress would not have been retarded here for want of funds.......... Government appear to be obsessed by the belief that they cannot interfere with the administration of the *Wakfs*, and they are right. But they are empowered by theological rulings to check their maladministration and Governments in other Provinces are doing so. [The paper then goes on to quote from an issue of the Mysore *Blue Book Quarterly* an account of the action taken by the Madras Government in this matter, in the course of which occurs the following passage:—] 'The Government (of Madras) consider that, before the question of legislation is considered, an attempt should be made to utilize the provisions of existing law. They agree with the Board of Revenue that the first measure to be taken is the preparation of a complete list of charitable endowments (excluding religious endowments). Lists should be compiled for each district and published for general information. When a complete list of charitable endowments has been prepared, it will be for the Board to see that such lists are kept up to date, that trustees of such endowments keep regular accounts and that steps are taken to remove those who fail to do so. The Government observe that, under the existing law, it is not possible to appoint non-officials as local agents. Local advisory committees might, however, as recommended by the Board, be formed without statutory powers; their function would be to report on the management of endowments and to suggest appropriate action to the Collector of the district.' [The paper then continues :—] Now we should like to know why such a step cannot be taken here. It is believed that Government are waiting for the action of the Government of India who appointed a Committee to investigate the problem and were contemplating legislation based on the recommendations of that commmittee when the war broke out and it had to be postponed. But there can be no harm in taking some such action as has been taken in Madras. The existing law gives them ample powers for the correction of abuses and there is no reason why an attempt should not be made, as has been done in Madras, of utilising the provisions of the existing law."

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Ladies' deputation regarding indentured labour.

Young India (10), 4th Apl.

29. "One of the most remarkable incidents of modern times in India is the Indian Ladies' Deputation which waited on His Excellency the Viceroy last week. This is the first time in the history of British Rule in India that women—more particularly Indian women—have approached the Viceroy. It is pleasing to note that Lord Chelmsford apparently appreciated this action on the part of the Indian ladies. The treatment which he accorded to the Deputation was thoroughly courteous and dignified, and the reply though not very happily conceived is far from disappointing.......... Though he was brief in his reply, he thought 'it was difficult to conceive that a traffic of this sort once ended can be revived'. We trust His Excellency would kindly enter into the feelings of the nation and see that no more tinkering is permitted with this abominable system. The system must go at all costs and risks and it behoves Lord Chelmsford, as the head of the Government of this country, to place himself at the head of the *anti*-Indentured Emigration army and lead it on to victory."

Gujaráti (12), 1st Apl.

30. It is reassuring to note that the Ladies' Deputation to the Viceroy has received a very hopeful reply in contrast to the sentiments put in his mouth by his official advisers some time back in the Imperial Legislative Council to the effect that the unequal numbers of indentured men and women would best be remedied by sending out more women. His Excellency has given three promises: that the system of indentured labour once stopped will not be revived; that industries will be encouraged in India so that the labourers will be induced to stay in their own country for earning their livelihood; and that labourers will not be allowed to emigrate unless Government are satisfied that the conditions under which they go out are different from those prevailing under the indenture system. Now that His Excellency the Viceroy has invited the co-operation of the women of India, why should they not urge the Government to spread the light of education in every nook and corner of India? For His Excellency's reply shows how closely the honour of our women is connected with the economic condition of the country. Our commerce and industry must be developed and for this development it is necessary to have more education and better sanitation.

The proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Gujaráti (12), 1st Apl.

31. In a review of the proceedings of the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Gujaráti* refers to the discussion in the Council about the working of the Press Act and dwells upon the necessity of disclosing the general tone of the books proscribed under the Act and of showing how they were politically harmful. While expressing its satisfaction at the acceptance by Government of the resolution for giving an impetus to the Boy Scouts movement, the paper does not regard the policy of rejecting about 75 per cent. of the resolutions brought by the elected members of the Council as calculated to encourage those who aspire to take part in the administration of the country. It is also dissatisfied with the Viceroy's explanation in connection with the making of the war gift of a hundred million to England on behalf of India without previously consulting the Council and observes that the previous resolutions in the Council, laying before His Majesty's feet the entire resources of India do not justify a transgression of the principles and laws governing the constitution of the country. It then goes on to refer to Government securing the services of Mr. Sadler, an English expert educationist, in connection with the reforms to be brought about in the Calcutta University and points to the desirability of employing the services of one who is acquainted with the wishes and the capacity of the people. Alluding to Mr. Lloyd George's recent observation in which he declared that India's services in the war bade fair to bring about a better understanding among the different nations of the British Empire, the paper maintains that the Indians have become desirous of knowing in what direction their political advancement lies. It also expresses its surprise at the reticence observed by the Premier, when congratulating the people of Russia on their liberation, as to England's future policy towards India in the direction of national freedom.

Sind Journal (8), 29th Mar.

32. "The speech of His Excellency the Viceroy in closing the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council bristles with many important statements though it leaves much to be desired having regard to the legitimate aspirations of Indians. The most gratifying feature of His Excellency's speech was his frank statement with regard to the abolition of indentured labour. [Here follows a quotation from the speech.] The whole country will rejoice at these hope-inspiring words. Any doubt that was lingering about the scope of the prohibition and its ultimate result has been dispelled by the above statement of the Viceroy. The death-knell of the hateful system of indentured labour has now been sounded and it is earnestly hoped that any substitute which might perpetuate its horrors without its name would not be devised for securing cheap labour to the Crown Colonies concerned.......... The Viceroy's explanation as to the manner of India's gift of one hundred millions sterling to the British Government is not quite convincing.......... We fail to see why the Council should not have been consulted about the amount and the nature of the gift to the British Government. That would have given the gift the unmistakable character of spontaneity."

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 30th Mar.

33. We are occasionally reminded by high officials not to embarrass Government by discussing reform problems at a time when the Empire is in the throes of a life-and-death struggle. Such discussion, we are told, is likely to result in the dissipation of energy which ought to be concentrated on winning this war. We are glad to note that the non-official members made it clear during the debate on the Budget in the Imperial Legislative Council that they did not share this view. The war has not prevented the peoples of Europe from devoting their attention to reforms in the affairs of their respective countries. The Russian autocracy was swept out of existence in the midst of a great war and a popular government established in its place which has been hailed with satisfaction in England by everyone from the Premier down to the man in the street. Why should then the authorities in India show signs of uneasiness when we formulate and discuss our own demands? We do not wish of course to bring about any revolutionary changes. Educated India is only anxious that the question of reforms should not be unnecessarily deferred until the war is over. We expect our rulers to give us an assurance that the ultimate object of British Rule in India is to confer self-government on Indians within a reasonable number of years.

Comments on the proceedings of the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Indian Social Reformer (2), 8th Apl.

*34. "Rambler" writes to the *Indian Social Reformer*:—"We cannot congratulate the Government of Bombay on the decorum of the manners or the wisdom of the methods they exhibited at the last session of the Legislative Council. They seemed to have been too much obsessed by a sense of the value of their own time above everything else. There was more than one reference to the waste of the time of the Council when none of the non-official members had any complaint to make on this score, and when the mere presence at the meeting of some of the busiest men in the country to whom every minute spent there during usual business hours was extremely valuable in money as well as otherwise, and who yet were there out of a sense of patriotic duty, might have given members of Government some pause. And who after all was really responsible for the waste of time if any? No one but Government themselves. Take, for instance, the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's question about the Principal of the Dhárwár College having to be a 'European' member of the educational service. Government make a mistake in the language of their Press Note in the first instance; when Mr. Paranjpye submits his question to the department as usual no one cares to offer any explanation; and yet when the question actually comes on before the Council the Honourable Mr. Chaubal complains that if Mr. Paranjpye had consulted him outside the Council he could have learnt the facts and the Council would have been saved his speech and the time it had taken to deal with the resolution. Let us take another and a more flagrant case. The Honourable Mr. Patel's various resolutions seem to have made His Excellency the Governor particularly uneasy, and led him to make some thoroughly unjustifiable remarks."

Comments on the discussion in Parliament over the increase in the import duty on cotton goods.

Sind Advocate (7), 22nd Mar.

35. Commenting upon the discussion in Parliament over the question of the increase in the import duty on cotton goods, the *Sind Advocate* writes:—"The ministers in England are firm, but they evidently have too much regard for the wishes of Lancashire. They are sweetly appealing to the patriotism of Lancashire not to raise an unpleasant issue at this time and taking their stand not on justice but on grounds of political expediency which will end with the war. This is hardly fair and Indians who see their economic interest thus already threatened may be pardoned if inspite of exhortations to cease from controversial questions, they discuss their questions of the counterveiling duties with the view to perpetuating the justice so tardily done by the Financial Minister of India to the interest of indigenous cotton industries. The time will come when India will insist on still more justice being done to all her industries, by protection Tariffs, by bounties, and by State initiative and State patronage. While this is done, India is merely doomed in the rear of modern economic competition; for all countries, which have it in their power to do so are advancing their own industries by conferring special advantages on them."

Young India (10), 4th Apl.

36. In the course of a lengthy article on the subject of the increase in the import duty on cotton goods, the discussion over it in the House of Commons and Mr. Asquith's suggestion that it should be reconsidered after the war, "V. R." writes:—"We are not disposed to raise at this moment inconvenient issues to which Government cannot give a satisfactory answer. But we think we are entitled to the same fair treatment from Government which it expects from us and that it will not do any thing that is likely to provoke strong feeling or resentment. We are perfectly willing that this question of Tariffs is left for final determination at the close of the war. But we should be extremely reticent to do so, unless following in the wake of other Governments within the Empire our own Government will give us a guarantee that in every eventuality the Indian side of the question will be fully borne in mind and when the opportune moment comes we shall be allowed to regulate our tariffs according to our special 'social needs and experiences'. In asking for such an assurance we feel we are fully within our rights. When the war is over, we shall be faced with a great issue. It does not seem improbable from the unqualified acceptance of Mr. Asquith's addendum and what has since transpired that when such a time comes, the selfishness of the Lancashire mill-owners and the interests of party politicians will reassert themselves and they would move heaven and earth to regain for Lancashire its privileged position which it has been temporarily forced to evacuate.......... Will the leaders of the textile industry wake themselves up from their habitual lethargy and enter the lists against the interests of Lancashire resolved to fight the battle to a finish?"

Comments on Lord Ronaldshay's replies to addresses of welcome.

Young India (10), 4th Apl.

37. *Young India* criticises the attitude taken up by Lord Ronaldshay against adverse criticism in his reply to one of the addresses of welcome presented to him and remarks:—"It is, we think, a bad beginning for any Governor to make, however gifted he may be. Lord Ronaldshay seems to be labouring under the idea that his critics are all a set of wrong-headed people, who have failed to do him justice in committing him to his written and spoken word. The second point about his official utterances is his reference to anarchy in Bengal. He is neither the first, nor we think, the last to deplore the presence of this cancer in the body politic of Bengal. In any effort he may make to rid the body politic of this malignant growth, we hope he will take care to see that he will not resort to a wrong remedy. The temptation would be too great, no doubt, to resist and it requires extraordinary skill and patience even more than what Lord Carmichael could display. If Lord Ronaldshay is sincerely anxious to adopt the right measures he will do well to remember, before he has irrevocably committed himself to any course, that he has within his reach the most potential remedy and that is taking the people into his confidence. For, after all, it is they who are affected by the unrestricted activities of the anarchist. It is their property, their lives which are at stake and you cannot do better than enlist their enthusiasm and confidence on your side in any attempt to eradicate the evils of anarchism. This is what Bengalees are asking for, what the whole of Indian public opinion is asking for and so long as the people who are more interested in maintaining peace over their land are not allowed to do so, we do not say it is impossible but it would be very much uphill work for Government to shoulder alone."

Rást Goftár (27), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.

***38.** "It would be unfair to prejudge a man's work from what he might have gathered haphazard during excursion tours, and still more so rendered in writing. Attention has been drawn by some critics to stray passages in his books which His Excellency might fain have omitted had it ever occurred to him that he would some day find himself confronted with the solving of some of those very problems which he treated superficially in his books. There is, nevertheless, not much data to warrant the presumption that His Excellency would not bring a free and fair mind in the discharge of his duties, and the Province must take him at his word when on his arrival he has assured them of his sympathy and good will for the people whom he is appointed to govern."

Comments on the appointment of Mr. J. G. Covernton as Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.

***39.** "The appointment of Mr. J. G. Covernton as Director of Public Instruction in Bombay will be welcomed by all who had the pleasure of knowing Mr. Covernton who is not a figure unknown to Bombay. As a professor he was known to be very sympathetic and his lectures had always been heard with pleasure.......... We are confident his tact and readiness which helped to distinguish him in Burma will not fail him in Bombay. During his regime in Burma he has created a record unique enough for a D. P. I. Bombay is perhaps a more difficult soil to work upon. We welcome Mr. Covernton and wish him success in his new but arduous duties."

Suggestions for reduction of expenditure in the Public Works Department.

Mahrátta (5), 8th Apl.

***40.** A correspondent writes to the *Mahrátta*:—"Now that all offices Courts and Departments in all districts have been provided with suitable buildings for their accommodation, there is no necessity to erect new buildings, and the duties of Executive Engineers are naturally narrowed down to the supervision of repairs to public buildings and Imperial and Provincial roads that traverse their charges. It may therefore be asked with reason if there is now any necessity for an Executive Engineer for every district in this Presidency. .... As far as I know standard plans exist for Collector's, Mamledar's and Mahalkari's Katcheries, for Judges, Subordinate's and Munshi's Courts, for Police Lines and officer's quarters, for Hospitals and Dispensaries, for schools of all descriptions and in fact for every description of buildings that form the complement of a district. If a necessity arise for a new building the Engineer has simply to take a copy of the standard plan or to adapt one by additions and alterations to suit special requirements. Under these conditions, the designing part of the Engineer's duty is gone, and very little scope is left for the exercise of skill and ingenuity on his part. He is now reduced to the position of an overseer of the repairs. This work can safely be entrusted, without detriment to the public interest, to Assistant Engineers or to officials of the higher grades of the upper subordinate service. I therefore venture to suggest that districts in this Presidency should be made into groups according to the extent of supervision required and to the peculiar nature of the country and an Engineer placed in charge of each group. Reduction can also be made in the number of Assistant Engineers and Upper Subordinates, because railways, motors and bicycles afford many facilities for fast locomotion rendering the work of supervision very easy without affecting efficiency.......... Reduction in the number of Executive Engineers, Assistant Engineers and Uppers Subordinates will bring to the fore the question of the superintending Engineers. There are at present as many as three Superintending Engineers for the Presidency. It is believed that one Chief Engineer will be sufficient to exercise efficient supervision over the whole Presidency (excepting Sind). .... Native agency should as far as possible be utilized. This will materially reduce the cost of the Department. Their capacity to do good work cannot be questioned."

Comments on the suggestions made by Mr. Wood, Principal of the Roorkee College, before the P. W. D. Committee.
Message (5), 4th Apl.

41. "In his evidence before the P. W. D.—Public Waste Department?—Committee which is now sitting at Allahabad, Mr. Wood, the Principal of the Roorkee College, deprecated the haphazard recruitment of specialists from England. Mr. Wood was of opinion, as many others who are aware of the circumstances are, that ordinary Civil Engineers could specialise and be trained in India. This admission, emanating from the head of an admittedly premier professional institution in the country, is of considerable importance at this moment, when certain interested people are sedulously attempting to instil into the minds of the authorities that no specialist who had not received the hall-mark of Cooper's Hill or some other English institution was of any value. Mr. Wood suggested that the Roorkee College should be open to the whole of India. We welcome the suggestion, and we would add a rider that the 'class' feeling which is said to exist in this institution should be done away with. The lowering of the age-limit from 21 to 19 would go some way in minimising the difficulties which face some intellingent young men at present. It would be interesting to learn what recommendations the P. W. D. Committee is going to make. We shall not be disappointed if the Committee's findings will be as narrow and exclusive in character as those of the Public Service Commission. We are constrained to make this observation because the Committee is presided over by no less a personage than Mr. Sly of the Central Provinces Commission and those who have marked Mr. Sly's mind in the Commission's report and the various minutes to which that amiable gentleman has subscribed will readily know the reason why."

Necessity of changing the constitution of the Abkári Committees.
Kesari (92), 3rd Apl.

42. In accordance with a resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Kamat, the Bombay Government have decided to establish Abkári Committees in all the Talukas of East Khándesh District. They have, however, assigned various strange reasons for not starting the committees in other districts. In the Kaira Distric committees have been negatived because facilities for illicit distillation exist and they have been refused in the Kárwár District because it is sparsely populated. The Panch Maháls have been denied the committees because the population there is very backward. It would have been better if Government had said that they saw no necessity of establishing the committees instead of taking the trouble of finding out all these diverse reasons. If the present constitution and methods of work of the committees are to be continued it matters not whether they are established or not. It is more important to change the constitution of the committees already existing, to have a majority of non-officials and to accept all the suggestions made by them. Replying to the Honourable Mr. Belvi Government have said that the version given of a meeting of the Poona Abkari Committee in our issue of 30th January 1917 was not correct. But Government should have stated the correct facts. We have again ascertained the facts which are as follows:—Exclusive of the President there were three members. Messrs. Apte and Lawate suggested the reduction of liquorshops, the former one and the latter three. The President said that he would consider about the abolition of the liquorshop or he would convert it into a beer shop or allow liquor of inferior strength to be sold therein. Neither of these three things has been done as yet. Both Mr. Apte and Mr. Lawate suggested that the closing hour should be 8 P.M. but nothing was decided on this point. They also suggested that an experiment of one or two beer shops in place of existing liquor shops selling liquor of 30° U.P. may be tried, but the Committee decided that in addition to the existing shops beer shops should be opened. We do not think that this detailed account will better enlighten our readers about the work of the Committee than our former summary. We request the authorities to say whether the above account is correct. Suggestions made by two members of the three present are rejected and the suggestions made by the President are put down as decisions of the committee! In these circumstances who will not say that it matters not whether these committees exist or not?

Comments on the decision in the *Bombay Chronicle* Libel appeal case.

Message (5), 31st Mar.

43. "The '*Chronicle*' Libel case appeal has ended in the reversal of his Lordship Justice Macleod's judgment and the news will, we have no doubt, be received by the 'Indian' newspapers at least with great deal of satisfaction. If Justice Macleod's view had prevailed, it would have dealt a severe blow at the little liberty that is still left to the newspaper press in this country.......... However much one may sympathise with Mr. Surajamal B. Metha, the fact cannot be overlooked that the journalist in this country labours under manifold disadvantages. In his self-imposed duty of protecting the interests of the community he has often to criticise men and measures alike and the criticism itself will often be determined by the circumstances of each case. If therefore every one who feels aggrieved were to rush to court, there would be no end to it and the journalist would find the business pretty hot work to be dancing attendance upon the courts every now and then. The law has recognised the difficulties of his task and has wisely offered him sufficient protection against harassment.......... If Mr. Macleod had taken a more liberal view of a journalist's responsibilities we think much of the needless worry and expense incidental to a protracted litigation would have been saved to both sides. We are glad, however, to see that fairness has at last prevailed and we congratulate his Lordship the Chief Justice on his judgment and Justice Heaton in accepting the view put forward by Mr. Setalvad and supported by the Chief Justice."

Necessity of an inquiry into enforced prostitution of women in Bombay.

Hindusthán (16), 6th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 6th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 6th Apl.; * *Gujaráti* (12), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.

44. Referring to the horrifying state of things disclosed in the recent Bombay High Court Sessions case in which a Pathan and a woman accomplice of his were awarded capital punishment for doing to death one of the prostitutes in a brothel owned by the Pathan, the *Hindusthán* expresses its belief that there exists in Bombay an organised system of enforced prostitution. It dwells upon the necessity of taking measures for putting a stop to the cruelties and oppression that have come to be associated with such a life of moral depravity and remarks that the police should exercise greater care and vigilance than at present in putting a stop to such a state of things. The paper seems inclined to endorse the belief entertained in some quarters that not only the continuance of such a regular system of moral iniquity but the fact of its assuming such serious proportions is to be ascribed to the police winking at it. It, therefore, hopes that the Bombay Government will take prompt and effective measures to remedy the evil. It suggests that a committee should be appointed to investigate the whole question and make recommendations that might go to the root of the evil. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the case has proved the necessity of keeping a stricter watch than at present on brothels and houses of ill fame. The paper observes that the public will remain anxious to know what steps Government and the police propose to take in this matter. The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that Pathans and women of low repute maintain in Bombay many dens of enforced immorality of the kind that has been brought to light in the above-mentioned case. Are Government, the police and the people, inquires the paper, properly discharging their duties in tolerating the continuance of such a state of things in Bombay? It suggests the formation of a Vigilance Committee composed of Europeans and Indians to rescue helpless women who might have, against their will, fallen victims to the keepers of brothels. The paper also asks Government forthwith to issue orders to the police to make proper inquiries and bring to book persons of the type of the Pathan and his accomplice. The *Gujaráti* writes:—"The subject does not admit of public discussion of a detailed character. But there can be no doubt that the distressing details of the present case have demonstrated the urgent necessity of a full enquiry into the immoral traffic carried on in Bombay and the conditions of life led by the unfortunate slaves kept by inhuman scoundrels.......... We suggest that a mixed Committee of officials and non-officials be appointed to inquire into the whole question and report their conclusions after examining experienced houseowners and police officers, the keepers of brothels and their victims. The inquiry should be private, but thorough and exhaustive.......... The present state of things is the blackest stigma upon the fair reputation of this city and the public ought not to sit quiet until it is removed and Bombay is rid of infamous and fiendish ruffians who thrive on female helplessness and on the incredible wrongs, miseries and cruelties inflicted by them on their wretched victims."]

Complaint about frequent thefts in the suburbs of Bombay.
Bombay Samáchár (53), 2nd Apl.

45. We hope the Police Commissioner of Bombay will enquire into the frequent reports of thefts in Malad, Santa Cruz and other suburbs of Bombay and take steps to put an end to the menace to which the unprotected people in the localities are subjected by the *budmashes*. Thefts have become so very frequent in these suburbs that it has become impossible for people to stay outside Bombay. According to reports reaching us people are some times roused from their sleep by the reports of revolver shots. Thieves and other *budmashes* are greatly assisted in their nefarious trade by the absence of adequate lighting arrangements in the suburbs.

Comments on the system of issuing return tickets only to Hajis.
Islámic Mail (3), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.

46. "Now that the return ticket system introduced by Messrs. Turner Morrison and Company for Mecca pilgrims has worked for nearly a couple of years it is time to judge of its merits and demerits in the light of experience gained during the two years of its operation. We have protested strongly against the system but we have an open mind and are perfectly willing to make a large concession in its favour. There is no doubt that to a great extent it has reduced the number of paupers who used to beg and roam in the streets of Jeddah and were brought back at Government expense. Also it has in some way checked the influx of indigent pilgrims who used to flock to Bombay content with the idea that a low rate of passage will take them over to the holy land and once there they would leave it to circumstances or to Government to bring them back. But it has at the same time fulfilled the fears that were entertained at its start. More than a hundred return coupons were not accounted for and looking to the unsettled conditions in Arabia where scarcity or famine is scaring away the people to other countries it does not appear likely that their holders stayed away there. It is more than probable that the coupons were lost as were many which were brought to the notice of the authorities. Again the chief advantage of the return ticket system was said to be a regular and punctual sailing. But we find that this was not so and many pilgrims on coming to Jeddah did not find any ship to bring them back. They were told to wait for some length of time with the result that to escape starvation they sold their return coupons. Even in the matter of refunds things have not gone on as smoothly as was expected. In one or two cases where Messrs. Turner Morrison and Company have agreed to a refund they have made it payable after two years. We had a talk with some of the Hajis and they said that they were very much disappointed in the matter of return tickets. They used to get very cheap rates on their return voyage, the fare sometimes going down to Rs. 15 but now they must pay Rs. 125 at the start, which has scared away many intending pilgrims. The simple Muhammadans from Eastern Bengal and Malabar do not know anything about the world and often lose their tickets even at the Wharfs. They lose them more frequently in Arabia in the hurly burly of the Hadj ceremony and come back in a miserable condition to Jeddah to find no passage. It is however useless to cry over this. We ought to be indebted to Messrs. Turner Morrison and Company for their liberality in taking up this by no means lucrative traffic. The one way of doing away with all trouble is to have a Muhammadan company and we do not know if any active attention has been paid to it so far."

Alleged high-handedness of the Commissioner in Sind.
Message (5), 5th Apl.

47. "Onlooker" writing to the *Message* says:—"Mr. Lawrence, I.C.S., the present Commissioner in Sind, is rather a strong bureaucrat who does what he chooses without erring too much on the side of respecting public feeling on any of the questions involved. For instance, his unfair way of levying income tax on even the poorest shoe-maker, barber and hawker in the city of Karáchi and the towns of Hyderabad and Sukkur, though so greatly resented by people of all classes in Sind, found no remedy even in the Bombay Legislative Council. Another activity of the Honourable Commissioner seems of late to have been to follow the policy of 'Divide et Impera,' 'Divide and Rule,' in the Municipalities of Sind. To favour Muhammadans, to postpone elections on their account in order to increase the number of Muhammadan voters by hook or by crook, even at the displeasure of impartial leaders of both Hindus and Muhammadans, seems to us neither just nor fair. But yet another movement of this Commissioner that is just on foot is to officialise Municipalities in Sind. We know how the Hyderabad Municipality was degraded and suspended. And now the Commissioner, I hear, proposes the same thing to the Sukkur and Shikárpur Municipalities—nay, he wants to force upon them Government officials nominated by himself to act as the Chief Officers of those towns. He says that it has been found by him that suitable and powerful persons are not appointed to these responsible posts—persons who should domineer like him over their subordinates. This, he says, is due to the fact that Municipal Councillors in whose hands the appointment lies, are at the back of the subordinates and so the Chief Officers thus appointed are afraid of being in the bad books of the Councillors. He would, therefore, wish to choose the officers himself, who should rule over their subordinates and even the Councillors with an iron hand."

Claims of Muhammadans to the post of Public Prosecutor in Sind.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 6th Apl.

48. In the course of a communication contributed to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, "Momin" supports the demand made by the Sind Muhammadan Association for the appointment of a Muhammadan to the post of Public Prosecutor in Sind which is shortly going to fall vacant on account of the present incumbent, Mr. Raymond, being transferred to the post of Additional Judicial Commissioner. He maintains that there are many Muhammadan barristers and pleaders in Sind who can acquit themselves creditably in the post of Public Prosecutor and regrets that not a single Muhammadan should have hitherto been thought fit to fill that post.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's two Bills regarding free and compulsory education in Municipalities.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 5th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (26), 6th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 31st Mar.

49. The *Bombay Samáchár* hopes that the Bill drafted by the Honourable Mr. Patel for authorising Municipalities to make primary education for boys compulsory within their respective jurisdictions will be welcomed by the Bombay Legislative Council and wishes that it may receive support from a sympathetic Governor like Lord Willingdon. It regards the Bill as a very modest measure and desires the Honourable members to lend their support to it, though they may differ on points of detail, in order to indicate their approval of the principle it involves. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* hopes that the Government of Lord Willingdon will open a new era in the progress of the country's education by passing the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill. It, however, does not approve of clause (3) of section 54 D, under which the parent or guardian of a boy is required to declare in writing his inability to pay any fee that might be levied, as such an obligation would involve considerations of self-respect, and it advises Mr. Patel to drop this clause from the Bill. The *Sánj Vartamán* appeals to His Excellency the Governor, on behalf of the public, to allow the Honourable Mr. Patel to bring before the local Legislative Council his two Bills regarding compulsory primary education and thus give the people of the districts and the citizens of Bombay the opportunity to express their opinion on the subject. It strongly advocates the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in every town and village of India and remarks that the apprehension entertained by Government that such an educational policy might lead to public riots and tend to make the British administration unpopular is not well founded. Referring to the Bill which seeks to empower District Municipalities to make education for boys compulsory the paper hopes that the Government will accept it inasmuch as it does not place any pecuniary burden upon them and is also in other respects a harmless measure.]

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Government of India's Resolution about encouraging the Boy Scout movement among Indian boys.

Message (5), 5th Apl.

50. "When the Honourable Sir Sankaran Nair, on behalf of his Government, accepted Mr. Sarma's resolution urging the desirability of encouraging the Boy Scout movement among Indian boys, we were led to think that they had overcome the mistrust and suspicion of the Indian youths. The circular letter regarding this matter, which has just been issued by the Education Department, unfortunately conveys the impression that the Government have their own doubts about the movement, and are on second thoughts inclined to go back in certain respects on the promise of encouragement which was implied by their acceptance of the resolution. It appears to us that in spite of their liberal professions of sympathy for the movement, the Government are no more enthusiastic to encourage the scout movement among Indian boys than they are to encourage Volunteering among the Indians."

Bombay Samáchár (53), 7th Apl.; *Gujaráti* (12), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.; **Mahrátta* (4), 8th Apl.

51. When the Honourable Sir Shankaran Nair accepted on behalf of Government the resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Sarma on the question of encouraging the Boy Scouts movement in India in the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council all the doubts existing in the minds of the people as to the attitude of Government towards the question were completely removed. We, therefore, welcome the circular letter and hope that steps will be taken at an early date to form corps of Indian Boy Scouts everywhere and that the movement will not be confined to a few approved schools only. In the beginning it might be found necessary to engage only Europeans as Scout-masters, but Government would do well to train Indians as Scout masters so that Indian boys may derive the greatest possible benefit from the movement. [The *Gujaráti* writes:—"If private educational institutions start such a movement under indifferent management and faulty organisation, local Governments have been asked to call upon the managers to dissolve the troop or withdraw the boys from it on pain of forfeiting their grants-in-aid and scholarship rights, or their students being declared unfit for Government service. We are afraid these instructions to the local authorities are of a drastic character and the growth of the movement in private institutions will be considerably hampred thereby. The local administrations will be even more stringent than is really warranted by the instructions which are exacting enough already and the movement is likely to be confined mostly to a few Government high schools in the larger cities.......... In Ceylon the movements has proved a success and there is no reason why it should not be an equal success in India, if it is fostered and encouraged by the local governments in a really sympathetic spirit and not treated from the very outset in a spirit of suspicion and distrust." The *Mahrátta* remarks:—"The working of the general directions is not unlikely to be faulty. Whatever the future, we would ask energetic gentlemen inside and outside schools to make sincere efforts to organise boy scout troops in every town of any size. We learn from *New India* 'that Mr. G. S. Arundale's efforts in this direction have borne good fruit and the Indian boy-scout troop started under his initiation has made good progress'. We hope that our presidency will not remain lethargic in this matter.' The many volunteers that offer themselves for *Paisa Fund* work and other work of national usefulness will, if organised and trained in accordance with the boy-scout system, be immensely more useful than at present to their society and their nation."]

Comments on the appointment of Mr. C. H. Setalwad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University.
Rást Goftár (27), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.

*52. "The appointment of Mr. C. H. Setalwad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University is one more proof of the solicitude of the present Government to give to higher education within the Presidency, the benefit of the experience of an expert educationist.......... Mr. Setalwad is a powerful combatant in debate and not of the stuff to truckle to official opinion when the same does not strictly coincide with his own. We congratulate all the more His Excellency Lord Willingdon for his selection which bespeaks confidence in non-official endeavours for the promotion of higher education and a larger measure of freedom for the University. The appointment of Mr. Setalwad would be acclaimed with universal satisfaction in the Presidency."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Appeal to the Municipal Commissioner to allow the work of constructing a mosque in Grant Road, Bombay, to be proceeded with.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (117), 1st Apl.

53. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* reports that the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay paid a visit to the mosque under construction in the Muhammadan cemetery situated in the north-western portion of Corner of Grant Road, Bombay. It states that the plan of the mosque as sanctioned by the Municipal Corporation has not yet been received by those responsible for its building, and that Mr. Monie ordered that building opetrations should cease. It adds that an application has been made to Mr. Monie to allow the operations to recommence, and concludes by hoping that he will be pleased to order that the building of the mosque may be proceeded with without delay.

Reflections on the mismanagement in the Bandra (Thána) municipality.
**Mahrátta* (4), 8th Apl.; *Kesari* (92), 3rd Apl.

54. The *Mahrátta* gives a short account of mismanagement in the Bandra (Thána) municipality and concludes:—"This is the story of Bandra abuses. The principal lesson that Government needs to draw from this story is that the people must be invested with *real* powers in the management of their affairs. For even if it be brought home to certain councillors that they did not take due interest in local affairs, they have a good reason to fall back upon

as the explanation of their meagre interest, viz., the fact that they possessed little real power. Lord Ripon recognised the necessity of placing such power into the hands of 'non-official members' if local self-government was to be a success.......... The feeling of *real responsibility goes with the possession of real power* and so does real interest in local affairs go with it. These things are really not difficult to grasp. We refuse to believe that the successors of Lord Ripon did not understand it. But even to this day we have all over the country official-ridden Local Boards and Municipalities by the hundred. Where is the explanation? Is it to be sought in the secret (?) resolve of our Government—the bureaucracy—to impede with all means at its disposal the progress of the people in the art of self-government? But there is a wise dictum to the effect that he only flies in the face of history who ignores the fact that no people ever stop or ever hesitate in the middle of the road once they begin to struggle for their liberty. Our rulers should ponder over this and frame their programme with this principle in their full view. We do not think that if they act in this way, an obstructionist and illiberal programme will commend itself to them. For such tactics can only serve to make the struggle between the rulers and the ruled bitter and violent. They cannot help the authorities in keeping the rights from the people for ever and ever." [*Kesari* writes:—Just as Government do not recognize the utility of a non-official however qualified he may be, they do not admit the inefficiency of an official however unfit he may be. The Bandra municipality was being utterly mismanaged under an official President. Had the President been a non-official one Government would have long ago suspended the municipality. Can we find any statement in Government records that the work of any official President was found to be inefficient? Government have all along behaved themselves as if God himself had made only Indians and non-officials inefficient. If the angle of vision is to be really changed it should be changed in this respect.]

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 13th April 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 15 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 14th April 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Appeal to Government to legislate for the segregation of brothels . 7 & 8
Comments on a brochure, containing views of distinguished Americans on the Indian Administration, said to be circulated by the Government . . . .
Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's speech at the banquet given by the British Empire Producers' Association 10
Comments on the administration of the country by the Indian Civil Service 3
Complaint against the prevention of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal from attending the Sind Provincial Conference . . . . . . 4 & 5
Comments on the proceedings of the annual general meeting of the Bombay Millowners' Association . . . . 12 & 13
Duty of England to raise the status of India to secure its assistance in the war 1
Protest against suggestion of British manufacturers for restricting hours of labour for juvenile and female operatives in India . . 11
Protest against the abolition of *modi* in official correspondence . . 15
Reflections on the alleged shadowing of distinguished Indian politicians by the C. I. D. 6
Suggestion for starting experimental *Panchayats* in the Bombay Presidency before framing a Panchayat Bill 9
The Kipling Memorial tablet should not have been erected at the cost of public money 16
The proposed one rupee currency note 14

Excise:

Alleged corrupt practices of officers of the — Department . . . 34
The Abkári policy of Government 33

Indians in the Colonies:

Danger of the indentured coolie system being revived in another form 27
The *Kangani* system of recruiting coolies is as pernicious as the indenture system 28
Judicial matters: Comments on the *Bombay Chronicle* libel case . . . 36
Press Act: Demand of security from the *Manorama* Press by the Madras Government 32
Public Service: Comments on Mr. Kajiji's appointment as Acting Judge of the Bombay High Court 35

B 10—a Con

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Public Service Commission:

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's statement that the Report of the Public Services, Commission was not to be discussed in the House of Commons 31
Comments on the Public Service Commission Report . . . . 29 & 30
Sind: Urdu text-books in Mullan Schools in —. 37

War:

Comments on the Government sanction to the Western India Turf Club — Loan lottery 19
Comments on the King's message to the Imperial — Conference . 26
Complaint of forcible recruitment in the Kolhápur State 21
Declaration of — between the United States of America and Germany. 23—25
Pressure should not be brought to bear on the people to purchase the — Loan 20
The — Loan . . . . 17 & 18
Whom does Sir James Meston represent at the Imperial — Conference? 22

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Government of India's circular to Local Governments on the subject of the Boy Scout movement among Indians . . . 38 & 39
Prospects of European and Indians in the Educational Department . 40
The "insane policy" of the Calcutta University in the matter of school buildings 43
The proposed Muhammadan University . . . . 41 & 42

MUNICIPALITIES—

Hyderabad: Condemnation of the water-service rules of the — (Sind) Committee of Management 44
Karáchi: Alleged need of a Food Prices Committee for — 45

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Duty of England to raise the status of India to secure its assistance in the war.

Chitramaya Jagat (85 and 56), Marathi and Gujarati editions for Jan. and Feb.

1. Mr. Mahadev Rajaram Bodas, M.A., LL.B., in the course of a very lengthy article in the *Chitramaya Jagat*, writes:—At the beginning of 1916 Lord Hardinge told us that though we may have *swarájya* as the ultimate goal we cannot get it just now. But His Excellency Lord Chelmsford now says at Calcutta that he hopes some day to see India reach that goal, *i.e.*, during his *régime* as Viceroy. Nobody credits Lord Chelmsford with greater magnanimity than Lord Hardinge, but this change in view is due to the times. England once felt confident that she would be able to crush Germany with the help of the Dominions, but that hope proved futile and Mr. Lloyd George had to come forward to save the Empire from ruin. It was seen that England could not come out victorious without India's help and that the days of securing its assistance by force being now past, it was to be gained by inviting India's representatives to England and by means of humble supplications. England wants men and money from India as well as from the Colonies, but the latter have got their own domestic difficulties to solve and they are not so foolish as to make the sacrifice disregardful of those difficulties. They are openly asking for a hand in the management of the Empire in return for assisting in a war in declaring which they were not consulted, and the demand has been indirectly conceded to a certain extent. But England and her Colonies are bound to each other by ties of blood while India has no such tie with England. Therefore, even English statesmen do not suppose that Indians can be very keen in the matter of upholding the prestige of the British Empire. If a master falls ill, his servants do not feel as keenly for him as do the members of his family. India is England's 'dependency' that is, something like a servant, and its duty is simply to obey England. India has up to this time well discharged its duty as a servant. But the question is worth consideration if a servant is bound to obey if the master proceeds to completely rob him or asks him to sacrifice his life. India has, as a matter of fact, nothing to do with the war in Europe. She has no concern with the fate of Belgium or Servia. And yet she has sent up two lakhs of her army and spent millions of money out of regard for the British Empire, and is prepared to make further sacrifices. But the time has now come to fearlessly tell our British rulers that we shall give the necessary further assistance to the Empire only if our dignity is maintained and our demands are granted. Some ultra-loyalists maintain that it is not proper to make these demands while the Empire is in difficulties. But England herself did not get the Magna Charta without methods of obstruction, and the history of Canada, South Africa and Ireland tells a similar tale. What wrong is there, therefore, if India follows the example? The relations of England and India are those of master and servant. England has given India the gifts of peace, education and material civilization, and in return for that has taken away countless money from this country. It has defended India from foreign invasion, to increase the prestige of its own Empire. Had there been any other master in place of England, he would have done the same. The master has fed the servant who in return has given his faithful service to the master. There is not much room for sentiments of gratitude or benevolent intentions in this matter. So long as England is not prepared to set India on a higher level than that of a dependency, how will Indians take pride in the Empire? Why should Indians sacrifice their lives for the Empire so long as the Arms Act makes invidious racial distinctions? We know to what extent a master who is always kicking his servants is loved by them. Are we to suppose that Indians are not men and do not possess human sentiments? But they are so very patient that pocketing all insults, they have remained loyal in the midst of the difficulties of the Empire. They will remain loyal and assist the Empire only so long as they think that their elevation is dependent on their remaining under its protection. It is to the interest of the Imperial Government to strengthen this sentiment by giving further rights to Indians and by raising their status, and that is the sum and substance of the

united demands of the Congress and the Moslem League. But the Congress scheme of reforms is still a mere scrap of paper. It will be invested with life only when the Congress leaders come to possess strength that will compel British statesmen to accede to the scheme and that will take place only when Indians become prepared to sacrifice their all for it. The outspoken and courageous utterances of India's leaders at the Lucknow Congress have given a valuable lead to the younger generation in carrying on the Home Rule agitation. To insist upon the grant of equality for Indians if England wants our aid in the war should be the first step in the campaign and we would be rank fools if we did not take advantage of the present opportunity when England will have to bear almost the whole brunt of the war single-handed with India's aid. [The Gujarati edition of the *Chitramaya Jagat* publishes a Gujarati version of the article.]

Comments on a brochure, containing views of distinguished Americans on the Indian administration, said to be circulated by the Government.

Hindusthán (16), 10th Apl.

2. While acknowledging with gratitude the receipt of a book entitled "Some American opinions on the Indian Empire", the *Hindusthán* remarks that it cannot be positively known as to who could have sent it beyond drawing the inference, from the Government envelope in which it was sent and which bore a service postal stamp, that it must have been sent by Government. The paper does not regard many of those whose opinions have been collected in the booklet as "impartial critics," which they are declared to be in the preface. The paper then observes:—At some places statements are made which are as novel as they are false. For instance, while describing the mutual relations between the Brahmins and the British officers, Admiral Goodrich has said: 'How can the British officers be friendly with the Brahmins who regard them as unclean persons whose touch means pollution, who cannot dine with them, who believe that their (the white men's) wives and daughters are void of all sense of shame, who describe them (Europeans) in words which cannot bear reproduction, who cannot welcome them in their homes and who cannot allow their polluting sight to fall upon the female members of their family?' We do not deny the superstitions and the narrow tendencies of the Brahmin class, yet how very exaggerated are the sentiments contained in the above statements! In some of the opinions it is declared that the educated classes (in India) clamour for *swarájya* and independence, not for the benefit of the ignorant villagers but for acquiring power for themselves so that they might be able to tyrannise over others. And these are the opinions of "impartial critics"! If we are correct in our belief that this brochure has been published with a view to demonstrate the advantages of the British rule and thereby to refute some bitter American critics of the British administration in India, we should say that the selection of opinions is not wise. It would have been better if the opinions of some Indians on the subject had been collected. If the object of publishing this pamphlet is to create a favourable impression upon the Indians with regard to the British rule we would say that the attempt is futile, because the Indians have been for years past enjoying the benefits arising from that rule and, therefore, they can very well appreciate those benefits. Indian writers can descant upon greater benefits than what have been referred to in these American opinions, and that too without indulging in any exaggeration. In spite of the defects that exist in the British administration we are not oblivious of its advantages, and it is therefore that even while making demands for *Swarájya* or Home Rule we emphatically proclaim the necessity of the permanence of the British connection. India's unshakable and deep devotion towards the British Empire has been proved to demonstration since the outbreak of the war and that is a fact which cannot be gainsaid. Under these circumstances, by sending such opinions to us, do Government intend that we should not complain, should not disclose defects in the administration and should keep silent, because these eminent Americans have given excellent opinions which show that our grievances are groundless? We will humbly and respectfully say that any such intention, be it ever so remote, is not right. New desires have at present sprung up in India, a new enthusiasm has come into existence and it is the supreme duty of Government to cherish this enthusiasm and direct it into a proper channel.

We hope that Government will, instead of making futile endeavours in sending books like the present, occupy themselves with more substantial pursuits and will exert themselves to make India a partner of proud Britain by bringing about her advancement.

Comments on the administration of the country by the Indian Civil Service.

Message (5), 12th Apl.

3. "While the English bureaucracy became in course of time a beneficial institution in the Government of England, in India it tended towards retardation, and retrogression, so familiar in the history of autocratic countries. The powerful and permanent bureaucracy which has become an important feature in the English system of Government was kept within its bounds by certain limitations exercised from without, particularly owing to its being brought into continual contact with Parliamentary life and Parliamentary criticism.......... Whereas, in India, even under the present system of interpellations in the councils, not one of these causes operates to keep the "Machine" in check or impose any restraint on its arbitrary doings. By long usage, it has come to occupy a position of superiority over the nation, whose servant the Civil Service in reality is. The last word to-day on any public question lies with the Indian official opinion, with the Civil Service, so that neither the Secretary of State nor the Viceroy nor the Provincial Governors, however powerful they may be, can feel competent to force any measure against the united opposition of the bureaucracy.......... In this respect, the Russian bureaucracy offers a close parallel to ours. During the time of Peter the Great, circumstances rendered it essential for the creation of a machine which would restore efficiency to the administration and conduce towards the good Government of the people. And Peter the Great lived to exercise his effective control over the machine he created. The Russian bureaucracy might have been, for all it is worth, a useful body like its English prototype. But the Tsars who succeeded Peter the Great were men of ordinary capacity lacking both the superhuman energy and will power which characterized their great forbear. The consequence was that the bureaucracy acquired what amounted in practice to absolute irresponsibility.......... What is the case in India? 'Here the Administration is the Government and nothing else particularly matters.' But that Government is *the Civil Service*. The Secretary of State may lay down the large lines of Indian policy. He may even supervise, suggest and sometimes initiate. A powerful Secretary of State may even make his influence felt at the Secretariats of Simla and Delhi, as Lord Morley did to a certain extent. But in reality the last word, as Mr. Fisher says, lies with the bureaucracy. It has got in its hands the task of administering India and it can nullify the effect of the most benevolent measures.......... Of course, in recent years, efforts have been made to break down the reactionary character of the Machine. But what are these efforts? These, it seems to us, are like the ineffectual waves breaking against rocks that will not yield.......... It is this feeling of helplessness and disappointment which has engendered the deep discontent with the present system of Government. Indians are demanding for this reason that the civil service be largely modified, that the people do have a larger share in its personnel and that they be given a form of representative Government which would 'control the bureaucratic Machine.' On the other hand, what does the Public Service Commission propose? It will make the civil service more and more exclusive and leave intact the power of determining the issues in its hands."

Complaint against the prevention of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal from attending the Sind Provincial Conferance.

Message (5), 10th Apl.; *Sandesh* (100), 10th Apl.

4. "Our Sind correspondent writes of the keen disappointment that was caused by the action of the authorities in expressing strong objection to the attendance of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal at the Sind Conference. To say nothing of the disappointment to the conference and the delegates many of whom had come specially to hear him, we strongly protest against the eleventh hour action of the Sind authorities. If the authorities did not like the presence of Mr. Pal at Shikarpur, well they might. But decency

[illegible] that the least possible inconvenience is caused to the public thereby. It cannot be presumed that until the last moment the officials were unaware of the invitation of the conference to Mr. Pal. If they objected to his presence they ought to have informed the organizers of the conference accordingly, so that they might ask Mr. Pal not to start from Calcutta. On the other hand, they sleep over the matter and wake up when it is too late to discover that the presence of this, that or any other man is objectionable to them. Whether their objections are valid or not, consider the humility (*sic*) that actions such as these inflict on the people of the Province. In all good conscience, do the officials believe that galling and obtrusive interference with the peaceful currents of public life tends to promote good feeling and encourage co-operation for which His Excellency the Viceroy pleaded the other day in the Imperial Council?" [The *Sándesh* also expresses its dissatisfaction and adds:—Who invited Mr. Pal for the Conference? If it was the Reception committee that invited him then the point must be cleared up as to who asked him not to come to Shikarpur after he had already travelled all the way down to Bombay. Was it the Reception committee or somebody else acting on his own authority? This incident unpleasantly calls to mind what took place at Amroati in connection with Mrs. Besant on the occasion of the Berar Conference. If the local authorities did not like the advent of Mr. Pal, they had the authority to prevent him from going there. But instead of doing so they seem to have privately brought to bear their pressure upon the local leaders. But why blame the authorities? Why should the Sind leaders have yielded to the solicitations of the authorities? It was ablsolutely unbecoming to act in such a way towards an invited guest. Such cowardice would never bring success to the Home Rule agitation.]

Mahrátta (4), 15th Apl.

***5.** "Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal was invited to attend the Sind Provincial Conference held at Shikárpur. On the 7th instant he received a wire from the Conference authorities to the effect that Bombay Government objected to his presence at the Conference. So the Conference passed off quietly! We cannot commend the spirit either of the Government or of the Conference authorities. We want more grit in our leaders and more sanity in our Governments."

Reflections on the alleged shadowing of distinguished Indian politicians by the C. I. D.

Young India (10), 11th Apl.

6. "Barring until the other day, the land of the defunct Tsar of Russia, India is so far the only country where distinction has its penalties. It is a matter of common knowledge that the late Mr. Gokhale was himself the subject of the benevolent attentions of the C. I. D. and his Servants of India Society Members, whose work had been highly spoken of by distinguished officials, were shadowed in an outrageously offensive manner.......... In our local legislature, when the question was raised by the Honourable Mr. Parekh, the member in charge—the Honourable Mr. Curtis—laconically remarked that 'the movements of His Excellency the Governor were also shadowed by the police and the Honourable members must after all remember that they were distinguished persons.' Apart from the extreme facetiousness of the remark, Mr. Curtis seems to be lacking in a sense of proportion. If to be pursued and pestered by the over-manned and over-officered C. I. D., is a sign of distinction,—a sign of greatness,—it is but a thin veil which separates the Honourable Mr. Wacha, Mr. Parekh and the rest of them from the criminal and the anarchist. We hope Mr. Curtis did not mean what his words expressed."

Appeal to Government to legislate for the segregation of brothels.

Rást Goftár (27), 15th Apl., Eng. cols.

***7.** In the course of its comments on the case in connection with the murder of a prostitute, recently tried in the Bombay High Court Sessions, the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"We refer to the impunity with which disreputable women are allowed to establish themselves without let or hindrance in any locality in which they may wish to carry on their nefarious trade. Possibly the same condition exists in other towns of the Presidency besides Bombay; and a law is needed to segregate these houses and locate them out of the reach of respectable quarters in all such cities.......... An eyesore more repellent than the houses of obscenity which line some of the principal thoroughfares of Bombay cannot well be imagined.......... As it is, there is no respectable locality or house in Bombay which is secure from the menace, so long as it is possible for any woman of bad fame to plant herself wherever she chooses. The residents of Girgaum bestirred themselves some years ago for the removal of such houses from their locality; but nothing, to our knowledge, resulted out of the movement. It is the duty of the Government, as the guardian of public morality, to step in to the rescue of the residents of this and other cities within the Presidency, with such practical measures of relief as are imperative: and we trust that they will undertake without any loss of time such legislation as may be required to remove an unquestionable and long-standing evil."

Praja Mitra and Parsi (25), 12th Apl., Eng. cols.

8. "In the first place, in the interests of public morals and decency, it is essential to take measures to strictly circumscribe infamous localities. At present they are irregularly scattered over different quarters of the city, in close proximity to respectable areas. We believe the suggestion has often been made to relegate all these houses of ill-fame to the outskirts of the city, remote from business and residential localities. But neither the Municipality nor the Police have thought fit so far to act upon the suggestion. As a result, brothels contiune to spread and thrive in localities where they are perfect eyesores and nuisances to all decent-minded people. Well-known and indispensable thorough-fares, like Falkland Road, Foras Road and Duncan Road, are lined by strings of prostitutes' houses.. .... The next important fact forced upon our attention by the sessions case, is the part played by Pathans in the slave-market of Bombay. The principal accused in this case was a Pathan, the keeper of the brothel. We are afraid there are many persons of his caste plying this nefarious trade in Bombay. For various reasons, we consider this circumstance a very grave danger to society.......... We do not know if there are any regulations controlling the immigration into British India of wild tribesmen from across the frontier. But it is abundantly clear from the riots, robberies, murders and other crimes of violence, which are frequently reported in various parts of the country, that some of these fierce foreigners are by no means desirable customers. They are a standing menace to the peace of the streets even in the Presidency towns........... If there is a slave market in Bombay run by Pathans, it is easy to imagine how helpless women may be inveigled or forced into the prostitute's profession, by these ruffianly money-lenders.......... Apart from their internecine brawls which often distrurb the streets of peaceful Indian towns, it is believed that they come in handy for being employed as hired bravos and assassins. If it is now brought home to the public that many of them also run public brothels, where the inmates are practically slaves for whom it is death to seek liberation, it is clear that very stern and stringent measures are needed to deal with this peril. We suggest that there should be some sort of vagrancy legislation in force to deal with the Pathans."

Suggestion for starting experimental *Panchayats* in the Bombay Presidency before framing a Panchayat Bill.

Kesari (92), 10th Apl.

9. Referring to the success of the *Panchayat* system in Dewas and Cochin States the *Kesari* says that it is to be recommended not only because of its usefulness but because it will bring home to the people their administrative responsibility. It further remarks:—The Bombay Government have under consideration the Panchayat Bill but we do not know how long it will remain in embryo. Madras has about 235 panchayats but they have not yet been endowed with powers. Is it not desirable to have experimental panchayats of the above type in our Presidency also before preparing a Bill concerning them?

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's speech at the banquet given by the British Empire Producers' Association.

Kesari (92), 10th Apl.

10. Mr. Chamberlain speaking at a dinner given by the British Empire Producers' Association said that Indians can no longer remain hewers of wood and drawers of water and that they should be given opportunities to rise according to their capacity. We are much obliged to Mr. Chamberlain for thus frankly stating the position we hitherto occupied in the Empire. Uptil now we wasted our breath in talking big about equal rights and in grumbling about our not being treated on a footing of equality by the Colonials, but all this was of no use as there are very few philosophical men in the world who would give hewers of wood an equality of position with their own children. But just as the real value of a faithful servant is appreciated when dacoits attack a village, British statesmen have now come to recognize the true merits of India. But who can guarantee that this feeling born of distress will last after the danger is over? But now England cannot do without the assistance of India. England has had bitter experience of the danger of having to depend on foreign countries for food-stuffs and munitions and now there is an agitation set afoot to make the Empire a self-sufficing one. If the Empire wishes to produce everything it needs within itself, it must turn to India which is blessed by nature in every way. But nature does not give away its gifts spontaneously to mere hewers of wood. It is, therefore, an axiomatic truth that it would not be proper to let Indians remain hewers of wood any longer, and that is what Mr. Chamberlain said in his speech. We have, however, to watch and see when and how these hewers of wood will be transformed into the rightful masters.

Protest against suggestion of British manufacturers for restricting hours of labour for juvenile and female operatives in India.
Jám-e-Jamshed (19), 11th Apl.

11. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of opinion that the suggestion recently made in Parliament for restricting the hours of labour for juvenile and female operatives in India was dictated by the selfish motive of not allowing India to reap the fruits of the recent increase in the import duty on foreign piece-goods. It asks the authorities in England to give careful consideration to the question of the special labour conditions obtaining in India before taking steps that might prove injurious to Indian trade. It hopes England will not be influenced by selfish Manchester to take any step during the present war that might give rise to controversy.

Comments on the proceedings of the annual general meeting of the Millowners' Association.
Message (5), 12th Apl.

12. "At the general meeting of the Millowners' Association, His Excellency Lord Willingdon made a very sympathetic speech. After expressing his delight to be present at the meeting, His Excellency referred to the crowded incidents of the past year. They were four, according to His Excellency; 'the great successes in Mesopotamia, the continuous progress of the Allied armies in France, the dramatic events in Russia and finally the entry of America with all her financial and material power on the side of the Allies.' These are no doubt incidents worth remembering, but they do not by any means exhaust the catalogue. His Excellency, perhaps for obvious reasons, omitted to mention the most stirring events at our own doors: The accomplishment of the Hindu-Moslem Unity; the drafting of the joint Post War Reform scheme; the rapid growth of the Home Rule for India movement and the publication of the Public Service Commission Report; and above all the ban placed against political leaders by various Governments including his own. These are, if anything, more intelligible incidents to which, along with others, one would have expected his Excellency to refer. It might be contended that it was a meeting of the mill-owners' association which His Excellency addressed, where these things cannot find a place. But such a contention would be untenable in view of the fact that His Excellency Lord Willingdon approvingly mentioned 'the dramatic events in Russia' as one of the crowded incidents of past years."

Sanj Vartamán (28), 11th Apl.; *Bombay Samachár* (53), 13th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 12th Apl.

13. The *Sanj Vartamán* endorses the protest made by Mr. N. B. Saklatwalla at the recent annual meeting of the Bombay Millowners' Association against the embargo placed on the importation of Indian yarn into the United Kingdom and agrees with him that the measure has been dictated by the bug-bear of Indian competition and that it has nipped in the bud India's incepient trade in coarse yarn with the United Kingdom. It expresses hope that the Government of India will enlighten the authorities in England as to the public opinion in India on the question and make a recommendation to them to remove the restriction. [The *Bombay Samachár* writes in a similar strain laying special stress on the argument advanced by Mr. Saklatwalla that the reason alleged for the measure, of freights being required for important war goods, cannot stand when it is taken into consideration that a large quantity of cotton was freely allowed to be exported for trade purposes not only to the United Kingdom but to other parts of Europe. It expresses a hope that in course of time the public and Government of Great Britain will be more attracted to study Indian questions with impartial minds and so will not be influenced by the selfish considerations of any influential commercial circles to allow them to reap advantage at the expense of India. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, along with the other papers noted above, asks the Millowners to follow the advice tendered to them by His Excellency and provide sanitary dwellings for their operatives.]

The proposed one rupee currency note.
Gujaráti (12), 8th Apl.

14. Those who advocate the issue of one rupee currency notes for India on the basis that notes of such small denominations are in vogue in the Straits Settlements, France and other places, forget the difference between the time when they were introduced in those countries and the present time when their issue in India is being advocated. If such one rupee notes had been issued in India also in time of peace there was nothing to be said against them; but at the present times it is a matter of first importance for Government to preserve their financial prestige. One rupee is a very small sum and it is surprising to the people that a note should be issued for a sum like sixteen annas. Ordinarily, people in the villages talk about there being only ten annas' worth of silver in the rupee and it is a matter fit for consideration whether these people will be willing to accept a piece of paper instead of a rupee in exchange for their goods. Even uptil now the story is in circulation among the people about the currency of leather coins introduced in the *régime* of Muhammad Taghlaq, called the *mad*, and it is not desirable that a similar thing should take place at the present time. Through ignorance people believe the British Government to be an alien Government and some still ask of what avail these currency notes would be if the present Government should cease to exist. These impatient people, however, cannot even conceive this much that they cannot defend even themselves without Government. But little has been done to impress upon the minds of such people, for the purpose of securing their confidence, that the British administration is, in effect, an Indian administration, is an administration carried on by the Indians for the benefit of the Indians, that currency matters are dealt with in conformity with Indian opinion and that those who decide such matters are not alien but Indian officers. It is, therefore, our belief that a great deal of thought should be bestowed upon the subject before embarking upon the enterprise of issuing the proposed one rupee notes.

Protest against the abolition of *Modi* in official correspondence.
Prakásh (99), 4th Apl.; *Bákul* (81), 25th Mar.

15. Precisely at the time when people are agitating for encouragement for the study of Marathi, Government have banished Modi from official correspondence for the convenience of a few of their officials, and to the inconvenience of the people at large. Why should not these officials be asked to take a little more trouble and learn to read Modi? Our own people sometimes experience considerable difficulty in deciphering the hand-writing of some of these officers. But they being the rulers are not much concerned with our difficulties. We request Government to abandon their present high-handed policy and restore the use of Modi in official correspondence. [*Bákul* makes a similar protest.]

The Kipling Memorial tablet should not have been erected at the cost of public money.
**Mahrátta* (4), 15th Apl.; *Message* (5), 7th Apl.

16. "Recently a tablet was placed at the office of the *Civil and Military Gazette* to commemorate Mr. Kipling's connection with the Punjáb. Mr. Kipling is notorious for his contempt of 'natives'. But these 'natives' have been made to pay for the honour done to their hater. The tablet erected to Mr. Kipling's memory was erected at the cost of *public funds*; and this while *War-economy* is being boomed. Strange are the ways of Kipling's kinsmen that 'Providence' has appointed to rule over the natives of India!" [The *Message* remarks:—"If every tag-rag and bob-tail of the Anglo-Indian or rather the anti-Indian party were to be dubbed "great" and tablets erected to their memory, both living and the dead, at public expense, the Treasury will have first to be emptied and secondly additional new buildings raised wherein to place the tablets."]

The War Loan.

Islamic Mail (3), 8th Apl., Eng. edition; (116), 9th Apl., Urdu edition.

17. The *Islamic Mail* expresses its sense of gratification at the lead which the Bombay Presidency is giving in the matter of subscribing the largest amount of any province in India towards the Indian War Loan. It ascribes this success to the personal popularity of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay among all classes of the people and to the well-thought out schemes for enlightening and canvassing the public. It holds that many men are ignorant of the terms of the loan, or indeed of the fact that a loan has been at all issued by Government. It attempts to prove that the war loan would be quoted at a premium after the termination of the war and that therefore it is more profitable than landed property. It adumbrates a scheme for the remission of land revenue, to the extent of the interest earned by subscribers to the loan, in favour of those Muhammadan Zemindars who object to accepting 'sood' (interest). Finally it urges Goverment to bestow titles on those who subscribe generously to the loan, declaring that Seth Surupchand deserves a baronetcy. [In its Urdu edition the paper writes very much to the same effect and ascribes the great success of the Loan in Bombay to the happy relations subsisting between His Excellency the Governor and all officers of Government on the one hand and the people on the other. It commends the system of establishing War Loan Committees in every ward of Bombay and holds that the man in the street requires to be enlightened as much as possible on the subject.]

Gujaráti (12), 8th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 13th Apl.

18. Referring to the new Indian War Loan, the *Gujaráti* dwells upon the desirability on the part of the Indian people of subscribing to it as much as possible, as in that case it will be the Indians themselves who will annually receive the interest on the sum so subscribed. It also refers to the advantage accruing to India, from an economic point of view, of a large portion of that sum which will be spent by Government in India itself in paying for labour and incurring other war expenditure in India on behalf of England. Expatiating on the probable effects of the loan on the commerce and industry in India, the paper observes that the floating of this loan will increase the general rate of interest in the country, which, in its turn, will raise the prices of commodities and will also make labour dearer. The net result, opines the paper, will be high prices all round. [Dwelling upon the necessity on the part of India of not again becoming heavily indebted to England from whose former obligations she has freed herself during the present war, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks in connection with the India's war gift to England of £100 million, as follows:—It has been so arranged that India should be considered indebted to England in the amount that will remain outstanding after deducting from £100 million the amount subscribed towards the Indian War Loan and also after deducting the war expenses the Indian Government will incur in India on behalf of England, and that India should repay that debt with interest at the rate of 5 to 5½ per cent. within the period fixed for the repayment of the British War Loan. Clearly then, India will be thus heavily burdened with the payment of this interest over and above the principal amount in which she will stand indebted and for these she will get no return whatever. We will, therefore, urge that India should take up the whole amount of £100 million so that she might be spared the payment of a large sum in the shape of interest and the sum advanced may in course of time return to India in the form of payments towards the Sinking Fund. Exchange will thereby greatly improve in favour of India and England will, along with other big States, feel compelled to adopt a bimetallic currency and that will result in increasing the facilities for the development of Indian trade and commerce.]

Comments on the Government sanction to the Western India Turf Club War Loan Lottery.

Young India (10), 11th Apl.

19. Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas writes to *Young India*:—"All serious minded people must keenly regret that His Excellency Lord Willingdon should have given his consent to the Western India Turf Club to run the War Loan Lottery......... Laudable as the object of the promoters of the lottery is, *viz.*, to help the Victory Loan, the means adopted for achieving it appear to me to be of a questionable nature. Speaking last

Monday at the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, Sir William Meyer deprecated Mr. M. N. Hogg's suggestion for popularising the loans by means of the premier bonds.......... If that was the view he took of the premier bonds, how much worse should it be of a downright system of gambling? Sir William observed that they 'occasionally winked at a gamble by others'. But in the present instance, His Excellency Lord Willingdon has outstepped all the known limits of prudence in giving the sanction of the Government to the Western India Turf Club for organising the lottery. I know that Lord Willingdon in his anxiety to see that the Presidency did not suffer on this occasion by falling behind in the War Loan race, has allowed his enthusiasm to outrun his discretion. The lottery is nothing short of catering to the gambling instincts of the people and I regret very much that His Excellency Lord Willingdon should have lent all the weight of his authority to excite those instincts to the highest pitch. If the sanction of the higher authorities can so easily be obtained in support of an admittedly vicious principle, the day must be far off when we shall be rid of the fruitful source of evil which has wrought and has been working dire misfortune on all those who have succumbed to its temptations." [Elsewhere the paper comments as follows on the above letter:—"The writer has very properly taken exception to the sanction which Government has given to the Western India Turf Club for running it. One has nothing to say about the object of the lottery. The principle involved remains however the same in this as in any other case of legalised gambling, as for example on the Turf. If the Government had merely connived or 'winked' at it, to borrow a phrase from Sir William Meyer's speech, it would have served the object in view equally well and would not have exposed His Excellency Lord Willingdon and his Government to criticism."]

Pressure should not be brought to bear on the people to purchase the War Loan.
Kesari (92), 10th Apl.

20. The *Kesari*, while expressing its satisfaction that Bombay is taking the lead in subscribing to the War Loan, says:—We have received some letters from the mofussil stating that people are tyrannised over or rather very much pressed to subscribe to the War Loan. We do not think it desirable to publish them but we hope the authorities will take care to stop such things if they are occurring anywhere. No one need be pressed to do a thing that is profitable. Villagers cannot subscribe largely to the War Loan but such of the agriculturists as have cash with them should purchase Postal Cash Certificates instead of wasting their money on other things.

Complaint of forcible recruitment in the Kolhápur State.
Dnyán Prakásh (33), 11th Apl.

21. One Rama Raghu Magdum, an inhabitant of Sidherli in Kagal (Kolhápur), writes to the *Dnyán Prakásh* that his nephew Govinda Krishna Magdum while on his way to the temple at Nrisinhawadi was forcibly taken away by recruiters on the 7th instant. The correspondent adds that he has not yet been released nor does he know his present whereabouts.

Whom does Sir James Meston represent at the Imperial War Conference?
Dnyán Prakásh (33), 13th Apl.

22. Although it is very gratifying to note that the Indian representatives at the War Conference have met with a splendid reception in England, we must not forget that they are only the advisers of the Secretary of State and will have to take their cue from him. Of the three representatives we can understand the selection of Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir. The selection of Sir James Meston, however, is a mystery to us. We hear it suggested that he represents the Indian Civil Service. If that is so, the appointment is not only improper but positively unjust. In spite of the very great utility of the Indian Civil Service, it is unfair to recognise its special position in the scheme of the Empire. Our people cannot protest against such a claim too emphatically.

Declaration of war between the United States of America and Germany.

Hindusthán (16), 9th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 9th Apl.

23. Will the entry of America into the war bring it to an early termination? It is difficult to answer the question. It rests more on the resources of the enemy than our own. We went into raptures when Italy joined the war. The entry of Roumania in the fray raised expectations in our minds that the Balkan tangle would soon be solved; but German strategy has cleft poor Roumania in twain. So far the entry of other nations has increased the responsibilities of the Allies. America is the only country that is in a position to help the Allies with munitions, if not with men, and its participation in the war will prove a source of help to the Allies in that direction. Nor does America expect that its entry into the war will forthwith compel Germany to sue for peace. In the House of Representatives some members remarked that the war would be protracted for years to come and we thus see that America has joined the war with the consciousness that it will be protracted. The Allies are also taking measures to meet the possibility of a protracted war. Let us see how long Germany will be able to make a stand. The war will not come to an early close unless a revolution takes place in Germany like the one that has transpired in Russia or some unexpected and extraordinary circumstances arise. Suffice it to say that the Allies and the Americans are facing the situation with the consciousness that the war will continue to be waged in the coming year. [The *Sanj Vartamán* writes:—Though the entry of America into the war may not have any immediate effect, America will surely be able to render incalculable help to the Allies in the matter of munitions, food-stuffs and money. Its navy and army will also be helpful to the Allies. But America will help the Allies most by its unlimiled wealth and resources.]

Islámic Mail (3), 8th Apl., Eng. edition.

24. "So America, the apostle of freedom and liberty, has joined the Allies in their noble efforts to destroy the greatest menace to liberty and freedom, thereby endorsing the justice and righteousness of the British cause. The effect of this would be that the whole world would stand arrayed against the enemy of civilization and human freedom. The decision of America has been hailed with jubilation in the Allied countries, who more than the active support which America can give appreciate the endorsement of the ethical and moral principles for which we are fighting. We are told that though the vast potentialities of American aid to the Allies are appreciated, the uppermost feeling produced by Dr. Wilson's speech is one of deep emotion at the moral endorsement of the Allies' cause in a noble and moving utterance which like the voice of humanity has awakened the conscience of the world to realism, namely, fight between systems of Government, not quarrel between peoples."

Kesari (92), 10th Apl.

25. The *Kesari* welcomes President Wilson's message to the Congress declaring war against Germany and says:—Everywhere the democratic form of Government is highly in favour and the autocratic and bureaucratic system has to bend low before it. As soon as the Russian revolution began to reverberate in Prussia the Kaiser had to declare that after the war all would have equal rights. Prussia was stated to be the most illiberal Government in all Europe but it appears that there will be a desirable change in it after the war. If the enemies of England, the Germans, are to obtain freedom as a result of the war, why should not India which is under the suzerainty of England get it?

Comments on the King's Message to the Imperial War Conference.

Islámic Mail (3), 8th Apl., Eng. edition.

26. "No one who is not an Asiatic can understand the ties of love and devotion which bind an Easterner to his Sovereign. These ties are considerably strengthened by gracious acknowledgments and marks of appreciation from the King; and the King Emperor's message to the War Conference in which His Majesty has expressed his pleasure that India is represented for the first time

in the Council Board, cannot but evoke feelings of heartfelt gratitude and devotion for him all over India. For the first time India is assigned a position of trust and responsibility in the Councils of the Empire and she is fully cognisant of the great honour.......... A petulant officer or a short-sighted newspaper may belittle her services but those who control our destinies fully recognise them and, what is more, appreciate them. The Premier's message read by the Viceroy at the close of the Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative Council is full of this appreciation and the King's message is couched in most sympathetic terms. Lord Ronaldshay has assured us that the British public are no more indifferent to our affairs. They appreciate our loyal devotion and have begun to take a lively interest in our affairs. Let us hope that the 'the last penny which would win the war' would go from India and justify her claim to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown."

Danger of the indentured coolie system being revived in another form.
Message (5), 11th Apl.

27. "Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons the other day that the Viceroy had informed him of his and the Government of India's wish that 'the indentured system of recruitment of labour for the Colonies should not be resumed.' We thank Lord Chelmsford for this act of kindness. We would, however, ask our countrymen not to persuade themselves to the belief that it is the death-knell of recruitment of labour for the Colonies.......... When the corpse of the 'indenture' is, after the inter-departmental conference next month, laid in the grave amidst due pomp and ceremony, something else will take its place and the horrors and atrocities of the old may perhaps be perpetuated under a new name, a new system; that is all. People who value their honour and self-respect more than the sordid wages of sin will do well to guard against the dangerous possibility.......... However anxious the Government of India and the Secretary of State may be to propitiate the colonial planters, Indian opinion cannot and will not countenance any change from the fire to the frying pan.......... And we feel we should warn our countrymen that the open hand of friendship and equality which has been extended to the Indian representatives to the war cabinet and the protestations of unmixed love and gratitude to India which have been expressed in certain interested quarters, should not blind them to the seriousness of the danger which at the moment 'no bigger than a man's hand' is threatening the nation."

The *Kangani* system of recruiting coolies is as pernicious as the indenture system.
Dnyán Prakásh (33), 5th Apl.

28. The *Dnyán Prakásh* referring to the report submitted to Government by the Committee appointed to investigate into the condition of the Indian coolies in Ceylon and Malaya working under the *Kangani* system remarks that a perusal of the report will convince any one that these coolies have to rot in slavery just like those working under the indenture system and therefore it would be improper for Government to substitute the former for the latter as proposed by some people. It hopes that the Conference which is to be held in England in May next will give proper consideration to the matter.

Comments on the Public Service Commission Report.
Dnyán Prakásh (33), 7th and 10th Apl.

29. At present only Europeans can compete at the examination held in England for recruitment for the higher ranks in the Police Department, but the Public Service Commission has now recommended that Indians should no longer be debarred from competing at the examination. The condition attaching to the removal of this colour bar is, however, remarkable. The Commission recommends that the candidate's age should be 19 and that he should have resided in the United Kingdom for 5 years before the date of examination. They thus want the prospective Indian Police officer to leave this country for England at the age of 14! We shrewdly suspect that the Commission, while appearing to be making a 'concession', had no mind to concede anything. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—All the appointments in the Indian Medical Department are practically monopolised by I. M. S. officers. That Department has thus lost its independent existence and has become a mere appendage of the Indian Medical Service. The Public Service Commission ought to have suggested that the Medical Department should be completely divorced from the Indian Medical Service. But the Commission, or rather its European members, had apparently decided not to

touch any question which even remotely related to the army. Its recommendations, therefore, in regard to the improvement of the Medical Department are of a very limited character and fall far short of our expectations.]

Young India (10), 11th Apl.

30. Mr. L. G. Khare contributes an article to *Young India* criticising the recommendations of the Public Service Commission with regard to the Indian Police Service, in the course of which he writes :—"Mr Chaubal thinks that the recommendation of the Commission is 'calculated to observe the letter and ignore the spirit of the enactment of 1833.' He was not long in finding out, that as the examination for the Indian Police Service is held at 19, the 'Asiatic Indian student will have to be in England before he is 14.' Now there are very few parents in India who are consumed with a desire of seeing their sons turned in to 'Police-Sabs,' and are willing to send them at 14 to the United Kingdom. Why a five years' stay abroad should be necessary to pass an examination which does not appear to exhaust one's intellectual powers, is hard to understand. It can be understood of course on the supposition that this was the British way of preventing the Indians from competing for it. Given a fair chance, the Indians would have satisfied every condition as regards character, intellectual attainments, and that elusive quality which none can define, the possession of the British spirit. One comes across Police officials in this country who appear to fight shy of pronouncing the initial 'h' in an English word, and whose abilities are largely devoted to a rapid mastery of the swear-words in the Hindustani language. It is safe to assume that the Indian would have easily assimilated these intellectual attainments. I hope, however, another Commission will give him a better chance."

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's statement that the Report of the Public Services Commission was not to be discussed in the House of Commons.

Message (5), 10th Apl.

31. "In the House of Commons, replying to a question by Sir John Jardine Mr. Chamberlain stated that he did not propose to give the House an opportunity of discussing the still-born Report of the Public Services Commission, but he would be glad to discuss the matter with the member in question, if desired. One prominent feature of Mr. Chamberlain's regime at the India Office has been his preference for secrecy, and his reply only confirms the impresssion he has given before. If in India the Government can agree to discuss the matter openly before arriving at any definite conclusions, why should not the House of Commons also have an opportunity of realising the niggardly spirit that pervades the majority report? Is he afraid that any action of the House would bind him down to abandon the favourite schemes of giving effect to the majority's recommendations which he may have in view? Surely if he so chooses, he can set the opinion of the House at nought. There is the irresponsible India Office and the equally irresponsible and dummy India Council behind which he can take shelter any time. There is also the pecedent in the nullification of the House of Commons resolution of June 1893 favouring simultaneous examinations in India and in England. Perhaps Mr. Chamberlain does not like the 'heckling' to which an open debate would subject him."

Demand of security from the *Manorama* Press by the Madras Government.

Mahrátta, (4), 15th Apl.

*32. "The Madras Government has demanded a security of Rs. 1,000 from the *Manorama* press in respect of certain articles published in *Deshmátá*, the leading Telugu weekly edited and published by Mr. Chilakamurti Lakshminarasimham, at Rajmahendry. *New India* gives the following information about the editor: 'The editor is a well-known poet. He is also the well-known author of several Pauranic dramas, notably *Gayopakhyanam* and is one of the foremost playwrights of Andhradesha. He is a pathetic figure on the platform, the blind orator ringing out impassioned notes in the cause of Right and Reform. His literary fame has made his name a household word in the Andhradesha, and every household will feel the blow.' Everyone, his duty. The Act is at work in its own wayward manner. Let the strokes fall promiscuously. They are an indirect boon. They confirm the people in their opinion about the bureaucratic system. They strengthen more and more the resolve of the people to end it."

The Abkári policy of Government.
Mahrátta (4), 15th Apl.

*33. "Once the advisory committees got the power to determine the *number* of shops, they may very well determine that in a particular locality the number ought to be *nil*. And such a situation would be awful for Government! Liquor gives so much *revenue* to Government and so much *pleasure* to the drinker. When these two things follow from the present drink-policy of the Government, it would be *suicidal* and even *nationally ruinous* on the part of Government to change that policy! Government of India, Mr. Chintamani was assured, was considering the question of excise policy. We wonder what sort of consideration it is receiving at the hands of Lord Chelmsford and his advisors. Lord Chelmsford wants all the Acts he can get hold of for the purpose of keeping *intoxicating writing* from the eyes of the people under his care. But as to *intoxicating drink*—there he would probably think deeply and plentifully before any the smallest step in the direction of lessening Government activity in *supplying the dirt to the people* is decided upon! '*Government is not keen about morals*; its chief concern is to see that the people under its care do not learn to care for themselves': This is an inference that may well be drawn from the liquor-policy of our Government. With the strong temptation of liquors placed in the way of the ignorant people, the latter are practically taught to regard Government as a great supporter of their mal-practices.......... Government profess sympathy with the Temperance Reformer and have no objection to—nay encourage and authorise—the exposure of the vice of drink. But this profession is not consistent with their practice in excise affairs. The fact of Western Nations—England included—making supreme efforts to fight the drink evil has made our Government's backwardness the more glaring. We are sorry we have had to say hard words respecting Government's liquor-policy. Our explanation is that no same man can believe in Government's righteous intentions (so far as the liquor-problem is concerned) when with its omnipotence which nobody questions, it thinks proper to tempt men by its liquor-shops, though at the same time encouraging the introduction of Temperance lessons in school-books and the exhibition before boys and elderly people of lantern-films picturing the effects of drink on the individual drinker and his family."

Alleged corrupt practices of officers of the Excise Department.
Rást Goftár (27), 8th Apl.

34. Referring to the recent exposures of corruption in the Excise Department that have come to light in the Thána District, a correspondent calling himself "Daruwalla" writes to the *Rást Goftár*, alleging that a very large number of officials in the Excise Department in the Presidency would be found to be guilty of corrupt practices if people were allowed to give evidence under protection and without their names being disclosed to the Department. He suggests that a Commission consisting of responsible European and Indian officials and non-officials should be appointed to take up the enquiry so that no one may have any ground to complain. He also asks for relaxation in certain regulations governing license holders so that Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors may not find any excuse to harass them and advocates the abolition of travelling allowance to Excise Officers so that they might confine themselves to their legitimate duties and have no scope for making illicit gains.

Comments on Mr. Kajiji's appointment as Acting Judge of the Bombay High Court.
Islámic Mail (116), 9th Apl., Urdu edition; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 15th Apl., Eng. cols.

35. The *Islámic Mail* expresses its sense of gratitude to Government for elevating Mr. A. M. Kajiji to the Bench of the Bombay High Court, and it hopes that he would be confirmed in his appointment at the earliest opportunity. It regards Mr. Kajiji fully qualified for the high office to which he has been called and trusts that his preferment would be fraught with benefit to the Muhammadan community. While on this subject, it ventures to point out that no Muhammadan occupies the post of either a Judicial Commissioner in Sind or of a Collector in the whole Presidency. It names two Muhammadan members of the Provincial Civil Service for the latter office, and maintains that

till such time as all the three offices mentioned above are occupied permanently by Muhammadans they have no reason to be satisfied with Government. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"We heartily welcome the appointment of Mr. A. M. Kajiji to the Judgeship of the Bombay High Court. We congratulate the Government of Lord Willingdon on the wisdom of their choice.......... It is not too much to hope that Mr. Kajiji in his new exalted position will maintain the glorious tradition created by the great Indian Judges who adorned the Bombay Bench."]

Comments on the *Bombay Chronicle* libel case.
Praja Bandhu (24), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.

36. "The news that the appeal in the *Bombay Chronicle* libel case has resulted in the reversal of Mr. Justice Macleod's judgment will, we are sure, be welcomed by the whole Press in India in general and its indigenous section in particular. The reason for this is quite obvious, for if Mr. Justice Macleod's judgment had been upheld it would have resulted in depriving the Press of the modicum of liberty of criticism that it has still got."

Urdu text-books in Mullan Schools in Sind.
Al-Haq (40), 31st Mar., Eng. cols.

37. "One of the chief difficulties confronting the Moslems is the text books. 75 per cent of the total population of this province are the followers of Islam; but the text books in vernacular for use in the primary schools or the Mullan Schools are not found as tasteful to Moslem feelings as they ought to be. These books do not contain the language which is used in the family intercourse of Moslem society in Sind. They contain many Sanskrit made words and phrases of Hindu society and Hindu religion of Sind. Besides, these books reflect the manners and customs of Hindu Society. A Mussalman attaches great weight to religion, which is the first and foremost object and concern of his life. In the primary schools all over the Province, religious instruction is conspicuous by its absence. [The paper here refers to a suggestion made by it in 1915 for the introduction of Mirza Kalich Beg's Sindhi Books in all the Madressas for Mussalman boys and girls and then continues:—] But we regret our suggestion has not yet been approved of by the Educational Department. We do not know why Mirza Kalich Beg's Sindhi books are not introduced as text books in the Mullan Schools. In fact Sind Mussalmans have made no efforts in that connection. Mirza Kalich Beg's Sindhi books are the translation of the Urdu books of the Anjuman-e-Himayet-ul-Islam, Lahore. There is a Government Resolution [Educational Department No. 1513 of the 14th August 1907] sanctioning the use of the Urdu books of the Anjuman-e-Himayet-ul-Islam, Lahore, in primary schools in this Presidency."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Government of India's circular to Local Governments on the subject of the Boy Scout movement among Indians.
Young India (10), 11th Apl.

38. Commenting on the Government of India's circular to Local Governments on the subject of the Boy Scout movement among Indians, *Young India* remarks:—"The circular recently addressed by the Imperial Education Department to all Local Governments and Administrations on the subject of 'encouraging the Boy Scout movement among Indians' will be most certainly received as a cold douche in Indian circles. We wish the Imperial Department of Education, which in some people's eyes now possesses the advantage of being presided over by an Indian, had simply referred the resolution to the Local Governments without writing an essay on it. 'The attitude to be observed by the Government towards the Boy Scout movement in India,' to explain which the circular has been drafted, is of course not the attitude which educated Indian opinion will expect it to adopt, considering several things, and particularly the one principal thing, that the growth of corporate action amongst Indian youth under *Indian* agency is not a consummation 'devoutly to be wished' in the eyes of several members of the Indian Educational Service.......... If the Government of India looked on, however, while 'many

Government officers in their private capacity assisted this private association? they are not going simply to look on when the movement to learn the value of discipline in early age in the task of defending their own country, spreads among Indian youth. The Government of India appear to be quite concerned at the exhibition of this new feeling, and are reduced, to the necessity of lecturing the Local Governments as to what they should do or not do, what they should allow, or disallow. It is not the movement that troubles them, it is the problem of the scout-masters.......... One would like to ask those who drafted this circular why they are so anxious to make any reference to the possibility of using the scouts for unlawful purposes. What are these unlawful purposes, which the authors of this minatory epistle have in mind? Who are the persons whom they expect to be villainous enough to utilise these Indian scouts for such purposes? An answer to these questions will enlighten the Indian public very rapidly as to the attitude the Educational Department at Simla has been pleased to adopt in this matter.......... Privately-managed institutions will be looked after with a vigilant eye, it appears, in this matter, and if they form troops under what the Local Government may consider 'indifferent management', they may be visited with dire penalties, beginning of course with the time-honoured threat of withholding the grant-in-aid. We are not sure that there are many private educational institutions which can afford to take the risk of employing scout-masters for a time, who may not come up to the expectations of the Local Government. Some may be rich enough to afford a European trainer, but the majority will note the chilling enthusiasm with which the Imperial Government has blessed Mr. B. N. Sarma's idea and we are afraid they will wait and see."

Kesari (92), 10th Apl.

39. The resolution of the Government of India on boy-scouts shows how much Government are influenced by political suspicions and what a want of confidence they have in private schools. But if we want to take advantage of a good thing at the hands of Government we have to be satisfied with the imperfect way in which it is dealt with. [The paper then proceeds to give a short history of the Boy-scout movement and goes on:—] Indian boys are not smart not mainly because of their poverty but also because of discipline the thorns of which though invisible are injurious. The students have their eye on the teachers and the latter on the educational authorities even when at play. We suggest to the teachers to take free advantage of the new movement not much caring for the assistance of Government.

Prospects of Europeans and Indians in the Educational Department.

Gujaráti (12), 8th Apl.

40. In connection with a circular recently issued by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, wherein it is urged that holders of the M.A. and M.Sc. degrees should not be given a starting salary of more than Rs. 50 per mensem, and those holding the B.A. and B.Sc. degrees more than Rs. 40 per mensem, the *Gujaráti* refers to the observations made by the Viceroy at the last Calcutta University Convocation pointing to the desirability of giving handsome salaries to teachers for the purpose of securing educational efficiency, and then sarcastically inquires if the said circular indicates the way in which the Viceroy's recommendation is carried into effect. The paper concludes:—There is, however, no harm if an Englishman from an English University gets a start of Rs. 500 on his arrival in India. That is nothing more than putting into practice the recommendation of His Excellency the Viceroy. His Excellency says that capable graduates do not join the Educational Department. It is surely no small piece of fortune that the poor fellows can, after thirty years' service, retire on the magnificent monthly salary of Rs. 150!

The proposed Muhammadan University.

Message (5), 11th Apl.

41. Commenting on the decision of the Muhammadan University Committee to accept the model of the Hindu University, the *Message* writes:—"The proposals go for the present on the lines of the Hindu University and in the circumstances, our Mahammadan brethren could not have done better than accepting them. We know that there is a strong feeling among certain sections of the Moslem community against the narrow minded proposals and they are strongly in favour of rejecting them. They would not be sorry if the question were held in abeyance until after the war when they can make a better beginning. However much we may sympathise with this veiw, we think it would not have been practical politics to reject the proposals outright. The majority who have voted for their acceptance have acted on the sound principle, 'Take what you get and then agitate for more.' When once a strong footing is gained, it is simple work to gain the next step until we gain the whole ground."

Akhbár-e-Islám (50), 13th Apl.

42. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, among other papers, congratulates the Foundation Committee of the Moslem University on their having decided to accept the proposals put forward by Government and thus agreeing to have the University conducted on the lines of the Hindu University. It deals at length with the history of the question and the reasons that have delayed the establishment of the University and expresses its gratification at the reasonable step taken by the Foundation Committee. It believes that there is every possibility of a Bill being soon introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council for the establishment of the proposed Moslem University.

The "insane policy" of the Calcutta University in the matter of school buildings.
Mahrátta (4), 15th Apl.

***43.** "The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta has informed the managers of private schools that unless they have buildings of their own, their schools will be closed. His Excellency the Viceroy, the Chancellor of the University—can he contemplate with equanimity the results of this insane policy? Has Government enough schools to accommodate the students who will be turned out? And what sanity is there in asking a person to stop feeding his family unless he has a building of his own to feed them in? The private schools feed the members of the Indian family with the food of knowledge, most essential to the growth of the soul —and here comes Government with its order to turn out the hungry youth and their host, because, forsooth the ground on which they sit and the roof which covers them are not a property' of the host! Says *New India* :—'There would not be a Hindu University, there would never have been a Central Hindu College and High School, if a cruel policy like that now adopted in Calcutta had been in vogue. We began in rooms lent by one of the first managers, and remained there until the gift of the Maharaja of Benares and the money collected enabled us to build.' But possibily, it is the multiplication of 'private" educational institutions such as C. H C. that our benign Government wants to check!"

MUNICIPALITIES.

Condemnation of the water service rules of the Hyderabad (Sind) Committee of Management.
Sind Advocate (7), 29th Mar.

44. "The Hyderabad Committee of Management have framed a set of rules for private service connections which are a study in perverseness and the spirit of the Marwari bargain driver. If a connection paying the domestic rate is used also for building or trade purposes, it will be chargeable not only for the larger fee but the smaller one as well. If a man builds two or more houses on one plot and takes one connection from the Municipal main, he shall pay the full domestic rate for each house, having a branch from the single connection. If there is a set of rooms separately occupied with a single connection from the main, but with branches for the other rooms, each occupant of the room will pay separately as if he had a direct and separate connection from the main. One house in the occupation of different families with one connection from the main, but with or *without branches* for the individual families renders each family using pipe water liable to pay separately the full fee for the connection. It does not matter in all these cases whether the owner provides and pays for a big connection from the main in view of the number of families depending on it.........
Then if a man builds a house and takes water from a public hydrant through Pakhals, he has still to pay full fee fixed for an independent building connec-

tion. If a man takes water by metre, he must not only pay for water 8 annas per thousand gallons but pay separately for the *use of the metre* or rent of 8 annas a month! There are other rules open to severe criticism, but these should suffice as samples. We are told a lot of people will stop their connections and some will refuse to pay and take the matter to court on the ground that the rules are *ultra vires*, no objections having been invited from the rate payers before promulgation of the rules. There is said to be great resentment and indignation among the people. But at this time of plague when the town is deserted, protest meetings are out of the question. Will the Committee persist in enforcing the rules?"

Alleged need of a Food Prices Committee for Karáchi.
Phœnix (6), 4th Apl.

45. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Phœnix*:—"The inflated prices now ruling are ruining the poor and middle classes. The prices of fire-wood and charcoal in Karáchi at the present moment are, to say the least, prohibitive. Only a few months back charcoal could be purchased at less than a rupee a maund and now it is Rs. 3-8 or near it. What is required for Karáchi is a Food Prices Committee with power to fix maximum prices and have a strong control over local dealers who are making hay out of the war at the expense of the poor."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 19th April 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS

H 10—5 CON

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 16 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 21st April 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on the action taken against Mr. Gandhi by the District Magistrate of Champaran (Behár) . . . . 1—4
Comments on the Bombay Government's orders regarding Messrs. Pal and Khadilkar. 5
Comments on the brochure entitled "Some American Opinions on the Indian Empire" 7
Contrast between the agricultural policies of Great Britain and India . 8
Danger of Lancashire's intervention in the Indian Cotton Mill industry. 10 & 11
Imperial Tariff scheme will not benefit India 12
The dignity of the Indian Legislative Councils is not being properly preserved 9
Why England should support India's demand for Home Rule . . 6

Excise:

Bombay license-holders should have one representative on the — Advisory Committee 45
Need of placing restrictions on the sale of liquor in India . . . 43
Strictures on the policy of Government regarding salt manufacture in Native States 44
Indian National Congress: The proposed Congress deputation to England. 27 & 28

Indians in the Colonies:

Comments on the personnel of the Emigration Conference 32
The Americans are angry against Germany for drawing the "Hindenburg line" against them, but they themselves have drawn a similar line against Asiatics 33
Judicial matters: Alleged colour-partiality of the Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate 47

Police:

Comments on the conviction of Police Sub-Inspector Adsul (Sátára) . 36
Complaint against the unsatisfactory state of the tonga service between Kumta and Bhatkal (Kanara) 37
Complaint that the *Dharmashala* near the Gokak Railway Station has been appopriated by the — for their own use. 38
The C. I. D. reporters submit mutilated reports to their superiors . 34
The — should start Rescue Homes to assist unfortunate fallen women . 35
Press Act: Indian journalism is not responsible for the stringent Press laws enacted by the Indian Government 39

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Provincial Conference: The Fourth Sind — at Shikárpur . . . . . 29—31
Public Service: Criticism of the Indian Education Service 42
Public Service Commission: Comment on the action of the United Provinces and Punjáb Governments in calling for opinions on the recommendations of the — . . . . . 40 & 41
Public Works Department: Need of constructing piers at the ports of Kumta and Tadri (Kánara) 46
Viceroy: Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford utterances in the Punjáb . . . . . 13—18

War:

Comments on Mr. Lloyd George's speech at the American Luncheon Club 19
Comments on the recent grant of *jahgirs* by the Punjab Government for war service 21
Complaint about neglect by officials of the activities of the Bombay Moslem Committee for the entertainment of wounded soldiers . 23
Government should not permit any other War Loan Lottery in the Bombay Presidency besides the one organised by the Western India Turf Club 22
Petrol shortage in Bombay 26
Probabilities of a separate peace between Russia and the enemy . . 24
Reflections on a recent speech of Dr. Page, the American Ambassador in England 20
Reflections on the Russian Revolution 25

EDUCATION—

Comments on the acceptance by the Muhammadan leaders of a Moslem University on the lines of the Hindu Benares University . . 48 & 49
Protest against an order of the Calcutta University to close a private school as it did not have its own building 51
Some complaints against the Bombay University 50
The late Dr. Wordsworth 52

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bagalkot: The — Municipality should not accept certain proposals put forward by the District Deputy Collector 56
Belgaum: Protest against the rumoured nomination of Rao Bahadur Artal as President of the — District Local Board 55
Bombay; Comments on Mr. Baptista's failure to secure the Presidentship of the — Municipal Corporation . . . . . 53 & 54
Hyderabad: Appeal to Government to restore the municipal franchise to — (Sind) 58
Sátára: Request to Government to take over three-fourths of the expenditure on the — water-works 57

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the action taken against Mr. Gandhi by the District Magistrate of Champaran (Behar).

Message (5), 20th Apl.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 21st Apl.; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 20th Apl.

1. "It is difficult to foresee at the moment the end of the startling incident which is just reported from Behar. The action of the District Magistrate of Champaran in serving a notice on Mr. Gandhi under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code directing him to leave the district, is at any rate very disquieting and leads one to think that nobody, whether he is a politician or philanthropist, is immune from coming under the bludgeon authority vested in the Magistracy by an all-liberal and sympathetic criminal law.......... In the first place it is absurd to impute to Mr. Gandhi any intention of obstructing or causing injury or disturbing public tranquility, etc., etc. There is no doubt that his enquiry would cause annoyance to the planters, if it resulted in throwing open the floodgates of light on the dark spots of labour recruitment and labour management on the plantations and might as well cause them 'injury' if it further resulted in removing the conditions under which sweating of labour would be possible. But that is a view of the matter in which Government officials cannot take sides with the planters as against labour and their business is to remain neutral if they cannot assist in bettering the conditions of labour. Further, if, as the Commissioner stated to Mr. Gandhi, Government were themselves inquiring into the matter, what was there then to prevent them from co-opting Mr. Gandhi in the investigation? Government and Government officials may be infallible people, but so long as they have to deal with mundane affairs through fallible men, would it not have been the better course to pursue? If instead of hampering Mr. Gandhi, they had lent him a helping hand in arriving at a fair and impartial decision, would it not have gone to enhance the prestige of the Behar officials for absolute fairness?......... Whatever may be the net outcome of the incident, we regret very much to have to say orders like these do not help to place the Government and Government officials above suspicion and reproach in the public estimation." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* and the *Indu Prakásh* also condemn the action of the District Magistrate and make similar comments.]

Message (5), 21st Apl.

2. After describing at some length the hospitality received by Mr. L. Curtis in different parts of India the *Message* writes:—"The relevancy of this elaborate digression may not be apparent at first sight. We have enlarged upon this matter in order to show the difference between the treatment accorded to Mr. Curtis and Mr. Gandhi. We do not wish to say anything particularly about Mr. Curtis's open letter to the Indians except that it is the most unsuccessful attempt to dissemble his true thoughts and intentions. We shall soon show the fallacies and inconsistencies into which Mr. Curtis has fallen in trying to dissemble his opinions. Meanwhile, we would ask our readers to note how Mr. Gandhi has been treated by the Behar officials. As we said yesterday Mr. Gandhi went to that province with the sole object of finding out the true state of affairs, *not* to advocate bloodshed or obstruct any one lawfully engaged from doing his duty. Still, the officials come down upon him as if he came of that criminal class to whom alone section 144 of the Criminal Proceedure Code applies. And why? In the first place, it is well known Mr. Gandhi cannot claim the same intimacy and friendship with Lord Chelmsford or Sir James Meston or with the Editor of the *Times of India* or the Secretary of the Behar Planters' Association, as Mr. Curtis. Nor is Mr. Gandhi, fortunately or unfortunately engaged in the same sort of enterprise as the 'Round Table' Knights, to fit in somehow the Indian labour in the capitalistic interests of the Colonial and Indian planters. For this reason the attempt, it seems to us, was made for turning Mr. Gandhi out of the planting district, even as the authorities at Hong Kong horned out the representative of the Canada-India League and forced him to go back to Canada. It does not need much imagination to draw the moral from the two cases cited here and we shall leave that matter to the readers themselves."

Indian Social Reformer (8), 22nd Apl.

*3. "The extraordinary order passed by the District Magistrate of Champaran ordering Mr. Gandhi to leave the district as his presence in any part of it would endanger the public peace, and might lead to serious disturbance which may be accompanied by loss of life, has created widespread indignation.... ... We may say that, from what he has been able to see, Mr. Gandhi thinks that there is urgent need for an independent enquiry into the labour conditions in Champaran. It would seem that an investigation was undertaken some years ago by Mr. Gourlay under the orders of the Government of Bengal, but his report has not been published, notwithstanding the request of non-official Indian members of the Legislative Council. Mr. Gandhi is anxious that the public should fix their attention, not on his personal position, but on the position of the labourers in Champaran. The Government of India have the matter on hand, and we earnestly hope that they will relieve the public mind, which is naturally excited by the order served on Mr. Gandhi without the slightest provocation, by announcing the appointment of an independent committee of enquiry."

Hindusthán (16), 20th Apl.

4. Expressing its belief that the order issued under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure against Mr. M. K. Gandhi to leave the Champaran District (Behar) will produce an impression that the local authorities have abused the power vested in them under the section, the *Hindusthán* observes:—If apprehensions are thus entertained, directly or indirectly, at Mr. Gandhi going to that district to investigate the relations between the planters and the labourers, as if his doing so were to be something like a torch applied to combustible matter, that very fact indicates that the conditions there must be unsatisfactory. There is no doubt that such prohibitory orders will considerably increase agitation in the country in this matter, and as a matter of fact the authorities have thus indirectly helped Mr. Gandhi in his work. We do not believe that the Champaran District authorities are under the delusion that Mr. Gandhi moves about in the country merely with the object of creating dissatisfaction among the people. If they are labouring under such a delusion they must now open their eyes. The use of section 144 in such cases would mean that Government allow their officers to stifle all independent inquiries into public grievances in order to avoid the danger of unsatisfactory conditions coming to light. What then is the significance of the permission Lord Chelmsford gave to an American representative to go about in the whole of India and freely make inquiries into the condition of the country? Can a mere American visitor have such a permission while sons of the soil cannot? We at least do not interpret Lord Chelmsford's words in that manner, and therefore believe that the action above referred to is clearly arbitrary. We hope that, whatever may be the views of the Behar Government, the Government of India will not but reprimand the authorities of the Champaran District for the step they have taken.

Comments on the Bombay Government's orders regarding Messrs. Pal and Khadilkar.

Message (5), 21st Apl.

5. "The Bombay Government is to be congratulated upon its boldness in being inconsistent, and shall we say, irrational. Mr. Khadilkar was one month ago ordered, on pain of legal penalty, not to lecture at Belgaum, though it was widely known that he was going to address the people on the duty of recruiting in the Indian Defence Force. But a week ago he was allowed to give a political lecture on Home Rule! Again, Mr. Pal is allowed to write anything he chooses in widely read newspapers. But he is not allowed to deliver a lecture before such a responsible body as the Sind Conference at Shikárpur!"

Why England should support India's demand for Home Rule.

Kesari (92), 17th Apl.

6. Englishmen could not uptil now make out why Indians complained loudly against the bureaucracy. But since the calamity of the great war, the Defence of the Realm Act has been enforced in England and Englishmen have now come to enjoy the happiness of living under the unlimited sway of the bureaucracy. The

Globe has expressed in one sentence the fault of an autocratic bureaucracy. It says that the bureaucracy thinks that it can administer the affairs of others better than they themselves can do, and that is exactly what the Home Rulers say. When the administration seeks to control even the minute details of private life such as what books students should read and what newspapers the people should take, what wonder is there if important political issues are decided at the sweet will of the bureaucracy without the consent of the people? We do not attribute any evil motive to it. Everything is done with an honest motive and for the good of the world! But just as man cannot know the ways of God, Indians cannot clearly make out the intentions of the bureaucracy, and they murmur needlessly! The people may be right or they may be wrong, but it is desirable that the bureaucracy should set aside its conceitedness and allow people to manage their own affairs. Though the Home Rule of the *Globe* is destroyed temporarily it will have it back freely after the war, but can India entertain a similar hope? Is it not the duty of the English Press that knows the bureaucratic administration well now to support the demand of India for Home Rule?

Comments on the brochure entitled "Some American Opinions on the Indian Emipre".
Indian Social Reformer (2), 22nd Apl.

*7. "We were surprised to receive some days ago from the Government of Bombay a slight booklet of about thirty pages containing quotations from a number of American publicists in appreciation of British rule in India. The publication, issued by Mr. Fisher Unwin at two pence a copy, is entitled "Some American Opinions on the Empire". We rather thought that we were in a better position to appreciate British rule in this country than Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, Mr. William Howard Taft or Admiral Goodrich. The idea of a great Government circulating testimonials by foreign publicists to its beneficence among its own subjects, is altogether strange to us and we are not satisfied that it is a very sound or fruitful idea. It seems to us, on the other hand, derogatory to a Government like the Government of India to send round the opinions of foreigners about itself, as if it were a patent pill, or a special kind of soap. In these days of rigid economy too, it seems to be wasteful to spend any money on such flimsy compilations. If it was desired to remove misapprehensions as to the methods of British rule in India in neutral countries, a compilation of the opinions of Indians who live under it, we fancy, is likely to carry more weight than the opinion of foreigners."

Contrast between the agricultural policies of Great Britain and India.
Gujaráti (12), 15th Apl.

8. The *Gujaráti* dwells upon the necessity on the part of Government of encouraging the development of agriculture by assuring to the cultivating classes the enjoyment of the benefits arising from their skill or labour. It remarks that much greater efforts should be made than what are being made at present to give these classes scientific education in agriculture. The paper is rather inclined to hold the view that the present revenue policy of Government is influenced by the sole consideration of increasing revenue every ten, twenty or twenty-five years when a new land assessment is made. It regrets that Government are not as anxious for the development of agriculture as they are for strengthening the Police and Criminal Investigation Departments and for overawing, with the help of the Press Act, journalists who raise the question whether Government desire to keep the people in the condition of 'hewers of wood and drawers of waters'. It contrasts the present policy of the Government in England of being prepared to spend, even in the existing crisis, large sums of money for the development of agriculture, with the policy of the Indian Government who have curtailed by 33 per cent. the expenditure on irrigation which is so helpful to agriculture. It then refers to the statement contained in the Agricultural Report published by Mr. McKenna to the effect that great improvement has been made of late in the cultivation of rice, wheat and cotton seed, and remarks that improvement in these directions should not be aimed at from the standpoint of England's needs but from that of the benefit of Indian agriculturists and labourers. The paper then proceeds to refer to the resolution passed by the House of Commons

prohibiting land-owners from increasing the rent of agricultural lands and fixing the minimum of weekly wages for agricultural labourers as well as the price of wheat, and observes that this arrangement goes to demonstrate how remedial measures are soon devised when one's own vital interests are affected. It maintains that in the present war Germany has taught England the importance of the development of agriculture side by side with other industries and asks if Indian administrators will learn a lesson from England's experience. It is of opinion that progress in agricultural matters should be made at a more rapid rate instead of at a snail's pace as at present.

The dignity of the Indian Legislative Councils is not being properly preserved.
Kalpataru (90), 15th Apl.

9. The *Kalpataru* says that popular expectations that the reformed Councils would be able to exercise a wholesome check on the decisions of the executive do not appear to have been realised. It refers to the report appearing in the *Leader* of Allahabad that the United Provinces Government have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 20,000 for a new post of Secretary in opposition to the clearly expressed opinion of the Legislative Council and have also disallowed a resolution proposed in the matter, and says that incidents such as these only prove that the Councils are merely a farce. It concludes by saying that the promise of a contribution by the Government of India of £100 millions towards the cost of the war without the knowledge of the Imperial Legislative Council was another instance of the same kind showing that the dignity of the Legislative Councils is not being properly preserved.

Danger of Lancashire's intervention in the Indian Cotton Mill industry.
Indu Prakásh (35), 14th Apl., Eng. cols.

10. Referring to His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech at the annual meeting of the Bombay Millowners' Association the *Indu Prakásh* writes:—"We accept in all good faith the assurance of His Excellency Lord Willingdon that there is no need to cultivate a pessimistic attitude regarding the future and that the *status quo ante* will not be restored after the war. But one cannot disguise the fact that Lancashire has bowed to the inevitable on the clear undertaking given by the present Imperial Government that the whole position will be reconsidered after the war. Lancashire evidently hopes to upset the preset arrangement soon after the war ends and no doubt extraordinary efforts will be made to compass the end in view. If Lancashire pursued only fair methods India will have no cause to fear. But we cannot be sure of this, for we notice already the righteous and humane manufacturers of Lanchashire becoming suddenly concerned about the welfare of Indian mill-operatives. Tactics such as these are barefacedly unholy and clumsy....... ... That their condition needs amelioration cannot be gainsaid, but it does not lie in the mouth of Lancashire capitalists to raise a hue and cry in the manner they have done."

Kesari (92), 17th Apl.

11. Eight years after the *Swadeshi* movement, the Manchester merchants have again been moved by the sufferings of Indian labourers and they have begun to weep! When the *Swadeshi* movement affected their trade, they raised a hollow cry about the Indian millhand being overworked and advocated the lessening of his hours of work. And now that Government have levied an import duty they have begun to shed crocodile tears over child-labour in India. We are all for labour reforms but the cry of Manchester is not a disinterested one; it can be easily proved that it is inspired by bad motives. Their statement that Indian children below nine years work for six hours in our mills is false because under the Factory Act such children cannot at all be employed. Manchester should have the sense to see that such false statements will only do harm to its cause.

Imperial Tariff Scheme will not benefit India.
A'rydvart (80), 14th Apl.

12. Referring to the scheme promulgated in some quarters for an Imperial Tariff after the war, the *A'rydvart* declares that India will not benefit by it inasmuch as Indian merchants mostly deal in goods manufactured by other countries and show little tendency to develop the manufactures of India itself. It declares that

the autonomous units of the Empire like Australia and New Zealand will take full advantage of the revised tariff and flood Indian markets with their goods. What would we gain, it asks, if our money which hitherto went to Germany and Austria found its way to England and the Colonies? India lost money when Germany and Austria looted her and it would make no difference if Australia did the same. Merely a change in the merchants will not benefit India. Unless economic autonomy is granted to the country, no scheme of Imperial Tariff will benefit it, inasmuch as it will only end in sending up prices.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's utterances in the Punjáb.

Young India (10), 18th Apl.

13. "Those who have carefully followed the drift of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's previous pronouncements on post-war questions, including, among others, the question of the reorganisation of the machinery of the whole Government of India will have very little reason to feel flattered by the profuse expression of sympathy to which he gave utterance in Láhore the other day. .... Neither His Excellency's official pronouncements nor the conduct of some of the high officials of State nor the open entertainment and encouragement of political philanthropists like Sir Valentine Chirol and Mr. Lionel Curtis is likely to enlist very much the confidence of the people in the high moral purpose of the ruling class to prepare the people for a great destiny. As Mr. Gokhale once said, whenever certain declarations are accompanied by a profusion of lip sympathy, people would be well advised in accepting them with a grain of salt. His Excellency declared: 'I sympathise whole-heartedly with Indian aspirations, and I hope it will be my lot during my period of office to assist them to find great scope. But let me repeat here a warning, which it is my duty constantly to reiterate in these times of exuberant political activities, when peoples' minds are disturbed and opinions are unsettled by the conflict and crash of Empires: let me repeat that the ideal which is best suited for India is not so much rapid progress as steady progress. Do not expect violent changes: if progress is to be sure it must be consolidated step by step'.......... But this is 'more platitudinous than promising.' We are living in a most eventful period of history. Even as Mr: Lloyd George declared only the other day, '*there are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times.*' The Prime Minister very aptly cited the case of Russia as an instance in point. 'Six weeks ago, Russia was an autocracy. *She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world.*' Judged by the standard of 'fitness' for even a limited case of self-government, which our rulers have thought fit to apply in the case of our people, were the Russians fit for the most advanced form of democracy in the world? Is it not a well-known fact that the Russian people were considered even more backward and helplessly dependent on their bureaucracy, a bureaucracy unparalleled in the world for its tyranny, oppression and corruption, beyond compare to all the bureaucracies of the world put together? If Russians can obtain freedom and fitness by a stroke of the pen, as it were, are not Indians fit for self-government within the Empire after a century and a half of her connection with the Mother of Parliaments and more than half a century of enlightened British rule in India? If the reforms unanimously voiced by the Congress and the Moslem League and endorsed by the whole country are 'violent changes', which people need not expect, there is little in it of statesmanship or political wisdom, and the lessons of history must have been completely lost on our rulers. It would be an evil day for India and for the Empire,—we utter this warning in all solemnity, if our rulers could applaud a revolution in Russia and throw a damper on the most constitutional and legitimate demands of the people of India. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's speech, however sweetly phrased, does not inspire us with great hopes that the Indian bureaucracy would willingly surrender the power or authority which by long usage they have now come to regard as solely vested in themselves."

14. "The scheme of land gifts recently announced will no doubt go a good deal towards securing the contentment of the war-scarred veterans when they return home and settle down to resume the plough which they had exchanged for the sword. But, reading the various addresses presented to the Viceroy, one at the same time is struck with the fact that these communities aspire for something more than a mere plot of ground to eke out a living from. More than one of the addresses referred to the desirability of commissions in the Army being thrown open to Indians and dwelt also on post-war administrative reforms, showing that the military classes, no less than the civil population, are moved by the spirit of nationalism which is now abroad in the land. We are sorry the Viceroy's reply was not wholly satisfactory on these points.......... The question of wider careers, we are told, is now engaging attention of Government, but it may be justly asked, for how long has not that question been under consideration? One of the hopes held out in the Imperial Proclamation of His Majesty the King-Emperor on the Coronation Day at Delhi in 1911 was that facilities will be provided shortly for enabling Indians to rise to higher ranks in military service. But over five years have passed since this hope was held out and still we are told the question is under consideration. One would have thought that the occasion of a world-wide war would have provided a golden opportunity to the Imperial Government to make up their mind and offer better attractions to the military races of India, not to mention the civil population, to enlist in the Army. But the authorities appear to be disinclined to grant this concession, and to judge from His Excellency the Viceroy's speech, the question of commissions will be left to be definitely solved either at the fag end of the war or after the war itself. One can only regret that the authorities have lost a splendid opportunity to demonstrate to the world and to the Indian public that they are not slow to recognise the unstinted war services of the country as a whole."

Indu Prakásh (35), 18th Apl., Eng. cols.

15. Commenting upon the utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy during his recent tour in the Punjab, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—In his reply to the address of the Sikh community in his Durbar speech His Excellency gave expression to the view that India is suited for steady and not for rapid progress, and warned people against expecting violent changes. His Excellency is fully in sympathy with Indian aspirations, but his speeches have disappointed us. The Indian public will feel thankful if he is pleased to take them into his confidence and tell them what he means by "violent changes" and "steady progress". Does His Excellency mean to say that the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League are advocating "volent changes" in their demand for political rights? The people want to share the responsibilities of the Indian Government and do not ask for violent changes. The people's aspirations have been reflected in the memorial submitted by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and if His Excellency Lord Chelmsford is disposed to regard the just and reasonable claims put forth therein as a demand for violent changes, we would ask him to study Indian questions more minutely by coming into close contact with the true leaders of Indian opinion. His Excellency's reply in the matter of granting commissions to Indians is equally disappointing. His Excellency was proud to narrate the achievements of the Punjábis on the field of battle but when they asked for commissions he put them off by telling them that a question of policy could not be dealt with hastily. His Excellency does not seem to understand what the people want. The Punjabis have earned Victoria Crosses, Orders of Merit and Distinguished Service Medals. Have not these solders qualified themselves for Commissions? Indians want that officers' training schools should be opened for them and commissions given them on their proving themselves efficient. This demand cannot be said to be an unreasonable one. Now that Indians have proved their mettle this demand of theirs should be satisfied without any delay. The world is advancing at a rapid rate and India would do well to keep pace with it or else it will remain in a backward position. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the other

Sánj Vartamán (28), 19th Apl.; *Bombay Samáchár* (53), 20th Apl.

head, remarks that the Viceroy is quite justified in saying that people must be trained as soldiers in the Defence Force before they can aspire to be officers and asks young men to enlist in large numbers and pass all the tests before advancing their claims for higher posts.]

16. "During his sojourn at Láhore His Excellency Lord Chelmsford was the recipient of several addresses from the several communities—the Sikh, the Muhammadan and the Hindu—in addition to the one presented by the Cosmopolitan Municipality of Láhore. The replies of His Excellency to these addresses contain very little that is fresh, but there is a good deal of platitude about many things of wider interest, more particularly the doctrine of *step by step* which he propounded at great pains in reply to the Sikh community's address.......... He then repeated most solemnly that 'the ideal which is best suited for India is not so much rapid progress as steady progress,' whatever that may mean. We have no doubt the Sikh community must have been highly impressed by the sympathetic attitude of the Viceroy and must have felt highly grateful to him. We should have had no hesitation in endorsing the view of Lord Chelmsford. But we beg to draw His Excellency's attention to a little passage in the speech of Mr. David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, delivered at the American Luncheon Club, just on the eve of his Excellency's sympathetic speech at Láhore Mr. Lloyd George said amid cheers and loud cheers: 'Strange things have happened in this war and stranger things are to come, and they are coming rapidly. There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace, covering the track of centuries in a year. These are such times. Six weeks ago, Russia was an autocracy; she is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world.' .... We have no reason to think that what Mr. Lloyd George said of Europe cannot be true of Asia. As we observed the other day, many things have happened, which ought to inspire our countrymen with confidence in the future—not the distant future, and many more things must happen, before this war comes to an end, which will upset the most fondly cherished calculations of Lord Chelmsford and his infallible advisers regarding the Juggernath of Indian progress."

Message (5), 17th Apl.

17. Referring to the Viceroy's remark in his reply to the Sikh community's address that reforms in India should be carried out slowly, the *Kesari* says that the discussion whether the rate of progress of reforms is slow or rapid cannot be decided unless Government make a full statement of the reforms they have in view and the stages by which they wish to attain them. So long as Government keep their gifts secret, it asks, why should the Viceroy take the trouble to make emphatic declarations that our demands are excessive and that the concessions Government intend to grant are sufficient? [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—The Viceroy did not make it clear why the rate of progress could be rapid in other countries and why it should be slow in India. It would be better if we were to bring to the notice of the authorities in England the public opinion in India and ask them to introduce large reforms required by the situation which has now arisen rather than give warnings to the people. We would also give His Excellency to understand that his warning will not break the force of the public movement.]

Kesari (92), 17th Apl.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 17th Apl.

18. "In his reply to the address of the Lahore Municipality His Excellency Lord Chelmsford expressed the hope that 'both those who now enjoy the amenities of suburban life and the land-owners who are reaping profit do not fail to reflect that their benefits are mainly due to the security establised by the British Raj.' Whatever it may be, we fail to see the relevancy of the remark in this connection. It is indeed impossible to think that there was any occasion for such a remark, which appears to us to be wanting in discretion, if it is also not indicative of a mental obsession. These constant reminders of what people owe and do not owe to the British Raj, as if they

Message (5), 17th Apl.

were all a set of thick-headed people who could not realise the fact without being frequently reminded by high and authoritative quarters, savour too much of distrust in their good will and judgment. And this, in the face of the terrible sacrifices they have made and the sufferings they have endured, is lacking in fairness and graciousness, if nothing else. These lapses, however unintentional, cannot certainly be reassuring to any self-respecting, intelligent people even when those are accompanied with the sweetest platitudes."

Comments on Mr. Lloyd George's speech at the American Luncheon Club.
Mahratta (4), 22nd Apl.

*19. "The Premier's speech at the American Luncheon Club delivered on the 12th instant has naturally served as an important occasion for the Indian Press to press its demands with strengthened hope in the light of the noble sentiments given vent to by Mr. Lloyd George. .... As America has already granted the Philippinoes representative institutions of sterling character after a short period of tutelage extending only to 18 years, the American Ambassador may truly say, on behalf of his Government, that the latter cannot think of the *place where democracy is assailed, as a place worth living in*.......... That the Philippinoes should receive representative institutions of a substantial nature after only 18 years of tutelage and that the Indians should be still under cramping tutelage without any assurance as yet from their rulers that not far in the future lies the moment of their emancipation—these things have not happened accidentally.......... Every argument that has been urged in extenuation of British backwardness has been answered pretty effectively. In any case it cannot be said that in India which unlike the Philippines contains two communities with civilizations and cultures of their own (which are admittedly of a high order) and which has been successfully and beneficently ruled by men from either community for centuries together—that in India of this description the fault of the present politically backward state lies wholly with the people and not with their rulers. A democratic spirit with American earnestness would have dealt with India in a different manner and to a different end.......... We turn to the Premier's speech without more ado.......... 'The advent of the United State into the war gives *the final stamp and seal* to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world.' An autocracy to be 'efficient' must have the backing of 'militarism.' The latter is dangerous as an instrument of autocracy, and is its invariable concomitant in a more or less developed form. It is 'autocracy,' therefore, that needs to be stamped out of the world and since this war is characterised by the Premier as a struggle against autocracy throughout the world, India may fairly claim that the 'democrat' Premier is bound, for consistency's sake, and of course for the sake of world-progress, to cast his eye in the direction of Indian 'autocracy' and dethrone it in favour of a more up-to-date and beneficent form of Government. The Premier went on to designate this struggle as 'a great fight for human liberty.' Indian liberty is surely included in 'human liberty.'.......... 'Russia engaged in this great war for the freedom of Serbia, Montenegro and Bulgaria. They were fighting for the freedom of Europe and they wanted to make their own country free and have done with it.' These remarks again cannot be read without 'India' standing sharp and clear before the mental eye. Indians cannot come back home except with their love for national freedom redoubled by their efforts in the cause of human liberty. The Russians wanted to make their country free, *i.e.*, to place it under popular rule, and the Premier is happy that the Russians have succeeded. So we have reason to expect that our efforts to make our country free will be appreciated and helped by Mr. Lloyd George.......... 'The Hindenburg line' which he expounded and exposed so well in his eloquent speech, is a phenomenon of no uncommon occurrence. This line he described as 'a line drawn in the territories of other people with the warning that inhabitants of those territories cross it at the peril of their lives.' By appropriate modification we can speak of the race bar and other bars in India as 'Hindenburg lines.'......... 'And soon Frenchmen, Americans, British, Italians, Russians, yea, and Serbians, Belgians, Montenegrins and Roumanians will emerge into the full light of perfect day.' And can these nations enjoy that 'perfect day' when we here—not to mention other nations—are under a more or less 'dark rule'? Are we not pining for the perfect day? Surely *democrats* cannot enjoy their freedom heartily so long as that freedom is not fully shared by the various peoples of the earth. As the Premier remarked, 'Democracy means peace,' and the absence of it in any nation, we hold, must be taken as a potential disturber of the peace of the world.......... May that real peace come is our earnest prayer. But we cannot see such a peace unless and until a *real democratic policy* is earnestly followed by Governments having alien countries under their rule and in consonance with this policy timely concessions are made to the several subject peoples according to the urgency of their needs and demands."

Reflections on a recent speech of Dr. Page, the American Ambassador in England.
Young India (10), 18th Apl.

20. "Dr. Page, the American Ambassador in England, orating on a very recent occasion on Anglo-American friendship, took the trouble to explain what exactly the United States of America were as a form of Government. They were a republic, 'a system of society, a scheme of life, a plan of freedom, a state of mind—an ideal that every human being shall have the utmost opportunity for individual freedom.' When young Indians read these remarks they are likely to ponder over them.......... They will easily notice that in the *self-governing* colonies of the British Empire, attempts are made continuously to achieve this ideal, but that there are other territories under this very Empire, where such attempts are misconstrued either into sedition or into impossible demands. Is the present form and spirit of the British Administration in India such as to ensure the belief that every human being in India has the utmost opportunity for individual progress?......... There can be no question that the British ideal has been the most remarkable for the scope it has allowed for the exercise of individual freedom, so long as that ideal has worked among men of the same race and civilization. The moment however it comes into contact with other races and another civilization, the British ideal loves to create exceptions, and becomes ultimately lost in the counsels of caution which crowd round it.......... We should have imagined that after a century of British rule in India, one of the central conditions of Indian political progress was bound to be a visible acknowledgment on the part of the governing agency in India of the trust and the faith the Indians have in British ideals of government. But this trust is met with distrust. Nowhere is this attitude more evident than in the official tinkering with problems of local self-government in every province of India."

Comments on the recent grant of *Jahgirs* by the Punjab Government for war service.
Kesari (92), 17th Apl.

21. The policy pursued by British statesmen after India came under the East India Company was that no new *Jahgirs* or *Vatans* should be given and that if possible the old ones should be confiscated. They did not naturally desire to introduce in India the feudal system condemned in the West. They thought of making use of titles in order to get their work done, but they came to see during the war that hollow titles were not useful in getting important and responsible work done, and new *Jahgirs* are to be given in the Punjab for war service. A king's policy is said to have many phases, but it is strange that the policy declared to be useless in one part of the country should be welcomed in another at one and the same time. Government are engaged in abolishing Kulkarni Vatans in one part of the country, but in another sixteen new Jahgirdars were created the other day. If Government think that the new system of giving *Jahgirs* for two generations only will not prove harmful like the old one, they are mistaken. They know how dearly Indians love their *Jahgirs*. If they resume the Punjab *Jahgirs* during the third generation as proposed they will surely make the future generations discontented. If they want to grant *Jahgirs*, they should grant them permanently or have nothing to do with them at all. But whatever be their decision regarding the new *Jahgirs*, they should not at least resume *Vatans* that have been in existence for thousands of years. It is quite inconsistent with the new policy adopted by them.

Government should not permit any other War Loan Lottery in the Bombay Presidency besides the one organised by the Western India Turf Club.

Sind Observer (9), 3rd Apl.

22. Referring to the Western India Turf Club War Loan Lottery sanctioned by Government, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"We would like to point out that Government having accorded their sanction to this large and respectably conducted lottery should not permit the numerous petty concerns which are springing up. Not that we wish it understood that any which is now placed before the public is less honestly managed; but unless Government recognise one, and only one lottery in this Presidency, there will be no limit to the number which will be organised, and we know from experience what fraudulent practices will appear in the guise of helping on the War Loan. We, therefore, advise Government to draw the line at once and warn all concerned that there is one authorised lottery in the Bombay Presidency."

Complaint about neglect by officials of the activities of the Bombay Moslem Committee for the entertainment of wounded soldiers.

Islámic Mail (3), 15th Apl.

23. "The Muhammadans complain that the attention of Government is monopolised by the noisy agitators and that perhaps if the Muhammadans played the agitator they would be paid more attention. This may be true or not, but the way movements initiated by Muhammadans are neglected by officials lends some justification for the supposition. With laudable zeal and enthusiasm, certain influential Muhammadan gentlemen formed a committee to entertain the wounded soldiers as a mark of appreciation and encouragement. The entertainments have been carried out with great success and enthusiasm and the soldiers have declared that nothing has given them greater pleasure and amusement than these entertainments. Even the Y. M. C. A. officers who helped in the arrangement affirmed that the soldiers enjoyed nothing better. The organisers deserved to be encourged by official patronage for such laudable object which is more important than many other social and communal movements. The Honourable Mr. Cadell with that generous regard for Muhammadan affairs which he has evinced of late, accepted the Presidentship of the Committe. The Police Commissioner attended it once and there it ended. No other official personage took part in it and even our ubiquitous Governor did not grace it with his presence. When Muhammadans see how movements of far lesser import organised by the advanced congressists are patronised officially and encouraged on all hands, is it a wonder if they feel a bit disheartened at the scanty attention paid to their undertakings?"

Probabilities of a separate peace between Russia and the enemy.

Gujaráti (12), 15th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (16), 18th Apl.

24. Reviewing the progress of the war and referring to the proclamation issued by the new Russian Government, wherein it was declared that Russia did not wish to extend its sway over other nations or to subjugate or humiliate them, the *Gujaráti* remarks that this proclamation of Russia is pregnant with meaning. It writes:— When the war broke out Russia took the side of Servia for preserving her supremacy over the whole Slav nation of Europe including not only the Slavs of Russia but those residing in an independent country like Servia. If Russia had not, for that purpose, begun collecting her army this war would not perhaps have taken place in its present form. It would have arisen between Austria and Servia and might have ended there. However, regard being had to the proclamation issued by Russia it can be asked if she will give up her ambition of conquering Armenia and securing Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Will she give up her supremacy over the Slav nations? If such be not her ambitions she will easily be able to conclude peace with Turkey and there will be, likewise, no difficulty in doing the same with Germany and Austria. Along with the abovesaid proclamation are received telegrams announcing that Russia is ready to fight with Germany till the last. It is doubtful whether these telegrams are reliable. Perhaps they may have been intended to reassure the English and the French. The certain chance of defeating Germany has become uncertain on account of the unsettled conditions in Russia. Reuter's telegram dated the 11th instant

says that even in England news received from Russia is not relied upon and is unintelligible. Indians hope that the Russians will not bring upon themselves the opprobrium of letting slip a fine opportunity from their hands. [Speculating upon the possibility of Russia concluding a separate peace the *Hindusthán* opines that the new Russian Government cannot make a separate peace with Austria inasmuch as it has accepted all the treaties entered into by the previous Government, one of which is opposed to any such peace. According to the paper it is a question whether Russia can tell the Allies that she has no longer the desire, which the Czar had, of swallowing the Turkish territory and that the nation being short of means is no longer willing to bear the burden of war. It then asks what the condition of France will be if Russia concludes peace with Austria and itself answers the question by maintaining that in that case France may be also compelled to make a separate peace and England may have to follow suit. The paper, in conclusion, observes that the future of the war rests with the decision of Russia.]

Reflections on the Russian Revolution.
Kesari (92), 17th Apl.

25. The Russian revolution and the entry of America into the war have changed altogether the character of the Great War. When the war was first proclaimed two years ago, it was declared to have been undertaken for the preservation of the liberty of small kingdoms. Now President Wilson says that the war will decide the superiority of democracy over autocracy. Though there is no democracy in England at present, Englishmen are the best lovers of the virtues of democracy. The establishment of democratic government in Russia has carried the wave of the freedom of the people up to the borders of Afghanistan and so we can infer that England will never hesitate to put bureaucratic government in India under restrictions after the war. The democratic movement has affected also Austria and Germany. Mr. Lloyd George thinks that there might be peace earlier than thought of. Yesterday there was autocratic rule in Russia, to-day there is a socialist democratic government there. If such wonders are taking place, who can say that peace will not be signed to-morrow? The Russian democracy has declared that it is not for any extension of territory and it will be ever ready to make peace honourable to the Allies. This declaration of the Russian Government and the support given to it by the Worker's League and the insistence of some socialists that a separate peace should be made, all tend to show that the Russian revolution has brought peace near. The successful revolutionaries are eager to live in amity with the neighbouring nations. The Austro-Germans also are trying to make peace through their own socialists. Russia has lost its enthusiasm to wield the sword because of its revolution, and thus is likely to put an end to the war and thus spread the light of democratic government all over the world.

Petrol shortage in Bombay.
Jám-e-Jamshed (19), 16th Apl.

26. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* dwells at length on the difficulties that owners of motorcars and taxi drivers in Bombay have been subjected to of late by the rise in the price of petrol, due to only one steamer plying between Burmah and Bombay for the transport of petrol. In view of the services rendered by Bombay during the war, the paper suggests that Government should so arrange matters as to allow one more steamer to bring petrol from Burmah and thus meet the difficulties of owners of motor cars and taxi-cab drivers. It fears that cars will shortly have to cease running for want of petrol.

The proposed Congress deputation to England.
Message (5), 18th Apl.

27. "We cannot certainly commend the wisdom of those who were responsible for the selection of the members of the Congress deputation to England. From the very scanty information available up to the present, we understand that four from Bengal, three from the United Provinces, two from Madras and one from Bombay, in all ten, will constitute the deputation. We are not yet aware on what principle this distribution was effected. At any rate it seems presumptuos enough on the part of Bengal to claim four of the ten for itself, while Bombay is to be content with only one! .... Is it part of a selfish conspiracy on the part of

[illegible] ultra-loyalists to keep out the most eminent and disinterested public men because their views are not approved in high official quarters? Why is not Mr. Tilak there, why is not Mrs. Besant on the deputation? After all, it must be remembered that Mr. Tilak has all along been the sponsor and consistent supporter of the movement for the deputation. Does the Committee doubt his unquestioned right to be the chosen representative of the people of India, after the splendid demonstration of public feeling at Lucknow, or is it jealous of Mr. Tilak's influence and personality?......... It is absurd that a small caucus should still domineer the course of our national life and insult the nation by reprehensible conduct of this sort. Mr. Tilak may not be as great an orator as some of the deputationists are. Yet is there one in this country who can make the nearest approch to him in his unerring patriotism, splendid devotion to duty, and the great sacrifices he has made for the cause to which he has adhered ever since he entered public life?...... It is unnecessary to offer any comment as to the individual persons selected. As far as they go, they are the best that could have been made, but the deputation is incomplete without the two leading figures being in it, and it is the duty of the public to see that the omission is made good without a moment's delay."

Gujaráti (12), 22nd Apl., Eng. cols.

***28.** "Such a deputation should have gone long before this and we are afraid the men who will proceed by the end of May will be either too late or too early. Too late because, by the time they reach England, the most important part of the work of the Conference may have been already finished and too early because the war may not have ended by that time....... We are not sure if the idea of a large Indian deputation will be approved by our friends in England who know the difficulties of the situation much better than people in this country. What is wanted at the moment is not stumping and oratory in England but quiet talks and interviews with ministers and responsible leaders in that country. A couple of leaders would have done this much more effectively than a large and costly deputation, which it is proposed to send."

The Fourth Sind Provincial Conference at Shikárpur.

Sind Journal (8), 12th Apl.

29. Commenting upon the proceedings of the fourth session of the Sind Provincial Conference recently held at Shikárpur, the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"The one disappointing feature of the Conference was the paucity of Muhammadan delegates. But, we believe, that is only a passing phase, as the active participation in the deliberations of the Conference by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri and Mr. Abdul Rahman, Bar-at-Law, clearly indicates.......... The cause of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal's absence was the unjustifible attitude taken by the Bombay Government to that distinguished patriot's presence in the Conference. The Reception Committee also is responsible for the absence of Mr. Pal from the Conference, to which he had been enthusiastically invited, as the telegraphic correspondence in another column shows. Mr. Pal had, no doubt, asked the Chairman of the Reception Committee to intimate to Government that he was to attend the Provincial Conference, in order to give the Bombay Government sufficient notice of his intention to proceed to Shikárpur. Mr. Pal evidently wanted Government to show their hand beforehand in case it was considered proper by them to exclude him from the Bombay Presidency or any portion of it under the Defence of India Act. But we fail to understand why the Chairman should have inquired from Government if there was any objection to Mr. Pal's attending the Conference. This was sufficient to egg on the Bombay Government to express their strong objection to Mr. Pal's presence in the Conference, as if it were a powder magazine which would have exploded as a result of this eloquence. If the attitude of Government was most regrettable that of the Reception Committee was still more so.......... The conduct of some public spirited citizens of Shikárpur in inviting Mr. Pal on their own book was a set-off to the affront offered to Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal by the Reception Committee by informing him of the Bombay Government's desire at an intermediate station. This incident alone marred the unity of purpose underlying the Conference. Otherwise the record of the Conference would have been unsullied and the nature of the deliberations and speeches delivered would have placed it in the forefront of our political gatherings in Sind."

Kesari (92), 17th Apl.

30. Babu Bepin Chandra Pal was to attend the Sind Provincial Conference by special invitation but the officials did not want him there. They however made a statesmanlike move and expressed their desire to the Conference officials instead of prohibiting him under the Defence of India Act. The Conference authorities asked Mr. Pal not to come to Shikárpur but as there was no legal objection, he went there and was given a grand reception. Without incurring any blame themselves, the officials managed to get the serpent killed at the hands of a third party! We really pity the local leaders for their weakness in falling a victim to the move of the officials.

Sind Moslem (new), 14th Apl.

31. Commenting upon the presidential address at the recent session of the Sind Provincial Conference at Shikárpur, the *Sindh Moslem* remarks:—"Rai Bahadur Hiranand Khemsing, himself a Hindu and addressing Hindus, could not have done better than that he has done; nor is there much in his utterances that Muhammadans would find fault with, but it would have been only right if he had given some speaking to his hearers on those points the non-settlement of which prevented the Mussalmans from hearing him. Similarly the Rasai, Chapter VIII of Criminial Procedure Code, etc., demanded some notice from the chair. It is a pity the amalgamation of Sind with the Punjab under a Governor in Council with Karáchi and Láhore as the Headquarters of the Government, and having a High Court that could stay during summer at Karáchi, has not found favour with him, though considering all that is common between the two provinces, already there has begun to spring up considerable Hindu feeling in favour of it in the Punjáb. Instead of that the idea of the Rai Bahadur of seeing a Governor in Council for Sind supervising, we suppose, the loading and unloading of camels for Australia at Kiamari is too wild to be taken seriously in any quarter; yet with all that he has done a distinct service to Sind by prominently referring to the Land Revenue policy in Sind, the Ten Years Settlements and the Fallow and Remission rules.......... While on this, we cannot help saying that the two resolutions of the Conference on the introduction of Quran teaching in Vernacular schools and the Moslem representation on the Local bodies are worked in a manner that would not do any credit to 'the patriotism' of their framers or those who passed them. They are too vague and meaningless and any discussion towards the settlement of the Moslem representation on the basis of the resolution would be fruitless."

Comments on the personnel of the Emigration Conference.
Message (5), 20th Apl.

32. "The personnel of Indian representation at the Conference on Emigration to be held in London next month must be hightly flattering to Indian opinion. There is the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State who is no other than Lord Islington, the most estimable and esteemed Chairman of the Public Services Commission, who will be assisted by one India Office official—name unknown. There are then again 'three' officers from India, *viz.* the most sympathetic Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, now on deputation in London as a *representative of India* at the Imperial Conference—that most excellent friend and host of Mr. Lionel Curtis,—Sir S. P. Sinha an *ex*-President of the Congress and Bengal's Advocate General, and Lt.-Col. W. M. Kennedy. The last but not the least important is Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks of the Madras Commission, now so famous all over India for the report on Ceylon Labour recruitment, etc., which he in conjunction with the Honourable Mr. Marakkayar investigated so ably and so zealously under the authority of the Governor-in-Council of Fort St. George, attending the Conference as having expert knowledge of the conditions of recruitment of labour. What an imposing array of stalwarts to represent India at the Conference on emi-

gestion ! Could human intellect and ingenuity go further for a selection of 'infallibles'? Indian opinion, which wasted its lungs for over three months may now go to recuperate its lost vigour and remain fully assured in the unfailing wisdom of the 'Indian representatives.'"

The Americans are angry against Germany for drawing the 'Hindenburg Line' against them, but they themselves have drawn a similar line against the Asiatics.

Young India (10), 18th Apl.

33. Commenting on a recent speech of Mr. Lloyd George, *Young India* remarks :—"Mr. Lloyd George referred amidst much laughter to 'The Hindenburg Line,' as the most characteristic of all Prussian institutions. He explained this 'Hindenburg Line' as 'a line drawn in the territories of other people with the warning that the inhabitants of those territories cross it at the peril of their lives'.......... It was no doubt too much for the spirited people of the great Western Republic to put up with the insolence of the German military caste which having played fast and loose with the temper of a most docile, peaceful and the most logically minded critic of the war and its calamities, provoked it to a war by drawing a similar line along the shores of America. The Americans could not tolerate the humiliation because it affected their own lives and property. But they would not realise the humiliation to which this great republic—this cradle of the world's freedom and liberty—subjected the non-white people, by drawing a similar line along the shores of India by its anti-Asiatic legislation discriminating against the British Indian subjects of His Majesty. When this legislation was still on the anvil, did the British Ambassador at Washington intervene and tell the Americans that the place for that line is not the Bay of Bengal or the Arabian Sea, but the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts of the United States ? Did the Indian Secretary of State intervene ? Why go so far ? Have we not in the anti-Asiatic legislation in force in the self-governing Dominions, something akin to this 'Hindenburg Line ?' Call it economic necessity or what you will, the fact remains that the self-governing Dominions have drawn the line along the shores of India with the warning that her free subjects cross that line for the Dominions, not at the peril of their lives but at the risk of being turned out on reaching the shores of the Dominions. It is no doubt unexhilarating to remind one self of the presence of this skeleton within the Empire. But there it is, and one has necessarily to take account of it. Thus while the Dominions people are free to come into and go out of India at their pleasure, Indians may not do the same in the Dominions ! In one case, they come for benefitting the country and enriching its people while in the other, the people go to swamp the thin ranks of the settlers !"

The C. I. D. reporters submit mutilated reports to their superiors.

Young India (10), 18th Apl.

34. "A friend of the C. I. D." writes to *Young India* :—"The C. I. D. gentlemen in this country do not only claim the right to report the speeches of public men at public expense, but would insist on being most conspicuously accommodated. Once comfortably settled in their seats, they take down notes of speeches of great men and small and transcribe them at their leisure. In the act, they omit many things that are said and add many things that are not said.......... They have the happy instinct of understanding what words and sentiments interpolated into the reports are likely to propitiate them with their official superiors and win for them favours. In their present temperament, officials are less likely to perceive the absurdity of such mutilated reports. Where they are particularly biased against public men, discretion and discrimination will be coolly given the go-by. Cases of this kind are too familiar to readers to be recalled here.......... If the authorities in this country were to make a free and frank confession, it should be found that there is hardly a leg on which the case for the officials can rest. The entire method of running the C. I. D. machinery is faulty and instead of proving a blessing to the people it has proved a curse. And the result is that officials have been long living in fool's paradise as it were, without realising that the public discontent has increased under the C. I. D. rule."

The police should start Rescue Homes to assist unfortunate fallen women.
Subodh Patrika (38), 15th Apl.

35. Referring to the recent case in which the Bombay High Court convicted a Pathan and his two female accomplices of the murder of a prostitute, the *Subodh Patrika* remarks:—The public would never have learnt the details of this ghastly tragedy but for the intelligence of a police sepoy. The much-talked of miseries of the indentured labourers in far off Fiji pale into insignificance before the horrible condition of the unfortunate inmates of the brothels run by the unscrupulous Pathans in Bombay. We understand that the Police maintain a list of these houses of infamy, and it ought not, therefore, be difficult for them to hunt down the criminals who forcibly detain women in the brothels against their will. Their task will be made easier if they enlist the co-operation of our well-to-do benevolent people and start Rescue Homes for assisting these unfortunate women.

Comments on the conviction of Police Sub-Inspector Adsul (Sátára).
Message (5), 18th Apl.

36. "The *cause celebre* at Sátára in which a Police Sub-Inspector named Mr. Adsul stood charged for rape on a Maratha girl named Jija has ended, and we are glad to see that the offender has been sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment for the offence. The case contained some pathetic incidents, which cannot but move the heart of any one who reads or hears of them. It has also many lessons to teach. One is that Police-officers *some* of whom *may possibly* be evilly inclined, should not be given such powers of arrest and temporary imprisonment as will give them easy opportunities for the gratification of their lust, greed or other such passion. If a police officer has the authority to place a young lady in custody and *practically* control the environment, it is not very surprising that some few of them do abuse their power. The authority of the lower officials needs to be curtailed—that is one lesson. Another is that unless education spreads, there will be found some ladies who will be easily duped into false positions."

A complaint against the state of the tonga service between Kumta and Bhatkal (Kanara).
Kánara News (31), 18th Apl., Eng. cols.

37. "It is a happy thing to see that two companies of tonga service have entered into a competition of running tongas twice a day between Kumta, Honavar and Bhatkal.... ...... As a consequence the passenger traffic is more than doubled and passengers are huddled up together in the rickety tongas and the poor animals drawing them are made to bend down under the heavy burden. It is really a ghastly sight to see the poor animals dragging on an over-loaded tonga along the dusty road.......... We invite the attention of the Pubic Works authorities also to the miserable condition of the seashore road between Kumta and Honavar and Bhatkal.......... The road is not only dusty and feeble but is also extremely narrow and as such prevents two carts from crossing each other with ease. The culverts and drains too are not in good order."

Complaint that the *Dharamashala* near the Gokak Railway Station has been appropriated by the police for their own use.
Chikitsak (84), 11th Apl.

38. A correspondent writes to the *Chikitsak* that the *Dharamashala* close to the Gokak Railway Station has been appropriated by police officers for their own use for the last six or seven months thus putting travellers to considerable inconvenience. He requests that if the building in question is to be no longer available for public use the authorities should make the fact widely known so that people will be saved the trouble of needlessly walking to the place.

Indian journalism is not responsible for the stringent Press laws enacted by the Indian Government.
Gujaráti (12), 15th Apl.

39. Referring to the reply given by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to the deputation of the Indian Press Association, the *Gujaráti* remarks that the belief entertained by the Viceroy, that journalists and authors are responsible for the stringency of the law of sedition, is not correct. It wants to know what objectionable writings were published in Indian newspapers or books before the time when the Vernacular Press Act was passed in India. It writes that it behoves Lord Chelmsford to show

[illegible] writings appeared in journals or in books from the time of Lord Ripon, when the Vernacular Press Act was repealed, till the time of Lord Elgin. The paper goes on to suggest that whenever there was agitation in the Indian Press it was not without reasons, and supports itself by maintaining that the prosecution of the *Kesari* for sedition in the time of Lord Elgin came in the wake of the agitation created by the severe measures taken by Government for the prevention of the plague and that it was the various acts of Lord Curzon ending with the partition of Bengal that had exhausted the public patience during Lord Minto's *regimé*. It remarks that, instead of relying upon the sound administration of justice, the Indian administrators frightened Lord Morley with the bogey of prestige and succeeded in getting the Newspapers Incitement to Violence Act passed in 1908 and that when the officials failed to carry out their object even with the help of that Act and could not take their stand in courts of law under the Act or under sections 124-A and 153-A of the Indian Penal Code, they got the Press Act of 1910 enacted to make themselves independent of legal tribunals. The paper believes that Lord Chelmsford has been put on the wrong track with regard to the history of the causes that led to the passing of the Press Act. It concludes with observing that if Lord Morley had reversed the partition of Bengal in the year 1907 instead of treating it as a "settled fact" no occasion would have arisen for passing the Acts of 1908 and 1910 above referred to.

Comments on the action of the United Provinces and Punjáb Governments in calling for opinions on the re-commendations of the Public Service Commission.

Indu Prakásh (35), 16th Apl., Eng. cols.

40. Referring to the circulars issued by the United Provinces and Punjáb Governments inviting public bodies to submit their opinions on the Public Service Commission's recommendations, the *Indu Prakásh* remarks:—"So far as we know, the other Provincial Governments have not yet seen their way to issue similar *communiques*. But we suppose they will hurry up in the next week or two and discharge this their unpleasant duty even at the eleventh hour, and call upon public bodies here and elsewhere to despatch their suggestions in double quick time so as to make them reach the authorities before 31st May. We fail to understand the *raison d'etre* of this official secrecy at the beginning and unseemly haste at the eleventh hour. To the public mind such an attitude betrays awful disregard for the convenience and feelings of the public concerned......... They withheld publication of the Report for over two years, even though all India was clamouring for it and led the public to believe that it had been shelved forever in view of the 'changed angle of vision' engendered by the war. This year, when nobody wanted it, they spring a tremendous surprise on the public by publication of the report and are feverishly expediting action on the same, leaving the Indian public at sea whether the post-war reforms that India is to enjoy are to be formulated on the lines of the recommendations of the Commission or whether a further instalment of reform on more generous lines is to come after the war. The Government have never explained their position clearly and have enveloped the whole thing in a fog of mystery and uncertainty."

Praja Bandhu (24), 15th Apl., Eng. cols.

41. "At a recent meeting of the Legislative Council of the United Provinces the Local Government accepted a Resolution by which it agreed to consult the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League Committees as also other public bodies with regard to the Public Service Commission Report before forwarding its own recommendations thereon to the Imperial Government. This is no doubt satisfactory, for it is as it ought to be. We would, therefore, like to see other Provincial Governments following this excellent example of the United Provinces."

Criticism of the Indian Education Service.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 22nd Apl., Eng. cols.

***42.** Referring to the death of Dr. Wordsworth, late Principal of the Elphinstone College, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes as follows about the development of the young recruit from England to the Indian Education Service:—"As a young man he easily falls under the influence of hardened Anglo-Indians who make him swallow all sorts of absurdities in the name of efficiency, prestige and what not. The result is the young 'professor' soon imbibes a certain lack of sympathy—if not disgust—for his Indian pupils. He feels that his duty is merely to teach in the class-room; he does not care to mix with the students; hence he does not get to know them; but he can always pose in the columns of the *Times* as a 'man on the spot'. There is a professor in a Government College at Madras who is amiable enough to address his students as niggers, and there is another in South India who openly says, 'we Englishmen never call on Indians.' A joint effect of the above defects is to render an average I. E. S. not merely a harmless failure but a most pernicious influence on the minds of the young. With such boorish teachers, who deserve to be dismissed rather than be paid fat salaries, there is no wonder that the present generation of Indian students tends to be profoundly dissatisfied with the state of things in India,......... There is something wrong with the whole system of recruiting I. E. S.'s. To demand that the candidates for the service *must* be under thirty, they *must* be sportsmen, and they *must* give twelve lectures a week—all this is in flagrant contradiction to the most elementary principles which ought to govern educational appointments. To prefer a third rate sportsman graduate to a first class non-sportsman graduate is a folly committed time and again by the Board at Whitehall. To prefer a raw graduate of 24 to an experienced teacher of 34 is another folly. Both have been so frequently committed that the Indian Education Service has mostly become a soulless service often with more muscles than brains. No wounder that Indians despairingly ask for more Grants and Wordsworths."

Need of placing restrictions on the sale of liquor in India.
Hitechhu (59), 8th Apl.

43. Commenting upon the reply given by Mr. Chamberlain to Sir John Roberts on the question of restricting the sale of country liquor in India, the *Hitechhu* writes:—The reply is very disappointing. Laying aside the question of furthering the cause of the war there is a great necessity, as remarked by the *Modern Review*, of placing restrictions upon the sale of liquor. Restrictions have been put on the use of liquor by munition workers in England. Why should not similar restrictions be placed on munition workers in India? Would not restrictions on liquor lead to happy results in India? Does liquor make people sober and virtuous in tropical India?

Strictures on the policy of Government regarding Salt manufacture in Native States.
Message (5), 15th Apl.

44. Commenting on the salt-tax the *Message* writes:—"We are concerned immediately with the reply which the Honorable Sir George Barnes vouchsafed sometime back to Mr. Wacha's interpellation on Salt manufacture in Native States. The reply was, to say the least, extremely unsatisfactory and unsympathetic. Under certain so-called treaty obligations the Native States are debarred from exploiting to their best advantage certain natural resources including salt.......... We are in all seriousness told that salt is not a Government monopoly. Only the duty is maintained as it might otherwise interfere with its proper collection. However that may be, it is important to note that Government have recognized that salt plays an important part in industrial development, so that any increase in the duty leviable on this important commodity or restriction in its manufacture would necessarily affect it. In view of this, it was expected that instead of curtailing the production on a large scale of this necessary article locally, Government would give all possible encouragement to its manufacture. Those who know of the history of the Salt-tax will recall that free use was made of this article not only for agricultural and industrial purposes but for the better preservation of men and animals. There is abundant testimony to prove that owing to the dearness of salt, the poor people have been put to considerable inconvenience and suffering. Apart from this there is the injustice involved to the Native States. .... The States signed away their rights at a time when conditions were far less conducive to their resisting the influences which were then at work. There is at present hardly one who would agree that it has on the whole been for the good of both.......... It is only a question of two decades when the State of Cutch carried on the most flourishing trade in salt with the

African ports. The so-called agreement has put an end to this valuable trade and transferred it to the foreign powers who have retained a footing on the coast strips of this country. It has profited neither the British Government nor the States......... According to Sir George Barnes' reply to Mr. Wacha, if the States were allowed to exercise their national right, it might necessitate the strengthening by the addition of a few more hands to the Department of Salt Revenue to see that a pocketful here or a pocketful there of "Desi" salt was not smuggled into British territory to the great detriment of the Indian revenues! .... In view of the fact that Government have been able to devise safeguards against the smuggling of foreign salt, it is impossible to think that the "wonderful Civil Service" which plays "terrestrial providence" to the poor illiterate ignorant masses cannot discover a means of dealing with the indigenous salt. Consider as we may, the attitude of the Government of India has been most illiberal. Sooner or later there is bound to be a strong agitation against the unjust impost on salt and Government will be called upon to face the problem of finding other sources of income to make good the loss sustained by the abolition of the duty on salt. It would have certainly been an act of statesmanship to recognize this fact and by a stroke of the pen release the States from the unjust and indefensible agreements abrogating their own natural rights."

Bombay license-holders should have one representative on the Advisory Committee.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 20th Apl.

45. While opposed to many of the demands made by the License-holders of Bombay in their memorial to the Collector of Excise against certain recommendations made by the Advisory Committee, the *Bombay Samáchár* supports their demand for having a representative on the Committee. It is of opinion that the work of the Committee will be greatly facilitated by being in touch with the views of the license-holders and knowing their difficulties. It hopes, therefore, that their request in the matter will be granted.

Need of constructing piers at the ports of Kumta and Tadri (Kanara).

Kánara News (31), 13th Apl., Eng. cols.

46. "The want of piers has been very keenly felt in the case of some of the ports of Ratnágiri and Kánara Districts. So far as North Kánara is concerned, there are no piers or even some convenient landing arrangements in the ports of Kumta, Tadri and Bhatkal. This state of things has been causing a good deal of hardship and inconvenience to the travelling public and trade.......... The hardship to which women passengers are put is simply unsightly.......... Hence it is clear that these ports at any rate do stand in need of strongly built piers for the convenience of the travelling public and trade. Bhatkal may for the present be let alone as we see that the fortunes of the place are likely to take an unexpected happy turn by reason of the Mysore State's intervention. Now as to Kumta and Tadri not to speak of other ports, some practical scheme must be launched to provide them with piers.......... The bodies that may well be approached to participate in the scheme are, in our opinion the following :—(1) The local Municipalities; (2) the Local Boards; (3) the Steamer Company; (4) the Customs Department; and (5) the travelling public. Each of these must be taxed fairly. In the case of the last, something like a paltry poll tax, say at the rate of one anna per head, must be levied and charged on the out-going tickets at each port. The money for the present may be advanced by one or more of the bodies concerned that can afford to do so."

Alleged colour-partiality of the Acting Chief Presidency Magistrate.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 15th Apl.

47. In its "humorous" column the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, addressing the Chief Presidency Magistrate, asks:—How is it that you mete out uneven justice? A European who committed the theft of a cycle received one day's simple imprisonment with the fine of Rs. 60! While in a case reported on the same day a Hindu employed in the Mint was sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for a month and a half for stealing 55 nickel coins! Bravo! Mr. Setelwad, you cannot be said to be specially partial towards the white skin, but even a layman is struck with such difference in the punishment meted out.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the acceptance by the Muhammadan leaders of a Moslem University on the lines of the Benares Hindu Universty.

Islámic Mail (3), 15th Apl.

48. "Nothing can be more welcome news to us than that coming from Aligarh that the leaders of the Muhammadan community have at last decided to accpt the Moslem University on the lines of the Benares Hindu University.......... This is indeed very satisfactory. It is useless for any one to ask at this stage, although he would be quite justified in doing it, as to why this decision was not taken earlier, at the October meeting held in 1915, when the Government of India letter declining any discussion of the subject until and unless the Muhammadans agreed to the terms offered to the Benares University was received. If the committee had taken a sane view then and accepted the University, so much valuable time would not have been lost." [Elsewhere the paper says :—" We for one do not think it was very kind of Government not to have met our demands in a more liberal spirit ; but all the same it is better to have a University and try to gain more in times to come than to have none at all."]

Sindh Moslem (New), 14th Apl.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 22nd Apl., Eng. cols.; *Kesari* (92), 17th Apl.

49. " There was destined to be one and only one Cardova and that in the West. " The Cardova of the East " was a dream. The zeal of Sir Syed has been trampled upon in his own place by his own people, and the M. A. O. College has, with all it future bombastic transformation fallen from its pedestal of glory and liberty. We must bid good-bye to any hopes and ambitions that we might have focussed round Aligarh and must sigh for the change of the long bold 'No' for the timid 'Yes' in favour of the acceptance of the Moslem University on the lines accepted by our Hindu friends for Benares. Those who talked big and committed themselves, on more than one occasion, in no uncertain terms, against a University that was not to meet the requirements of the Mussulmans, have been the first to turn round and preach the wisdom, if there is any, of something being better than nothing.......... It is indeed sad that the community should be guided by men who have learnt to walk with jerks. These gentlemen committed the Mussulmans, without any serious thought, to a definite political policy and have with another jerk laid down the educational programme, trusting more to the community's good luck than to their own wisdom.......... The Moslem University Association has made itself ridiculous in the eyes of the public and its ungraceful surrender will produce an effect of the greatest weakness in all our future undertakings. Messrs. Wazir Hassan and Company have, with all their good intentions, made many blunders in the past, but none so unpardonable as their method of bringing people round to have a University that never is to answer the needs of the community. These gentlemen whom the Mussulmans have granted too large a charter of liberty of action have busied themselves, like their rival gang, with more of party politics than the needs of the community ; and it remains to be seen whether Lucknow is going to be another Lahore. At any rate it is high time for us to open our eyes. Lucknow has tried to drag us, but are the Mussulmans going to allow themselves to be dragged thus ? " [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—" It is not an easy task to appreciate this resolve at its real value. Nor do we find it easy either to offer our whole-hearted congratulations to the Committee or to condemn it absolutely. For there is no denying that the acceptance of the Government conditions means the abandonment of a lofty ideal,—nothing less than the ideal of a University which would be the centre of Muhammadan learning in the whole world,—and the abandonment of a great ideal is always a tragedy in itself. On the other hand it is equally true that at least a little good is better than the whole good, and from this standpoint the Committee have done well to be content with a University, officialised and suffering under galling restrictions indeed, but with vitality enough to encourage Muhammadan learning and to infuse broad ideas of culture into Muhammadans." The *Kesari* remarks :—The officials do not like the idea of our giving education in accordance with our civilisation at our own expense. But the wise man accepts half when the whole is in danger of being lost. These are the days when we should sink all our differences, and just as the Moslems and the Hindus joined hands at Lucknow and demanded the first instalment of reforms they should unite in educational movements and demand reforms with one voice. An agitation of such a character will never fail.]

Some complaints against the Bombay University.
Sandesh (100), 17th Apl.

50. It is certainly not an agreeable task to have to teach an institution whose function is to teach others. The vagaries of the Bombay University indicate that a screw is loose somewhere in the working of that body. The University while fixing the dates of examinations takes no care to avoid public holidays thus putting candidates to needless inconvenience. Recently the authorities responsible for the conduct of the Matriculation examination at Belgaum made a very bad mistake. In the paper on English the examiner asked two questions giving the candidates the option of answering either of the two. The printer or rather the men responsible for the correct printing of the paper omitted the 'or' between the two questions with the result that candidates had to attempt both the questions! Now we should like to know who is responsible for the loss of valuable time of the candidates and what steps the University takes to see that no undue hardship is put on them. Again the University has fixed the 8th of June as the date on which the result of the Matriculation examination is to be out. A number of students hail from places on the Konkan coast the sea communications of which with Bombay are partially or sometimes wholly interrupted at the advent of the rainyseason, *i. e.*, in the beginning of June. How are the successful students to come to Bombay to join College if the communication is wholly cut off by the time the result is out? Why should not the University appoint extra examiners to expedite the result? These are questions which require an answer from the University.

Protest against an order of the Calcutta University to close private schools not having their own building.
Shetkari (37), 15th Apl.

51. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's appointment to the Viceroyalty of India led to considerable discussion in the press as to which of his qualifications appealed to His Majesty the King-Emperor and his Ministers. It was argued by some that his best claim to the post of Viceroy of a backward country like India was that he was an ardent educationist. His speech at the convocation as Chancellor of the Calcutta University raised popular hopes that the cause of education would considerably advance during his *regime*. But in some inexplicable way a statesman brought up in the liberal atmosphere of England soon changes his views on coming to this country. We are confirmed in this opinion by an order recently issued by the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University requiring the proprietor of every private school either to provide his own building or to close down his institution. Although the order is signed by the Vice-Chancellor it must have previously received the approval of His Excellency the Viceroy who is the Chancellor of the Calcutta University. In our opinion want of its own building is not an adequate excuse for closing down an institution which has been doing useful work. We suspect the real object of the authorities is to discourage private enterprise which helps forward the cause of education. The primary duty of every civilised government in the world is supposed to be to diffuse knowledge in every possible way, but in India it is different. Here education is not only not extended, but steps are taken which appear to be intended to hamper its progress.

The late Dr. Wordsworth.
Gujárati (12), 22nd Apl., Eng. cols.

*52. In a long article on the late Dr. Wordsworth the *Gujárati* writes:—"Though an official, he never thought that he was bound hand and foot by those silvery fetters and obstacles which have turned officials into easy-going, silent and ever obedient tools during the last few years. In fact, it may be said that he was the last representative of those sturdy, courageous and high-principled Anglo-Indians who boldly spoke out their convictions and righteously stood up for the cause of Indian progress......... Professor Wordsworth had no narrow prejudices about students in their relations to politics and did not impose any bar to their joining in the general movement throughtout the country to pay India's last tribute of respect and gratitude to that Viceroy (Lord Ripon) of imperishable fame. Professor Wordsworth was not afraid of attending the first session of the Congress held in Bombay in 1885 along with Sir William Wedderburn and showing his practical sympathy with the growing aspirations of the people.......... His deep devotion to learning, conscientious industry, magnanimity of heart, indifference to the petty details of what is paraded in these days of narrow-minded officialism as strict discipline, his lofty character, his simple and beautiful life, and his venerable Rishi-like figure—all these were a far more potent educative influence than all the mechanical rules and regulations to which so many little-minded teachers and professors attach excessive importance.......... Dr. Wordsworth is now gone for ever, but his influence and the noble traditions he has left behind in the Elphinstone College will remain. It is men like him that bridge the gulf between Indians and Europeans and make European culture a success in this country by inspiring students with love of learning and enthusiasm for higher knowledge.......... In our opinion University Commissions and their elaborate investigations and reports are of less importance than the personnel of the staff of our colleges and their due equipment. Indians and their children are no barbarians. They have a glorious literature and philosophy of their own and are themselves not morally and intellectually inferior to Europeans. It is, therefore, no use importing tenth-rate professors, some of whom are not endowed with the power of clear elocution and fluent exposition in their own mother-tongue or do not possess those high academic qualifications which alone will inspire students with respect and reverence for their professors and enable the latter to turn out graduates of a higher type."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on Mr. Baptista's failure to secure the Presidentship of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Message (5), 19th Apl.; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 16th Apl., Eng. cols.

53. "It is by no means a strange tale, which Mr. Baptista's letter regarding the last election of the Corporation president discloses.......... The only remedy to the ugly feature of our public life, revealed in Mr. Baptista's letter is to see that nominations are altogether done away with and also that the elected members who are found guilty of selling their conscience are exposed to public contempt and ridicule. At the future election, the people must make it morally impossible for them to get back to the Corporation. The method suggested here applies *mutatis mutandis* to members of Legislative Councils also, who do greater harm to the community at large by lending a hand in the imposition of reactionary legislation on the people. Unless public opinion is brought round to see the full extent of the iniquity perpetrated by this class of people without a backbone, the harm caused to public interest might one day attain unmitigable proportions." [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—"It is melancholy to note, apart from this incident, that, since the death of the Father of the Corporation, the late Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, the forces of officialism are coming once more to assert themselves and gain the upper hand over the popular party or rather the remnants of the popular party that once was so strong in the Corporation. The disruptive forces are now actively at work among the popular representatives, since the one personality around which they all rallied has been removed by the hand of death. Mr. Wacha is still amidst them, but his voice is more often than not a cry in the wilderness. Unless the elective element in the Corporation is increased and the official and nominated element lessened, the chances for the future are that this leading Municipal Corporation in the country will become more and more officialised."]

Sandesh (100), 15th Apl.

54. Referring to the defeat of Mr. Baptista in the Presidential election of the Bombay Corporation the *Sandesh* says that there was no chance of a man of Mr. Baptista's type, specially after he had taken the lead in the Home

Rule League, being elected under the present constitution. It says that it is a disgrace to the Bombay leaders that even when the mofussil Municipalities enjoy the right of electing two-thirds of the members they should rest content with the present state of things under which only half of the members of the Bombay Corporation are elected, and it urges them to get the constitution changed.

Protest against the rumoured nomination of Rao Bahadur Artal as President of the Belgaum District Local Board.

Mahrátta (4), 22nd Apl.

*55. "Vox Populi" writes to the *Mahrátta* from Belgaum:—"The experiment of the non-official President for the District Local Board is going to be tried in Poona, Belgaum and a few other districts.......... It is well known in this town that R. B. R. C. Artal, I.S.O., is in the running for the Presidentship of the District Local Board; and Dame Rumour also says that he has been selected by the authorities with whom the selection lies.......... Mr. Artal's views in respect of the aspirations of the natives and his concurrence in the report of the Lawrence Commission and his deliberate attempt to defy the Government orders in the Vyasantol matter in the closing days of his service, not to take up his previous extremely unpopular career, his defamatory letter to Government in connection with the Karnatac College affair and his subsequent unwilling apology, are all too well known to need repetition. Government are, therefore, given warning betimes so that a proper choice may be made after mature consideration. Any number of better qualified gentlemen can be had in the city and unless Government look upon the post as one of mere honour and not responsibility, they would be committing a grave blunder in nominating Mr. Artal."

The Bagalkot Municipality should not accept certain proposals put forward by the District Deputy Collector.

Karnatak Vaibhav (74), 17th Apl.

56. A correspondent writes:—Last year the Bagalkot (Bijápur) Municipality had sanctioned Rs. 5,000 for a new *Dharmsala* near the old one, but as the place was found to be unhealthy the scheme was held over. Last month it has decided to build a *Dharmsala* on the Kaladagi Road at a cost of Rs. 8,000 and it has further resolved to locate the English school therein until new school-buildings are ready. But Mr. Mobedji (the District Deputy Collector) does not like the idea and he proposes that the school should be located in the Haveli bungalow which being useless the Forest Department are about to hand over to the Revenue Department. Mr. Mobedji wants to saddle the Municipality with it at a further cost of Rs. 10,000. It will be impossible for the boys to attend the Haveli bungalow in the rainy season, as there is a river between the bungalow and the city. But Mr. Mobedji has suggested that a bridge should be built over the river. A fine suggestion! The Municipality will have to spend 10 to 20 lakhs for the bridge. The Municipality will be reduced to bankruptcy if it decides to take up the Haveli bungalow for the school. Moreover, as improvements cannot be made in the bungalow without the sanction of Government, there will be delay in carrying them out. What about the school then? The proper course for the Municipality would be to finish the *Dharmsala* that is being built and use it for the school. The Collector should take proper measures to accommodate the school and he should not consider that his work consists only in criticising the Municipality. The school will go on only if the Collector accepts the arrangements made by the Municipality otherwise it will have to be closed.

Request to Government to take over three-fourths of the expenditure on the Satára water-works.

Shubh Suchak (105), 13th Apl.

57. The *Shubh Suchak* complains that as out of the sum of two and a half lakhs of rupees which has so far been expended on the new Satara water-works only one half is to be borne by Government and the other half by the Municipality, the latter will be forced to levy a heavy water-rate on the people and also to close the local English school as a large part of the Municipal income will have to be devoted to the payment of

the debt of the Municipality. It therefore appeals to Government to take over the payment of [illegible] of the expenditure on the water-works and thus save the English school.

Appeal to Government to restore the municipal franchise to Hyderabad (Sind).

Rást Goftár (27), 15th Apl.

58. The *Rást Goftár* expresses its approval of the resolution passed by the Sind Provincial Conference at Shikarpur, declaring that the appointment of the Municipal Commissioner for the city of Hyderabad (Sind) was illegal and urging Government to abolish the Committee of Management and to restore the municipal franchise to that city. It hopes that the resolution will not fail to make Government realise that a strong feeling has been aroused in this matter not only among the people of Hyderabad but among the people of the whole of Sind. The paper endorses the opinion expressed by the President of the Conference that the appointment of the Committee of Management has proved to be a remedy worse than the disease. It also holds the belief that if Government will correct their mistake by acceding to the demand made by the people of Sind they will win the confidence of the people of the entire Bombay Presidency with regard to their solicitude for the development of local self-government.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 26th April 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 17 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 28th April 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Adverse comments on the explanation given by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb of the prohibitory orders issued by his Government against Messrs. Tilak and Pal 11
Bombay Government is helping Sir Valentine Chirol against Mr. Tilak in the defamation case . . . . 9 & 10
Comments on Mr. Lionel Curtis' "Letter to the people of India" . 12—14
Comments on the proposed issue of one-rupee currency notes . . 20
Comments on the Sanitary Commissioner's remarks on the reports of the Pilgrim Committees 19
Mr. Gandhi's activities in Behar 8
Reflections on the recent Gandhi incident . . . . 1—7
Suggested compulsory retirement of Mr. Wood, Principal of the Rurkee College . . . . 15 & 16
The educational policy of the British Government contrasted with that of the Indian Government 17
The Shivaji festival in Bombay 18
Excise: Comments on the — Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1916-17 41
Imperial Legislative Council: Comments on the Government of India's Resolution on the Bengal election dispute between Mr. Arif and Mr. Rahim . . . . 38 & 39
Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the personnel of the Emigration Conference 37
Irrigation: Government should issue a Press Note regarding the Gokak Canal Project 45
Judicial matters: The proposed City Civil Court for Bombay 44

Police:

Some tales of the C. I. D. 35
Why Bepin Chandra Pal refused to deliver lectures in Bombay . . 36

Provincial Conference:

Comments on the resolution to adopt Hindi as the national language of India passed by the Shikárpur — 43
Muhammadans and the Sind — at Shikárpur 42
Public Service: Alleged unwholesome working of the Revenue Subordinate Service Rule 40

H 32—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War:

Alleged extortion of contributions to the Indian — Loan 29
All well-known banks in India should be allowed the same facilities as the Presidency Banks with regard to Government deposits . 32
Comments on the naval action off Dover 34
Comments on the proceedings before the Bombay Exemptions Tribunal under the Indian Defence Force Act . . . . . . 26 & 27
Comments on the resolution of the Imperial — Conference recommending the grant of representation on the Imperial Conference to India . . . . 21—23
India is too poor to make a — contribution of one hundered millions sterling 28
Indian recruits from Chandranagore will be able to rise to the highest military posts, while Indians from British India cannot hope even to be Lieutenants 33
Proposed issue of premium bonds to enable Moslems to invest in the — Loan 30
The Indian Defence Force illustrates the adage about the mountain in labour . . . . 24 & 25
The — Loan and the Muhammadan objection to receiving interest on money lent 31

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Calcutta University Commission 46
The Muhammadan University 47

RAILWAYS—

The practice of reserving compartment for Europeans and Eurasians should be stopped 48

MUNICIPALITIES—

Poona: Comments on the Government resolution on the request of the — Municipality to be entrusted with the drainage works of — City . 49 & 50

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Reflections on the recent Gandhi incident.

Gujaráti (12), 29th Apl., Eng. cols.

*1. "Under the Defence of India Realm Act all kinds of orders have been issued in this presidency and elsewhere upon the strength of what appears to the outside public to be very questionable and even worthless evidence. The British press has been complaining that bureaucrats have become all-powerful and that Parliament has ceased to discharge its proper functions. What has become possible in a country where the people's voice is all-powerful, has become very easy in India. The prohibitive orders issued by the authorities at Dharwar and Belgaum and by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab are instances in point. The executive authorities have unlimited power and discretion to believe or disbelieve anything or everything quite conscientiously and take refuge under the grandiloquent and comprehensive expression 'public interests' and the aggrieved party has no remedy whatsoever, though he may be quite innocent. The action taken against Mr. Gandhi by the District Magistrate of Champaran is a remarkable illustration of the unjustifiable manner in which unlimited discretionary powers can be used to the detriment of the elementary rights of His Majesty's subjects and of the evils flowing from the combination of executive and judicial functions.......... Mr. Gandhi's case shows how even an Indian like him, who is respected and esteemed throughout the country for his high character, downright honesty and patriotism, can be easily hauled up before a Criminal Court and punished, and how English officials, however exalted, hopelessly fail to understand even a man like Mr. Gandhi and will not hesitate to treat him in a summary fashion under the wonderfully comprehensive and convenient provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code in a spirit of distrust and suspicion. It is a painful and humiliating illustration of the official attitude towards non-officials. Indigo planters are a powerful body and we are not surprised that officials who are so slow in the investigation of the grievances of labourers on these plantations should be so quick in ordering Mr. Gandhi to leave the District *at once* or by *the next available train*!!......... The news of the proceedings initiated against Mr. Gandhi produced a sensation in the country and it appears from his telegraphic communication to the press that the proceedings against him were withdrawn at the instance of the Indian Government. The withdrawal was all right in the best interests of the country and of the reputation of Government. But as a matter of law and constitutional precedent the intervention of the Indian Government, after Mr. Gandhi had pleaded guilty, was fatal to the independence of the judiciary. There was a series of gross blunders in this deplorable business. Mr. Morshead was hopelessly wrong in the view he took of Mr. Gandhi's mission and inexcusably so in asking the District Magistrate to take action under section 144. The latter wrongly exercised his discretion in sole reliance upon what the Commissioner had illegally and most improperly asked him to do as a District Magistrate. The Deputy Magistrate should have proceeded to enforce the provisions of the Penal Code and not looked up to the higher executive authorities for further instructions. The Government of India had no *locus standi* whatsoever in the matter. The trial should have proceeded and Mr. Gandhi dealt with according to law after he had pleaded guilty. If that had been done, the stupidity of the proceedings taken against Mr. Gandhi would have been easily exposed in a manner that would have arrested the attention not only of the Indian but also of the British public.......... We are supremely glad a painful agitation throughout the country has been averted at this juncture, but we sincerely wish that the local officials are made to realise the serious responsibility of their most ill-advised, unjustifiable and thoughtless action."

Mahrátta (4), 29th Apl.

*2. "Mr. Gandhi has by his well grounded disobedience secured the hearty blessings of the people. But his success does not end here. The Government of Behár, in addition to the withdrawal of proceedings against him, has promised Mr. Gandhi official assistance during the conduct of his inquiry. *New India* 'is not quite sure that official help will be on the whole beneficial. We cannot but agree with our contemporary. 'Official help' is not unlikely to spell hindrance in a certain way, especially when the immediate authority of the Division—the Commissioner—has shown by his treatment of Mr. Gandhi that he does not quite appreciate his zeal in investigting the relations between the planters and their tenants. Mr. Gandhi speaks of the issues involved in his enquiry as 'tremendously great'......... No wonder that he speaks of the issues involved as tremendously great. The ryots have evidently a lot to tell of their past and present miseries. The Commissioner knew this state of things. And his object in dissuading Mr. Gandhi from proceeding with his enquiry—what could it be? There was fuel in Tirhut out of which 'an agitator' could make a blazing fire—did the Commissioner think so? Probably he did. Who is responsible for bringing into existence the inflammable material and why has no serious attempt been made heretofore to check its growth? The Planters' Fraternity and the Government of the Province must in our opinion accept a large share of responsibility in this matter.......... We do not propose to pursue this subject further. We are glad to see that the Government of Behár has been able to appreciate the conduct of Mr. Gandhi who has set a noble example for his countrymen to follow. We have reason to assume that Government hold that *unreasoning law-abidingness is to be deprecated as prejudicial to the abiding interests of the public.* We commend to our people this vital truth for thorough assimilation in their mental constitution. For on the assimilation of this truth depends in a large measure the steady and speedy political progress of every community under the sun."

Message (5), 24th Apl.

3. "We are very much pleased to note that good sense has prevailed with the Behar authorities and that the order so unwisely served on Mr. Gandhi by the Champaran District Magistrate has been withdrawn. We are not yet aware to whom the thanks of the public are due, whether to the Government of India or the Bihar Government. Whosoevers' the credit for this step, we acknowledge it to be a most statesmanlike act. We also hope that it will serve as an example to erratic officials in the future. If the authorities concerned had persisted in adhering to their blunder lest their notion of official prestige should be outraged, we shudder to think what consequences might have followed. From the very outset Mr. Gandhi took up a perfectly constitutional attitude in refusing to abide by an illegal and untenable order. However, now Mr. Gandhi is not only free to investigate the matter but is also to have the 'assistance of officials'. There is clearly room for co-operation between officials and non-officials; but the irony of it all is that the former would not co-operate with the latter, unless the latter are willing to submit to the 'superior' intelligence of the former."

Indu Prákash (35), 25th Apl., Eng. cols.

4. "The incident, though closed, is not without a moral of its own, to the bureaucracy in India on the one side and to Mr. Gandhi's own countrymen on the other. Mr. Gandhi, let us remember, went to his work quietly and without any preliminary ostentatious trumpeting of his intended mission, so much so, indeed, that not more, we suppose, than half a dozen Behar leaders were aware that he was coming.......... The perfectly constitutional political worker that he is, he voluntarily went out and sought the help of the local European official world as well as of the planters. The majority of these Europeans, we take it, must have been quite amazed at the effrontery of a mild looking Hindu, dressed in humbler garments than those donned by their own Indian clerks or even the indigo peasantry over whom they hold sway.......... The official and non-official world of Champaran knew nothing of the tremendous faith of the man in himself and in the righteousness of the cause he had made his own and hence must have thought it an easy matter to dispose of the mild 'Hindu' by an arbitrary order for his deportation. His quiet reply that he meant to stay on, in spite of the order, must have taken the breath away of the official world, accustomed to see their behests invariably carried out by

high and low. There is not the least doubt that they would have proceeded to act blindly and punish Mr. Gandhi, had they not been pulled up betimes by the more sagacious hands at Patna or Simla and told in so many words that they were playing with fire."

Young India (10), 25th Apl.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 29th Apl., Eng. cols.

5. "Thanks to timely intervention of 'Government'— no matter what Government it is, what threatened to be a serious matter has been averted. Mr. Gandhi is not only free to pursue his independent investigations but he is promised every official assistance! On the withdrawal of the order, Mr. Gandhi sent a message to the Indian press and the public. It is evident that he has taken the matter in a sporting spirit and bears no rancour or malice against any officials directly or indirectly connected with the affair. We would commend his magnanimity to the notice of our bureaucratic officials. If the officials worked in that spirit of open-mindedness, many of the difficulties would automatically disappear and they can carry on their administrative work better and introduce more vigour and efficiency into it. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"A more inexpedient or untenable order could barely have been passed. It speaks volumes for the statesmanship of the Government that this unjust order has been cancelled, and the shibboleth of prestige has not been allowed to add insult to injury."]

Kesari (92), 24th Apl.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 24th Apl.

6. Mr. Gandhi has gained a moral victory over the Magistrate of Champaran but we cannot but feel exasperated that one more instance of the misuse of the Police Act (*sic*) has occurred. It is undoubtedly criminal for the officials who preach law to the people themselves to act illegally. We are sorry that people have no power to punish the official who wilfully commits such a crime under the present irresponsible Government. The illegality of an order is not washed off because some section is quoted in the beginning of it. It is most daring to allege that an inquiry carried on by a peace loving man like Mr. Gandhi would result in riots. We are surprised and sorry to see that the vaunted benevolence of the officials shown when they take up the cause of tenants as against the Zemindars, vanishes whenever there is disagreement between the planters and indentured coolies. What obtains in Fiji is to be found in India also more or less, and planters in India also will oppose the abolition of indentured slavery. But have not Government got an independent conscience? What does it advise? [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—We congratulate Government on the foresight and statesmanship displayed by them in withdrawing the order about Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi had decided to disobey the order and his countrymen would not have put up with the dishonour quietly. If the order had not been withdrawn passive resistance might have perchance been proclaimed. The Behar Government admit that the condition of the Champaran District has become very bad during the last ten years. The Gourlay Report was never published and though some changes in the coolie contracts have been made by the Behar Government as suggested by Mr. Gourlay, the rayats are not satisfied and an independent inquiry is needed. Government have however left the inquiry in the hands of the Settlement Officer. It would be a blunder if Government think that it is a private question between the planters and Government. As Government want to improve the relations between the planters and the coolies they should be glad that Mr. Gandhi is conducting an inquiry.]

Hindusthan (16), 23rd Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 23rd Apl.; *Jam-e-Jamshed* (19), 24th Apl.

7. We are very glad that the notice against Mr. Gandhi has been withdrawn. The Government of India or the Government of Bihar and Orissa, whoever are responsible for the withdrawal of the notice, deserve to be congratulated, for they have shown that they can act contrary to the usual practise of upholding the mistakes committed by their executive officials. If the notice had not been withdrawn the impression would have gained ground among the people at large that officials can prevent private individuals from conducting

independent inquiries into mismanagement prevailing in any industry, to say nothing of Government departments. We hope Government officials will take a lesson from the incident and think twice before resorting to any misuse of their powers [The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the withdrawal of the notice against Mr. Gandhi and adds:—The incident shows how backward the officials are in appreciating or understanding the motives of popular leaders. We hope Government will take the official to task who had not the patience to make any inquiry before expressing his doubts about so selfless and public spirited a man as Mr. Gandhi and asking him to leave the place. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also congratulates Government on the withdrawal of the notice and believes the unfortunate incident would have been avoided if the local officials had acted with forethought.]

Mr. Gandhi's activities in Bihar.
Message (5), 26th Apl.

8. The Bankipur correspondent of the *Message* writes:—" Mr. Gandhi had come to investigate personally what was really happening in the indigo plantations in Behar—Champaran and Motibari. The happenings there will certainly be enough to supply materials for hundreds of Nildarpans (the Bengalee book which did away with indigo troubles in Bengal and which may be compared to Uncle Tom's Cabin). There have been riots and there have been enquiries. We have heard hundreds of stories, but they are to be talked of only in the bathing ghats in whispers as the Bengalee ladies of Rev. Lalbehari Dey's 'Bengal Peasant Life' did about the Police doings. If we give vent to them publicly we are interned or jailed or deported outright.......... Before a dozen people in Bankipur could know it, Mr. Gandhi had left for Muzafferpur to see the high officials first before seeing the Motibari and Champaran villagers, who are so sore about being ill treated by their well-wishers, the well meaning European planters.......... I may note in passing that I read in the Calcutta *Sanjibani* and perhaps the cursed *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that Mr. Maitland, a young civilian, who had the audacity of marrying a black girl, the daughter of Mr. P. K. Roy (Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta, for sometime Registrar, Calcutta University and Inspector of Colleges) and had been posted in the planters' district of Behar, had to be transferred to the malarious marshes of Bengal, as the planters objected to Mr. Maitland staying in their midst. I mention this to inform your readers how powerful and entirely impartial our great planter friends are. Motibari (Champaran) is the hot-bed of indigo ryot budding agitation and half published complaints. There again about 10 years or so ago, big riots took place and the peasants, who as usual must be entirely in the wrong, caused agitation and riots, saying, falsely no doubt, that the European planters had ill-treated the ryots. The Government, it was the Bengal Government then, appointed Mr. Gourlay (now private Secretary to the Governor of Bengal) to enquire into the matter. Mr. Gourlay most unfortunately could not understand the great and marvellous work that the planters were doing in Behar and specially in Champaran and Motibari. Mr. Gourlay is said to have reported something which went against the most benevolent planters. The Government, however, was not at all foolish or unwise. The Government only let off the peasants who had been sent to long terms of imprisonment. This was thought unwise by all Anglo-Indians and their friends in the press and by all good loyal Indians. The Indian papers like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Bengalee* appealed and prayed for the publication of the report, but the Government, who know what is what, never published the report. The High Courts and the local Courts are not at all foolish and they never go against the good planters. Still the Indian agitators clamoured for the publication of the report of Mr. Gourlay. The Government, however, kept it hidden in the stomach of a certain fish like the life-giver golden key of the princess of the folk-tales. I just forget the name of the most turbulent leader of the rebelling ryots—some Rai perhaps. He was proclaimed and at last caught and sent to jail. But the Government committed an error in letting him off, too, after reading the Gourlay report. Sometime before there was the murder of Mr. Bloomfield, a most benevolent 'Ma-Baap' of the indigo ryots by some of the peasants.

Mr. Saroda Charan Mittra, 'Swadeshi' Judge, reduced the sentences of the accused to 10 or 14 years' rigorous imprisonment from transportation for life. The European papers as the true friends of India rated Mr. Justice Mittra for not hanging all the 14 or 15 villagers.......... Such are some of the incidents of the planters' proceedings. Very recently a Hindi pamphlet was issued asking the readers to collect information or something like that about the alleged oppression upon the ryots. Of course our strong and very wise Government at once suppressed and forfeited the booklet. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* again strongly commented on this action of the Government. It is said that a high placed Civilian went to Calcutta for a few days to ask Lord Carmichael to check and curb the *Patrika* but I fear with little effect. Of course this was very wrong of the Government of Bengal. He ought to have at once deported or interned the editor of *Patrika* and stopped the paper. But nothing of the sort was done. We Beharees all hate newspapers like the *Patrika* as it speaks against our most benevolent planter friends and some of the strong-minded officials.......... Mr. Gandhi thought that the Behar Government would be as weak as the South-African Government. But that is not so. Our officials are as strong and unbending as adamant itself and they have shown their strength in the Gandhi affair.......... The Behar leaders, instead of condemning the action of Mr. Gandhi, have gone to Motibari to support him. Thus they have shown their ungratefulness to the Government who have given them such an excellent University.......... Mr. Polak came back to Bankipore and met the local leaders in a meeting in the Jubilee Club. He explained everything and urged all the leaders to go to Motibari to support Mr. Gandhi. I wonder why the Police did not intern Mr. Polak or at least prevent him from speaking in the meeting.......... Why should the Behari leaders think of anything else except the War Loan? I very much deplore the action of the Behari leaders in thus going against the Government. They ought to have passed a vote of censure against Messrs. Gandhi, Brajkishore, Rajendra Prasad, Polak and Mazahrul Haq who went to Motibari to support Mr. Gandhi. They may be deported or interned as the result." [The same letter contains the following paragraph:—"The Sub-divisional officer of Gopalgunge (Sewan, Chapra) was trying a case when a witness made some foolish answers. The Magistrate in his rage struck the witness, who was a female, with a cane that was on the table and she began to bleed. The Magistrate is a European. The Sub-Divisional Officer was good enough to say that the witness could appeal to the District Magistrate against him. Of course the witness has done nothing of the kind."]

Bombay Government is helping Sir Valentine Chirol against Mr. Tilak in the defamation case.
Kesari (92), 24th Apl.

9. Mr. Tilak has filed a suit for defamation against Sir Valentine Chirol in the London High Court and both the parties are engaged in making preparations for the hearing. Sir Valentine has been staying for the last so many days in India for it and is collecting evidence in support of his own side. It is a point for consideration what and how much help should be given to him by the officials. One cannot much complain about his entertainment as a guest by the officials as it is impossible fully to distinguish between the private and the official relations of any one. We would not have said anything if Sir Valentine Chirol had confined himself to initiating his hosts into the secret problems of high politics in exchange for his entertainment. It is, however, improper for Government officials to help Sir Valentine Chirol in the defamation case as the suit filed by Mr. Tilak is of a private nature. The reader might remember the interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council about the assistance given by Government to Sir Valentine by supplying him with Government translators. Much more Government help in being given to him now. We learn from reliable sources that the Bombay Police, ordinary and C. I. D., are collecting evidence in favour of Sir Valentine as if it were Government work. Official documents are being freely made available to him, and the Police officials have taken up the work of collecting oral evidence and people are being sent for by them. We must say that the whole thing is improper and shameless. It may be that a particular Police official is a friend of Sir Valentine, but when the entire

Department is engaged in the work, why should we not say that the Bombay Government itself is interested in it? Mr. Tilak has sent an application to His Excellency the Governor about the affair; let us see if it will have any effect.

Hindusthán (16), 27th Apl.

10. The *Hindusthán* remarks that Sir Valentine Chirol has come to India for the purpose of collecting evidence in the defamation case brought against him by Mr. B. G. Tilak and the fact that he is entertained at the different Government Houses in India, when he has come to this country on such a private purpose is likely to create a very bad impression on the mind of the public. It says it does not know of the Bombay Government have learnt a lesson from an interpellation put some time ago in the local Legislative Council about Sir Valentine engaging the services of two clerks from the office of the Oriental Translator to Government for the purposes of his case. The paper then refers to a petition recently addressed by Mr. Tilak to the Bombay Government complaining against the action of the police in summoning private individuals and ascertaining from them what evidence they would give if they were summoned as witness before the Commission that might hold its sittings in India in connectionwith the abovesaid defamation case, and observes that it cannot comprehend why the police should interfere in this case. It further writes:—Does it not constitute partiality or injustice if one party to a case suffers harm as a result of the police helping the other party? Do not the efforts of the Police, in (specially) helping a private individual as they have been doing in the present case, transgress the immutable and sacred principle of dispensing equal justice to all, prince or peasant alike? We are confident that the Bombay Government will make due inquiries into the matter and will prevent the members of the police force from taking such part in future not only in this but in all other private cases.

Adverse comments on the explanation given by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab of the prohibitory orders issued by his Government against Messrs. Tilak and Pal.

Mahrátta (4), 29th Apl.

11. "The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb in the course of his speech closing the Budget discussion gave an explanation of the orders he issued prohibiting Messrs. Tilak and Bipin Pal from entering his province.......... Leaving apart the fact that Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal never intended to visit the Punjáb, it will be clearly observed that the Punjáb ruler has a very poor opinion of the community he rules over, and holds very antiquated reactionary views as to what is reasonable or otherwise in political discussion. We will remain within the British Empire, but we will not remain mere 'hewers of wood and drawers of water': that is the burden of the 'agitation' carried on by Mr. Tilak and Mr. Bipin Pal and others of their faith. When the Punjáb ruler expects that such an innocent legitimate expression of opinion would be 'interpreted' by the Punjab audiences as a call to take up arms against the British to drive them out of India—well we leave the Punjabees to judge whether a ruler who holds such a contemptuous opinion of the understanding of the people he is appointed to govern deserves their good will and esteem. Since the message of Home Rule is being delivered to the people of India from the platforms of the various political conferences, in addition to its daily repetition in the Press of India, it is, we think, futile on the part of the Punjáb ruler or the ruler of any other province to dub Home Rule discussion on the lines advocated by the leaders of the movement as 'unreasonable'. No sane person can support such an unreasonable view. If every movement that any ruler seeks to stifle or repress is to be regarded as 'unreasonable' on the authority of the erratic ruler, progress would be an impossibility."

Comments on Mr. Lionel Curtis' "Letter to the People of India".

Message (5), 24th Apl.; *Young India* (10), 25th Apl.

12. "Mr. Lionel Curtis, who attained a great deal of notoriety by his 'Private' letter, has attempted a belated apologia in his 'A letter to the People of India'. Apart from the irrelevance of the attempt, the letter is impertiment enough, if we are to construe it as a reply to his critics and as an attempt to insinuate himself into the favour of Indian opinion. Although

Mr. Curtis appears in the pages of the pamphlet in a penitent spirit and in a somewhat chastened mood, we are of opinion, after a close and most careful reading of the letter, that Mr. Curtis' sole desire is to reinstate himself in public favour, somehow. Notwithstanding his professions of honest regret for his hasty and ill-understood conclusions, we are constrained to think that in this letter Mr. Curtis has attempted merely to practise dissimulation. His equivocal or onesided assumptions, his over-cautious suggestions and ill-concealed hints, all go to make the letter worthless and the public would be foolish if it accepted it as a genuine document inspired solely by the most altruistic considerations. Mr. Curtis, who (*sic*), thanks to the lift given by 'Meston, Marris and Chirol' and the patronage extended to him by such a generous host as Lord Chelmsford, sprang into some notoriety in the early days of the discovery of his still more notorious super-journalistic effervescence. He has apparently come to regard himself as a great man, a very heavenly light, to lead the submerged people of Asia and Central Africa to their appointed destiny. We might have well overlooked the stupidity of such an assumption, had it not been for the fact that he has been pitted against the representatives of Indian nationalism by the official hierarchy in this country...... ... The whole story now put forward seems us to be a mere fib, concocted to deceive the public. It is absurd to contend, as Mr. Curtis does here, that he and his friends are injured innocent persons, deliberately misrepresented by the whole Indian journalistic fraternity for ends of its own." [The *Young India* has a long article on the subject on much the same lines.]

Mahrátta (4), 29th Apl.

***13.** "As Mr. Curtis says, we are living in times when events are forcing decisions upon us. Let us assure Mr. Curtis that it is with no preconceived prejudice against the Colonials that we refuse to be drawn into the New Building proposed by him. It is events that have forced upon us this decision. Our freedom is at stake and we cannot sanction any arrangement which is likely to prejudice our progress towards Freedom. 'No fresh alien masters' is our first political tenet, and this has been burnt into our brains by unpleasant experiences extending over a long period. 'Home Rule for India' or 'our rule in our Home' is our second tenet. And 'Real Federation, no sham' or 'Home Rule before Federation' is our third tenet. This is the Trinity that receives the homage of 'Nationalist' India. Mr. Curtis, therefore, will, in our opinion, be well advised to modify his scheme in the light of these facts, if he desires to take Indian Nationalists with him."

Kesari (92), 24th Apl.; *Dnyan Prakásh* (33), 20th Apl.

14. Commenting on Mr. Curtis' open letter to the people of India the *Kesari* remarks:—We accept Mr. Curtis' explanation as frankly as it is tendered. It is unfortunate that there should have arisen a good deal of misunderstanding that necessitated the present explanation. But Mr. Curtis himself was responsible for it. Mr. Curtis spoke and wrote ambiguously about the rights of *Swarajya* to be given to India, and in addition, made a distinct demand for the control of the internal affairs of India by the colonies. Mr. Curtis now himself admits that the previous letter was hastily writen and that Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris had therefore to suffer. Such mistakes may occur on account of inordinate haste but how can people be blamed if they drew the plain inference of a conspiracy between these persons? We do not wish to prolong the controversy as Mr. Curtis has expressed his repentance. We shall not be sorry if the Colonies controlled Indian affairs provided India is given equal rights. We shall never consent to the enjoyment of rights by the Colonies which are denied to India. Mr. Curtis strongly advocates in his present explanation that the rights of *swarájya* should be granted to India. Formerly he held a different opinion and now he has changed it. The strong criticisms to which his former letter was subjected had something to do with the change. The misunderstanding arose because he did not express himself so clearly in his former letter. In January last Mr. N. C. Kelkar saw Mr. Curtis when the latter after declaring that the civilians would never voluntarily part with their authority, assured the former that he would wield his pen with all the force it had in the cause of *swarájya* for India. Mr. Curtis need not suppose that he has been permanently classed as an enemy of India and we accept the assurance given in the explanation that Mr. Kerr and Mr. Curtis are Home Rulers and friends of India. It is not possible to expect similar views from the white officials. We hope that the new ideas accepted by Mr. Curtis will develop on the same lines and that the fact of his being a Home Ruler will be fully proved in his new book on 'India's place in the Empire' shortly to be published. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Mr. Curtis says:—'We in England have fallen into the habit of writing in one way when we are talking of the Dominions and in another when we are talking of India and Egypt. We Englishmen have got to write to our Indian fellow *citizens* exactly as we write to each other.' Mr. Curtis' frankness is very commendable and it would be very easy to promote cordial relations between the officials and the educated classes if his advice is accepted and acted up to by his countrymen.]

Suggested compulsory retirement of Mr. Wood, Principal of Roorkee College.

Mahrátta (4), 29th Apl.

***15.** Commenting on a speech said to have been made by Mr. Wood, Principal of the Roorkee College, to his pupils, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"Leaving Police pranks alone and speaking seriously of Mr. Wood's observations, we cannot but agree with the *Leader* and other contemporaries that Mr. Wood has proved by his irresponsible talk that he is unfit to remain a teacher of Indian students. For a teacher to fulfil his functions properly, there must be between him and his pupils a certain amount of mutual love and respect. When a European principal trots before his Indian pupils the *good form* and *bad form* trivialities of the schools and colleges in England and tells them in 'intimate' terms that they a 'crooked' set and their parents and guardians 'no gentlemen' at all, but despicable intriguers—well it is a case for serious consideration by the authorities. The Indian atmosphere is too much 'saturated' with the New Spirit to connive at such intimacies of the super-arrogant 'white-skinner'. If Mr. Wood remains in his place, *i.e.*, if Government takes no notice of his arrogant silliness, much food will be given for discontent to feed and thrive on. Men like Mr. Wood by their silly effusions only foment undesirable race-antipathies and ought to be removed, as the *Chronicle* says, to spheres where the temptation to talk 'intimately' may be a matter of no importance. Let us see what the United Provinces Government does."

Indu Prakásh (35), 25th Apl.

16. Mr. Wood Thomson, Principal of the Rurkee College, declared in the presence of his students that most Indians cannot claim to be gentlemen. We have of course been told ere this that we are a set of lying rogues and it is no new compliment that Mr. Thomson has given us. We are frankly of opinion that India is not the place for men like Mr. Thomson and they cannot too soon be packed off from this country. Perhaps these people are taken in by the blandishments of Germany and come here to forment disaffection among loyal Indians.

The educational policy of the British Government contrasted with that of the Indian Government.

Gujaráti (12), 29th Apl., Eng. cols.

***17.** "There is a strong and widespread feeling in the Allied countries that the present war is bound to be followed by an economic struggle in which Germany will endeavour not only to recover the lost industrial ground but also to attain predominance in trade and industries throughout the world.......... The latest and the most interesting illustration of this spirit of wide-awake and prompt statesmanship is to be found in the education estimates recently introduced in the House of Commons by Dr. Fisher, which exceed those of last year by £ 3,829,000. His proposals were unanimously approved and are described as marking a new educational era.......... What a significant contrast do we see here between the noble and courageous policy that is being pursued in England for enhancing national efficiency and the disappointing attitude of the Govern-

ment in India which hugs to its bosom the motto 'hasten slowly' in everything? While our Goverment is perpetually slow, hesitating and postponing, the British Parliament approves of education estimates which in a single year of war involve an increase of 5¾ crores of rupees! We hope our Goverment will catch some of the noble spirit of His Majety's Government and exchange its present policy of delay and doubt, for one more enlightened, sympathetic, courageous and energetic."

The Shiwaji festival in Bombay.
Message (5), 25th Apl.

18. "Under the auspices of the *Utsava Mandala*, the Shiwaji festival was celebrated with much *eclat* at the Shri Krishna Lodge during the last three days. In all self-governing countries people are taught to respect the past 'heroes' and patriots, but in countries like India to publicly honour Shiwaji's memory is to have one's name written down in the Black List. That is due to the misconception in the minds of some officials, who think or pretend to think, that those who honour Shiwaji's memory go in for rebellion like Shiwaji. These officers do not know that patriotism finds expression in different ways in different times and that a patriot of to-day does not necessarily fight with the enemies with which his ancient predecessors fought, nor does he use the same weapons. English patriots in the 17th and 18th centuries and the first quarter of the 19th century *fought against* France. Now Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith and other good and true English patriots *support* France. The Scotch under Wallace fought against England, but now they are one of the best and the greatest fighting assets of the British Empire. Formerly people used lances and swords, now they use aeroplanes, dreadnoughts and other instruments of destruction. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if Indian patriots, who celebrate the Shiwaji festival, do not object to politically associating with Englishmen, whose ancestors were subjected to loot at Surat by Shiwaji or again, the present admirers of Shiwaji use contitutional political agitation, instead of a *Waghnakh* or a dagger, as the weapon to be used in subduing enemies. We, for one, like to fancy that if Shivaji could, like Christ, resurrect to-day, the blessed Resurrection would not mean insurrection against the British but taking the lead of a Home Rule League and carrying on its work with the same spirit of self-sacrifice and zeal, combined with self-discipline and wisdom, which he brought to bear in the establishment of a Mahratta Empire. And we appeal to all those who admire Shiwaji to prove themselves worthy worshippers of their idol by doing what he would have wished them to do under the present circumstances, namely, devoting themselves to the promotion of the Home Rule League propaganda."

Comments on the Sanitary Commissioner's remarks on the reports of the Pilgrim Committees.
Kesari (92), 24th Apl.

19. The Government of India must have seen from the various reports of the Pilgrim Committees appointed by them that people are discontented everywhere with the pilgrims being made to travel in overcrowded goods waggons by many of the Railway companies. The South India Railway Company has however proved that sufficient number of passenger cars can be provided to cope with the pilgrim traffic. The reports also show that the people have all along been holding Government responsible for the *zoolum* of the Railway Companies. Government will, therefore, we hope, take the necessary steps to stop the use of goods waggons for the pilgrim traffic. Other suggestions by the Committees about the supply of drinking water, etc., are likely to be given effect to early. We do not agree with the Committee's allegation that pilgrims themselves are to blame for overcrowding in pilgrim trains. As there is no proper arrangement for starting special trains and for notifying their times of starting everybody tries to leave by the first available train and so there is overcrowding. We suggest that some definite rules about these special trains should be issued. The Sanitary Commissioner criticises severely the municipal officials at the places of pilgrimage, while reviewing the reports of the Committees, and suggests that Government officials should be appointed at these places. We must strongly protest against this. Do not the municipal officials act according to the recommendations of the Sanitary officials? When the Governor's visits coincide with the pilgrim season, these officials make special arrangements for the occasion and incur heavy expenditure, and neglect their duties at normal times. Why should the municipal officials alone therefore be blamed? It is true that the municipal Presidents are not experts in sanitary matters but if Government experts will not fail in giving them proper advice there will be no occasion for raising any complaint about bad arrangements. Is the condition of Pandharpur as bad as it was in 1873? And, if so, are not Government also partly responsible for it? The root of the trouble will be found in the small sums of money spent by the Government of India on sanitation. Why should the poor non-official Presidents come into trouble for it?

Comments on the proposed issue of one-rupee currency notes.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 27th Apl.

20. The *Bombay Samáchár* confidently believes that the Indian Finance Member will, before arriving at a decision, bestow careful attention upon the suggestion, made to him during his recent visit to Bombay, advocating the issue of two and a half rupee instead of one rupee currency notes. It also seems to endorse the belief that the issue of any such notes had better be postponed till the return of more favourable times. The paper goes on to recount the advantages arising from currency notes of small denominations being in sufficiently large circulation in the country, including the facilities they accord to petty traders, and then dwells on the necessity of providing adequate facilities in small towns and villages for cashing these notes. It remarks that at some places people have to pay a small discount for cashing currency notes, which amounts to a sort of tax upon those who hold them. As one of the means of providing the facility above referred to the paper suggests that orders should be issued directing Post Offices, big and small, to keep on hand sums larger than those they have been keeping at present for enabling the public to cash their currency notes there.

Comments on the resolution of the Imperial War Conference recommending the grant of representation on the Imperial Conference to India.

Message (5), 25th Apl.

21. "The resolution which has been passed by the Imperial War Conference to modify the resolution of the Imperial Conference dated April 28th, 1907 (?), so as to permit of India being fully represented in all future Imperial Conferences is consistent with the promise of the Imperial and Indian Governments contained in the latter's acceptance of Mr. Shafi's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council. The resolution was moved by Sir Robert Borden and seconded by Mr. Massey. The former is the Premier of Canada and the latter of New Zealand and the spirit evidenced by these two gentlemen shows that they are in full sympathy with Indian aspirations. In the past also, it appears to us, much of their misunderstanding India was due to ignorance and the opinion fostered by super-journalists of the type of Mr. Curtis and reactionary Anglo-Indian bureaucrats. The war has given the much-needed opportunity to obliterate the differences and remove the misunderstandings and establish a closer interest in Indian questions. We invite the attention of the Imperial and Indian Governments to the wording of the resolution which demands India being fully represented. And we hope that, when the time comes for action, the two Governments concerned will not go on tinkering with the problem of Indian representation by nominating persons who are likely to echo the views of the Delhi and Simla Secretariats."

Rást Goftár (27), 29th Apl., Eng. cols.

***22.** "The resolution of the War Conference marks an important step forward in the general present-day movement to consolidate the Empire and to knit its composite parts into an united whole. For India it is a great concession which has been attained without direct preparatory effort. And the attainment is due to the loyal support of the Indian nation in the prosecution of the war, and the valorous deeds of Indian warriors who have fought shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-citizens of the Empire."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 24th Apl.; *Bombay Samáchár* (53), 26th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 26th Apl.

23. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses gratification at the resolution recently passed by the Imperial War Conference to bring about an amendment in the resolution, passed by the Imperial Conference that met in the year 1907, so as to enable Indian representatives freely to take part in all future Imperial Conferences. It welcomes Reuter's announcement to the effect that His Majesty's Government have already commenced taking steps to give practical shape to the above-mentioned resolution. According to the paper the resolution demonstrates that the talk about the recent change in the angle of vision of the British and Colonial statesmen towards India is not an exaggeration and that the Indian representatives at the present War Conference have been able to prove that India is qualified to take an equal part with other members of the Empire in such Imperial Conferences. It then refers to the efforts that are being made at present by the Canadians to secure a repeal of restictions upon Indian immigration and, in view of this changed attitude of the colonials towards the Indians, hopes that the former will be glad to see that India gets an equal share in the federated parliament of the whole British Empire that is going to be formed after the termination of the war. [The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the people of India will thank the Imperial War Conference for their present resolution with regard to India. It observes that the passing of this resolution augurs nothing but a bright future for the country. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also expressed its joy at the resolution passed by the War Conference, in which it finds the recognition of India as a useful partner in the British Empire. It highly commends the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to send to England, at the present favourable juncture, an Indian deputation to create a wider awakening among the British people with respect to the wants and aspirations of the Indians.]

The Indian Defence Force illustrates the adage about the mountain in labour.

Sind Advocate (7), 12th Apl.

24. Referring to the Indian Defence Force, the *Sind Advocate* writes :—"Now it is being stated that only 6,000 men are required from all India!!! That would be a veritable *ridiculus mus*, a mountain in labour bringing forth a mouse! It is like taking away with the left hand what is given by the right. It is like a huge joke if at all the reports current do represent the views of Government. We are afraid this sort of illiberality will cool the ardour of many in the matter of the war loan, etc. We trust the Government of India will rise equal to the occasion and make the Defence of India Force worthy of India and worthy the name. Six, ten or twenty thousand is too despicable a number to be entrusted with the defence of this country in the event of war progressing or possibly coming nearer to us."

Indu Prakásh (35), 26th Apl., Eng. cols.

25. Referring to the rules about the Indian section of the Defence Force, the *Indu Prakásh* writes :—"There is no disguising that the initial enthusiasm roused over the scheme has been well-nigh smothered by the ungenerous restrictions now imposed. But the duty of Indians at this moment is clear, in spite of all disappointments. They must offer themselves for enlistment at whatever sacrifice and make up the Defence Force, without delay.......... When the position of soldiers in the Indian Army comes to be reconsidered at the end of the war, as it is bound to be, the presence of intellectual classes in the force will go a long way to secure the redress of the grievances of the Indian 'sepoy' class. Perhaps, after all, it is a good thing that the authorities have not put the men of the new Defence Force in any higher position than that of the mere sepoy, whom we are disposed to look down upon. These 'sepoys' are our own countrymen and to claim a more privileged position for the so-called 'intellectual' classes, merely on the ground of our supposed intellectual and educational superiority, would be unfair to these less educated classes.......... It is on this account that we would deprecate any movement tending to keep down the sepoy class in their old rut and confer privileges, pecuniary and otherwise, on their fellow-countrymen of the educated class. If the position of Indians in the army is to be improved, let it be improved as a whole, even if we have to wait till the end of the war to witness this consummation devoutly desired."

Comments on the proceedings before the Bombay Exemptions Tribunal under the Indian Defence Force Act.

Rást Goftár (27), 29th Apl., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 29th Apl.; Eng. cols.

*26. "The Exemption Tribunal has to deal now and again with applications of a very ridiculous character; but in the point of absurdity the audacious statement made last week by the General Manager of the firm of Messrs. Carew and Company, Limited, Distillers, would be hard to beat......... The cry of the hour is to suppress the sale and supply of liquor generally and to discourage its use among soldiers. Even Russia, with its steam-roller tendencies has put a ban upon the noxious beverage—vodka. And here we have the representative of a distillery putting forward in all seriousness the plea of its work being of *national* importance and imperative necessity!......... We trust the Tribunal will admit no such flimsy excuses. The *Times of India* recently inveighed in very strong terms against exemption granted on any but national grounds; and the Tribunal must once for all wake up to the exigencies of the times." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"More than being surprised at the manner in which the Tribunal is dealing with the cases that come up before it, we are astonished at the spirit of the young Britons who appear before the Tribunal pleading for exemptions on personal grounds.......... We are all asked to make sacrifices for the sake of the great cause. Have not the appeals of the Empire's leaders reached the ears of Bombay Englishmen? We think those who appear before the Tribunal with trumpery excuses present a sorry spectacle to Indians and forget all about 'prestige' and 'superiority'"].

Indu Prákásh (35), 21st Apl. Eng. cols.

27. "The attacks in the local press have evidently brought the Tribunal to a correcter frame of mind than that which they gave an exhibition of during the opening days. Exemptions were granted wholesale to commercial staffs and individual traders, if they merely suggested that the business they were engaged in would suffer....... To read all the excuses put forward would induce the Indian reader to conclude that the whole European mercantile community of this city was more concerned about the safety of its own petty shops than the safety of the Empire. Of course, there were honourable exceptions, but the burden of the song of the majority was the same as pointed out and the way the Tribunal proceeded in the earlier days with its dispensations seemed more to encourage such a 'slacker' spirit than otherwise......... The effect of such leniency on the Indian public, which is urged from the house-tops to make all sorts of sacrifices for the sake of the Empire, will not be a healthy one. Example is always better than precept. In this connection the Indian public is shocked to find an 'Interested Matron' of European nationality come forward to attack (in print) the Tribunal for its so-called over-strictness in matters of exemption. Overstrictness indeed! .... May we remind this indignant matron that if the Tribunal follows her sagacious advice not only India will be no place for Englishmen and English-women, but the British Isles too will be no place for them, for the Hun would be installed there as well as here!"

India is too poor to make a war contribution of one hundred millions sterling.

Message (5), 22nd Apl.

28. "Though Indian opinion has now fairly reconciled itself to the gift of a hundred millions to the Imperial Government with which the Government of India startled the whole country, it is with a certain amount of pathetic interest that we endorse the following remarks of the *Manchester Guardian*. 'Why was this matter of financial contribution from India raised now?' asks the *Guardian* with some indignation. 'For our own part we have the greatest doubts as to the wisdom or justice of taking any financial contribution from India. We believe that this is not the way best for India and for the Empire in which India can serve the common cause, and that the loss it represents to an extremely poor population like that of India is very much greater than the gain it represents to England. If we are really seriously concerned that India should "develop in every way the vast potentialities of her indigenous products," it would be better to spend that 100 millions on developing her resources than to take that money from India.'

There would have been greater virtue if the *Guardian* had come to the rescue of 'Poor India' with more altruistic motives. We agree with these remarks, for quite different reasons however."

Alleged extortion of contributions to the Indian War Loan.
Mahratta (4), 29th Apl.

***29.** "The *Chronicle* publishes, in its issue of the 28th instant, 'a statement from a reliable source' citing instances in which people were slapped and kicked and abused and threatened and thus forced to contribute to the war loan. The statement is truly revealing. God bless the War! To it we owe these revelations of exuberant loyalty (!) *kicking* contributions out of miserable Indians."

Proposed issue of premiums bonds to enable Moslems to invest in the War Loan.
Bombay Samáchár (53), 24th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (50), 27th Apl.

30. Referring to the suggestion made by the *Indiaman* of the 23rd March last for the issue of premium bonds in India assuring to the investor repayment of the principal and also an opportunity of drawing a prize, the *Bombay Samáchár* shares the belief entertained by the former paper that such a scheme would prove greatly attractive to Moslems, a section of which, though very eager to help Government by subscribing to the Indian War Loan, cannot do so on account of the prohibition of Islam against lending money on interest. It holds the opinion that such a scheme of issuing premium bonds would be more popular than the War Loan Lottery sweep and the horse race sweep, issued by the Western India Turf Club and the Calcutta Turf Club respectively, both among the Muhammadans as well as the general public, inasmuch as money spent in the purchase of these lottery tickets is so much money lost for good whereas purchasers of premium bonds are assured the safety of their money while they have also the chance of securing prizes. The paper expresses the hope that the suggestion about floating a scheme of the kind above referred to will receive prompt attention from Government. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* raises the question whether it should be considered contrary to the tenets of Islám to accept interest on money lent to Government in the present critical condition of the Empire and answers that question by suggesting that, regard being had to the object with which the loan has been raised, *viz.*, subjugation of the enemy and the prevention of the spilling of innocent blood, it would be only in conformity with the tenets of the Koran to render pecuniary help to Government by advancing money. The paper is also strongly in favour of issuing premium bonds and believes that they would be greatly welcomed by the Muhammadans.]

The War Loan and the Muhammadan objection to receiving interest on money lent.
Islámic Mail (3), 22nd Apl.

31. "We are getting enquiries from officials and non-offficals in United Provinces and Central Provinces as to what is the best way to solve the *sood* question which hampers the Muhammadans from taking advantage of investment in the War Loan. A respectable official friend says that Muhammadans in his division are well-to-do and eager to invest their money in the War Loan, but the Ulemas having declared the interest accruing therefrom to be *sood*, they feel shy and keep back. It is not perhaps in the knowledge of our friend that the Ulemas have no voice in the matter, or if they have used it the other (*sic*) and have put forward some extenuating circumstances for Muhammadans to invest their money in bank loans and get interest. There is, however, a severe Koranic injunction against *sood* and no true Muhammadan can take *sood* in any form. The best way to tide over the difficulty is the one we have urged upon Government, *viz.*, to arrange revision of land revenue for such Muhammadan Zamindars as help their *Sirkar* in this hour of need. The Government of Bombay deserve to be congratulated for having adopted this suggestion and obtained the sanction of the Government of India to it. The provinces where there are big Mahammadan Zamindars can move the Government of India and secure similar concession for their landowners. It is in no way bungling with words and introducing another name for *sood*. This will not be interest in any

form but a mark of recognition by Government, something like temporary *Muafi* or even permanent. There are very big Zamindars in Sind whose loyalty is beyond question and it is expected they all will take advantage of it and earn the new honour."

All well-known banks in India should be allowed the same facilities as the Presidency Banks in the matter of Government deposits.
Bombay Samáchár (53), 25th Apl.

32. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its gratification at the steps taken by the Finance Department, in view of the depleted holdings of the Indian Banks, to allow these banks to keep for some time as deposit the amounts subscribed through them to the War Loan for purposes of trade. It believes these steps will relieve to some extent the strain the banks are likely to suffer by people withdrawing their deposits from them to subscribe to the War Loan. It associates itself with the protest made by the shareholders of the Alliance Bank of Simla against the reluctance of Government to accord the same facilities to other banks as are extended to the Presidency Banks and asks Government to take steps to extend the facilities now enjoyed by the Presidency Banks to other Indian banks and to deposit with them Indian securities and reserves that are at present lodged with banks in England. It believes such a step will go a great way in enabling the Indian banks to tide over the difficulties consequent upon their treasuries being depleted by the increasing enthusiasm shown by the people to subscribe to the war loan.

Indian recruits from Chandranagore will be able to rise to the highest military posts, while Indians from British India can not hope even to be Lieutenants.
Kesari (92), 24th Apl.

33. Strenuous efforts have been made by public leaders all over India to secure recruits for the Defence of India Force. But Government have not moved forward as much as they ought to have done in the matter of making new concessions. Volunteers from Chandranagore are working in France in the Artillery Section and they have scope to rise to the highest posts. But the British Government is not yet prepared to promise that Indians would be appointed even as Lieutenants and Captains. We should however perform our duty relying on the fact that the new ideas set in motion by the Great War will not fail to influence even the British Statesmen. It would be suicidal and unfortunate to neglect our duty at the present juncture.

Comments on the naval action off Dover.
Indian Social Reformer (2), 29th Apl.

***34.** "It is impossible not to feel a thrill of admiration at the heroic conduct of British seamen in the naval action off Dover between two British patrol boats and six German destroyers. The two ships without a moment's hesitation decided to ram the destroyers and a hand-to-hand fight between the crews ensued. Midshipman Gyles, a mere boy of probably sixteen or seventeen, held at bay a number of Germans, although wounded in the eye and blinded by the flow of blood. But the most heroic was the conduct of the helmsman, Rowles, who was hit four times by shell fragments, but remained at the wheel throughout the action and only betrayed that he was wounded by reporting to the Captain 'I am going off now, Sir', and then fainting. By what right does the Government of India refuse to the youth of this country, opportunities for developing the immortal qualities displayed by the boy, Gyles, and the sailor, Rowles?"

Some tales of the C. I. D.
Mahrátta (4), 29th Apl.

***35.** "The C. I. D. is a wonderful institution. The *Bombay Chronicle* recently gave publicity to the rumour that an officer of the C. I. D., Bombay, of long standing wearing the King's Medal, was in the first week of this month called upon at a moment's notice to sever his connection with the Police service and was invited at the same time to quit the shores of India. A scandal of no small magnitude is reported to be at the bottom of this sudden order. The public is kept in the dark as to the nature of the scandal and the part which the redoubtable officer played in the dark. It has been pertinently asked why Government has not prosecuted the officer. At any rate the public has a right to know why this trusted servant of Government should have been given the kindly treatment he has received. Unless Government vouchsafe an explanation, people can draw the only conclusion possible, *viz.*, that Government have sought to draw a veil over a very ugly affair reflecting great discredit on their trusted Department and hence on Government themselves. Special protection for such a C. I. D. officer spells a disreputable neglect of the interests and rights of the people. The *Chronicle* has in its issue of 21st instant placed before the public the story of one Mr. Anantram of Bombay, which gives us an idea of the obliging nature of the C. I. D. people.......... We shall leave here the alleged experience of Mr. Anantram and turn to nearer quarters. Mr. Tilak learns that some Police authorities, ordinary or C. I. D., in Bombay, Poona, etc., are calling certain persons who have previously given evidence in the Násik trial, etc., and asking them whether they would give any evidence if summoned by Sir V. Chirol! As we already know Government supplied translators to Sir Valentine when he was in need of them. Now Government officials are further obliging the Knight in another way. This is *good form*! It is only what *gentlemen* are expected to do! And what is a gentleman? The other day Mr. W. G. Wood, C. S. I., Principal, Thomason College, Roorkee, defined this term for the benefit of his pupils—Indian pupils. The address which the Principal intended for Indian pupils alone was an illuminating one. As the Principal described it, it was not a regular lecture, but 'something more intimate, more personal'. And in this intimate talk, the kindly Principal told his pupils that a great many of the so-called Indian gentlemen were not gentlemen at all, that there was undoubtedly a spirit of intrigue rife in a great many Indian homes, which resulted in the Indian student starting his school or college career without the first essentials of a gentleman and was indirectly accountable for the 'great deal of crookedness' which, the Principal affirmed, was to be found amongst students in schools and colleges and universities all over India! A gentleman, the Principal said, is a man of high moral courage, of integrity, a man who is upright, straight and honest in all his dealings, a man to whom all intrigue and double-dealing is repugnant. Who can deny that the C. I. D. dealings shortly recounted above satisfy Mr. Wood's idea of the gentleman's code of honour! If students want to improve themselves they may just devour the 'Tales of the C. I. D.' Their homes are unhealthy places—the 'atmosphere of the homes is saturated with intrigue'! It is best that they should be torn from such surroundings and housed with the 'gentlemen' of the C. I. D."

Why Bepin Chandra Pal refused to deliver lectures in Bombay.
Kesari (92), 24th Apl.; *Hindusthan* (16), 24th Apl.

36. As soon as Babu Bepin Chandra Pal arrived at Dr. Sathe's place he was met by Inspector Patwardhan of the C. I. D. Babu Bepin asked him whether he had brought any gagging order and Inspector Patwardhan said that it lay with the former whether such an order was to be issued or not, and immediately enquired whether any lecture was to be given by Mr. Pal. At about 12-30 P.M. Khan Bahadur Pettigara and Mr. Patwardhan came to Babu Bepin with a motor car and took him to Mr. Vincent. We do not know what conversation he had with Mr. Vincent, but he stated after his return from the Commissioner's office that he could not deliver any lecture in Bombay. We think that Mr. Vincent must have plainly told Babu Bepin that it lay within his powers to arrest him if he opened his lips as Bombay was a protected military fort and that Babu Bepin must have thought it better to give an assurance to Mr. Vincent that he would not speak and leave for Bengal rather than remain in confinement. [The *Hindusthan* reproduces the article in the *Kesari*.]

Comments on the personnel of the Emigration Conference.
Young India (10), 25th Apl.

37. "The personnel of the Indian representation at the Emigration Conference has been settled and judging from the numbers—there are quite half a dozen of them—the figures are imposing enough. The authorities responsible for the selection of these gentlemen must have a very strange notion of India's representation. Mr. Marjoribanks, who has been rightly described as the author of a discredited report on labour conditions in Ceylon is attending the Conference as an expert! In these days of

experts and super-experts, Government could not have made a better choice than Mr. Marjoribanks who combines in himself all the weakness of the capitalist interests without also possessing their virtues. It was naturally expected that on such a Conference as this, Messrs. Gandhi and Andrews would be represented. Perhaps, these two names which are held in the highest estimation all over the country, were omitted with a purpose to exclude men who would fearlessly espouse the cause of the down-trodden labourers. If India is to obtain an adequate measure of justice in this matter of national importance, it is now more than ever necessary that Indian opinion should make itself heard in the council of the Conference and the back-handed manner in which the whole Indian representation has been arranged makes it imperative that it should act at once and impress the Conference with the strength of feeling in this country against the obnoxious piece of legislation which disfigures the civilised government of India."

Comments on the Government of India's Resolution on the Bengal election dispute betwen Mr. Arif and Mr. Rahim.

Young India (10), 25th Apl.

38. Commenting on the Government of India's Resolution on the Bengal election dispute between Mr. Arif and Mr. Rahim, *Young India* writes :—" It is not often that Indian public opinion is found to endorse action on the part of the Government of India that touches on the larger political life of the country. It is all the more necessary therefore to acknowledge with profound satisfaction and appreciation the fine stand they made for the purity of elections in this country over the recent election dispute in Bengal.......... Reviewing the conclusions of the report, the Governor-General in Council says :—'In the first place, he regrets to state that he is by no means satisfied that the election was free from corrupt practices.' In respect of this finding we need only say that the Governor-General in Council would have better served the purity of elections, and indeed the general standards of public life in this country, by a more strict interpretation of his duty and a proportionately deterrent decision. If the Viceroy and his councillors are 'by no means satisfied that the election was free from corrupt practices'—even though most of the actual charges made by the memoralist were found to be baseless—it was clearly their duty to cancel the election.......... It is further indicated that, as the Commissioner's report has shown the necessity of changes in the regulations, there is a possibility of permanent legislation 'to provide effectively for the investigation of election petitions in the future.' We should welcome any such measures directed to maintaining the right standards for elections in this country."

Sanj Vartamân (28), 24th Apl.

39. The *Sanj Vartamân*, while commenting upon the report on the enquiry into the election of Mr. Abdul Rahim to the Imperial Legislative Council, thanks Government for their wisdom in instituting the enquiry and publishing the report thereon. It sees no reason why Government should not have given similar publicity to the report of the enquiry into the election of the Honourable Mr. Jinnah and asks them to take the public into their confidence in the matter. It agrees with the finding of the Commissioner that the allegations against Mr. Abdul Rahim were without any foundation but is of opinion that the election should have been set aside in view of the fact that Mr. Abdul Rahim engaged a canvasser on a salary of Rs. 50 per mensem and had placed the sum of Rs. 400 at his disposal, in view of similar action taken by Government in this Presidency in the case of a Muhammadan candidate in the Southern Division who had merely promised a donation to a school.

Alleged unwholesome working of the Revenue Subordinate Service Rules.

Young India (10), 25th Apl.

40. "Experience" writes to *Young India* :—" Government with the laudable object of securing efficiency in Service revised the old rules in 1910. The Lower Standard Examination was abolished and the Higher Standard of old replaced by a qualifying examination. In furtherance of the said object, the rules, no doubt, give preference to Lower and Higher Standard passed clerks but with the restriction of subordination to claims due to seniority and subject, of course, to considerations of merit and efficiency. The rules thus by themselves have not much to complain against. It is their working that has produced discontent in the lower strata of the Service and is pointed to as being responsible for an amount of heart-burning caused among old clerks of proved merit and efficiency. The practice in most places has been to earmark Lower and Higher Standard men for preferential claims to every grade promotion without any the least regard to one's real worth on the score of 'Seniority, Merit and Efficiency'. As to these examinations, they, as many others, are more or less 'Luck-Lotteries'......... Mere examination success is thus not, and never ought to be, a sole and safe criterion as to an individual's merit and ability. It is a matter of very great regret that in working these rules, the said wholesome adjuncts have often been lost sight of and the Lower or Higher Standard Badge permitted to carry everything before it. And what is the result? The throttling of an even flow of grade promotions and the swarming of many upper rungs of the lower branch ladder with raw and poor material, a result surely never bargained for by Government. Sooner, therefore, vigorous steps to purge out this evil are taken, the better. Will the Divisional Commissioners, as chief controlling authorities, give the matter their serious and prompt consideration?"

Comments on the Excise Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1915-16.

Rást Goftár (27), 22nd Apl.

41. While commenting upon the Excise Administration Report for the year 1915-16 and the Government Resolution thereon, the *Rást Goftár* takes the temperance reformers to task for making undeserved allegations against the Excise policy of Government and points out with satisfaction that the Report goes to prove that there has been a steady decrease in the sale of liquor and a corresponding steady increase in the Excise revenue. It is of opinion that the Advisory Committees are greatly influenced by the agitation of temperance reformers and so suggests that the right of giving permission for opening new liquor shops should be vested solely in the Collector. It notes with regret that the Government orders with respect to encouraging the sale of *Toddy* are respected more in the breach than in the observance by some of the Collectors who charge license fees at their sweet will or resort to the auction system. It expresses surprise that Commissioners should refuse to interfere when appeals are made to them against the orders of the Collectors. It regards Mr. Quin's administration of the Excise Department as a failure and ascribes this to his lack of appreciation of honest men and undue preferential treatment given to European officers. It expresses hope that Mr. Arthur will be able to purge the Department of incompetent and dishonest officials. It does not think that the efficiency of the Department will in any way increase by the proposed appointment of Deputy Commissioners and is afraid these appointments will tend to increase mismanagement in the Department.

Muhammadans and the Sind Provincial Conference at Shikárpur.

Sind Journal (8), 19th Apl.

42. Quoting from the *Sind Moslem* a passage describing the means adopted to prevent Muhammadans from going to the Sind Provincial Conference at Shikárpur, the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"The above extract from an organ of the Muhammadan community clearly shows that not only moral suasion but picketing even was resorted to to prevent Muhammadans from joining the Conference. This is a sad commentary on the patriotism and foresight of the Muhammadans concerned. The Provincial Conference deals with problems which affect the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Sind equally and it is suicidal to belittle the importance of an organization which seeks to advance the common cause of both the sister communities of Sind. The attendance of a large number of Muhammadan delegates at the Provincial Conference at Lárkána held under the presidentship of the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri had been hailed by the whole of non-official Sind as a happy augury for the future, though we had some lurking doubts about the continuity of

that excellent record. The paucity of Muhammadan delegates at the Shikárpur sessions of the Conference, which is attributed to wirepulling, should not make us despair of Muhammadans openly throwing in their lot with the Hindus in the field of politics at no distant date. Time was when even the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri in deference to the wishes of his co-religionists kept aloof from political activities in the Province. But who can defy the Time-Spirit? Let our Muhammadan brethren take note of this fact."

Comments on the resolution to adopt Hindi as the national language of India passed by the Shikárpur Conference.

Islámic Mail (3), 22nd Apl.

43. "We admire the zeal of our Hindu friends in their endeavours to wipe out all signs of their connections with the Muhammadans, but we must confess to have been considerably amazed at the resolution passed at the Shikárpur Conference to adopt Hindi as the national language of India. Sindh has got its own dialect and Sindhi is akin to Hindi except in its script which is written in Urdu characters. It is as far situated from places which claim to speak Hindi language as the poles and we doubt if even one Sindhi gentleman can read or write Hindi. Yet it is a curious phase of the new Hindu-spirit that they would discard everything belonging to a foreigner even if it be ever so useful as the Urdu language. Urdu owes its parentage not to Muhammadans but to Hindus and its best writers have been Hindus.......... And strange as it may seem even those who condemn Urdu and advocate Hindi speak the former in their homes. They have made it, however, a national question and want to discard the borrowed feathers. But if it went to that, may we ask why should they not discard the dress which was certainly brought in by the Muhammadans and go about naked as they used to do in olden days and are still doing in remote areas such as the Malabar, etc.?"

The proposed City Civil Court for Bombay.

Sánj Vartamán (28), 26th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 27th Apl.; *Bombay Sámachár* (53), 28th Apl.

44. The *Sánj Vartamán* endorses the suggestions made by the Bombay Presidency Association to the Government of Bombay in the matter of establishing a City Civil Court with jurisdiction over civil suits, between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 5,000 which are now tried by the High Court. It favours the proposal for establishing a separate Civil Court instead of increasing the powers of the Small Causes Court and believes that two Judges working without long vacations will be able to cope with the work that will come before it. It suggests that the Court may be housed in the new building that is being erected for the Small Causes Court or in the High Court building and expresses a hope that Government will not fail to consider the claims of Indian lawyers while making appointments of the Judges of the new City Civil Court. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes in a similar strain. The *Bombay Samáchár* while agreeing with the proposals made by the Presidency Association suggests that Government might extend the jurisdiction of the Court of Small Causes and lessen the long vacations if the expenditure involved in the creation of a new City Civil Court is found to be too great to be met in the present times.]

Government should issue a Press Note regarding the Gokak Canal Project.

Belgaum Samáchár (82), 23rd Apl.

45. Fears were generally entertained that the Gokak Canal Project would either be indefinitely postponed or wholly dropped on account of the war. His Excellency the Governor, however, in his reply to one of the addresses presented to him during his tour in the Southern Maratha Country gave an assurance that the project would not be shelved. We hope, therefore, that the construction of the canal will be taken in hand soon after the war is over. As the canal is to be fed with water from a large reservoir some 30 or 40 villages will be submerged under its waters. We request Government, therefore, to publish a Press Note in sufficient time giving full details of the lands that would have to be acquired, to enable the people whose lands are likely to be taken up to make their own arrangements in time.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Calcutta University Commission.

Young India (10), 25th Apl.

46. "V. V. R." writes to *Young India*:—"Lord Chelmsford has appointed a Commission to inquire into the affairs of the Calcutta University. We do not know what the Government have up their sleeves and we prefer to wait. Our previous experience of these Committees and Commissions has been rather of an unfortunate character......... Our Universities were modelled on the London University. But of late it has been the fashion to decry the Universities of an affiliating type. Some of the old Universities in India, notably Calcutta and Madras, have been in great haste to convert themselves into teaching universities. India is a vast and poor country and unless we are to make higher education a play-thing of the rich only, we cannot confine ourselves to the residential university. It is granted that our universities should come more into our life and that they should not rest content with examining students only. If there is lack of control, by all means let the universities exercise more control over the colleges affiliated to them. But any proposal to withdraw the Honours' Course only to the metropolis or to concentrate higher education only in a few selected places in the Presidency and to deny higher education for all ages to all other places deserve to be condemned outright. The Patna University Bill which tried this dangerous experiment had to be recast wholesale. All these devious attempts to avoid the necessity of opening new colleges and centres of enlightenment are bound to fail. After all the problem of problems is whether there is to be an extension of higher education or a denial of it in the name of so-called efficiency. People will never tolerate any restrictions put upon the proper development and progress of higher education in the country. New colleges at convenient centres should be opened and wherever possible and practicable they should teach all the highest courses allowed by the university. The last Commission was responsible for the death of 25 second-grade colleges. Let us hope that the new Calcutta Commission will not be responsible for any more destruction of colleges."

The Muhammadan University.

Akhbár-e-Islám (50), 26th Apl.

47. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* asks those newspapers who are opposed to securing a charter for the Muhammadan University on the lines of the Hindu University to sink all their differences and to use their influence to hasten the steps that will lead to the early establishment of the purposed University. It does not think that the University will secure better terms from Government if the question of its establishment is deferred till after the war and believes that Government will always treat the Hindu and Muhammadan Universities alike, but it hopes that Government will relax their control over these Universities when they find that they proceed with their work in a satisfactory manner.

RAILWAYS.

The practice of reserving compartments for Europeans and Eurasians should be stopped.

Islámic Mail (3), 22nd Apl.

48. "In these days when the restriction of train service on railways has caused the greatest pressure of traffic and the inevitable overcrowding, the practice of reserving compartments for European and Eurasians is causing a great deal of discontent. The authorities at headquarters of railways can have no idea of the rush of passenger traffic, especially by passenger trains.......... But a whole compartment is kept empty for European and Eurasian passengers whose number is never very large. The sight is often seen of the solitary figure of a dark woman or man easily lolling in this compartment by virtue of his or her European dress whilst more respectable Indian women and men wander about despairingly in search of accommodation. The grievance has become so palpable and unbearable that when we brought it to the notice of the popular Agent of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, Mr. Holmes, he promised to redress it at once, and we are informed that no distinction now exists in the accommodation of European and Indian passengers. Major Hepper is known to be a friend of the people, and, a lover of justice and fairplay as he is, he would no doubt remove this unjust distinction and let the Europeans and Anglo-Indians travel in the same way as other Indians."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Government Resolution on the request of the Poona Municipality to be entrusted with the drainage works of Poona City.

**Mahrátta* (4), 29th Apl.; *Dnyan Prakásh* (33), 24th Apl.

49. Under the heading "A Specimen of Official Courtesy" the *Mahrátta* writes:—"The charge of the pumping station connected with the Drainage and the settling tank connected with waterworks, Poona city, was assumed some time ago by Government with the clear understanding that at the end of one year the charge would be handed back to the Poona City Municipality. The Municipality requested Government in October 1916 to hand over the works to that body. Government have replied by publishing a resolution evidenty based on the views expressed by the Commissioner, C. D., the Collector of Poona and Mr. Mandy, the author of the Poona Drainage system. In expressing their views these officials have made allegations against the municipal administration, which we believe to be wholly undeserved and have used language which no self-respecting public body would tolerate.......... The reason for the resolution is obvious. Government desires to impose an official commissioner on the Municipality. The dog must be given a bad name before it it hanged; so runs the unwritten law. The allegations against the Poona municipal administration have come to be made in accordance with this law. We are glad the Municipality has not taken the allegations lying down. Last Wednesday it unanimously entered a strong protest against the wantonly insulting language used by the Divisional Commissioner. In the speeches on the resolution of protest the allegations were declared to be baseless, and the action of Government in relying blindly on their officials and refusing to bide by the *clear understanding* between them and the Municipality was criticised as unfair and improper." [The *Dnyan Prakásh* also makes similar comments.]

Gujaráti (12), 22nd Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 25th, 26th and 27th Apl.

50. Referring to the recent resolution passed by the Poona Municipality to the effect that all members of all the bodies enjoying local self-government should hereafter be elected by the people, the *Gujaráti* expresses the hope that the resolution will not fail to receive support from the Bombay Municipality as well as the municipalities of other big cities. It attributes the appearance of the caucus movement in the local Municipal Corporation on particular occasions to the present system of Government directly nominating sixteen members and allowing the Justices of the Peace, who are themselves appointed by Government, to nominate other sixteen members on its board. It inquires what special interests of theirs the Justices of the Peace have to safeguard that they should be entitled to return sixteen persons as their representatives on the local Municipal Board. The paper then proceeds to observe:—People have been kept very backward in the Bombay Presidency in the matter of local self-government and that fact has caused discontent among the general public. The resolution of the Poona Municipality is *primâ facie* evidence of the extent to which the public opinion in the Presidency has advanced in this matter and the officials who claim to know the opinion of the public and to safeguard their interests have to learn a lesson from it. Discussion during the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council has proved that the officials are ignorant of public opinion. The people have been, for the last five decades, hearing about the lip-sympathy of Government and their officers in the matter of local self-government and therefore the charge courageously made by the Honourable Mr. Patel during the session above referred to that the officials of the Bombay Presidency are not anxious to liberate the Municipalities and the District Boards from their own trammels is really commendable. People cannot understand why officials should be afraid of public opinion being in the majority in the Municipalities, District and Taluka Local Boards, and in the village punchayets. [Sympathising with the resolution passed by the Poona Municipality the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regrets that the Bombay Municipality should continue to put up with the present system which permits it to have only half the number of its members elected by the people and which constitutes a sort of insult to it in view of other municipalities in the Presidency enjoying a wider franchise. It urges the muncipality to take up the question for the sake of its own prestige and suggests that Government should allow the tenant class to exercise the municipal franchise and should do justice to the City by allowing that class to return 16 representatives to the Corporation in lieu of the Justices of the Peace who at present enjoy that privilege. In the next issue the paper expresses its disagreement with the plea advanced from the other side that adequate provision would not be made for the representation of minorities on the municipal bodies if all the municipalities that at present elect their presidents by a two-thirds majority were to be given the right of electiug two-thirds of their members. It supports itself by referring to the demand made by Muhammadans for separate communal representation and remarks that even those who have been making such a demand do not prefer to be nominated by Government. The paper hopes that Lord Willingdon will not, in the matter of local self-government, allow the opinions of ordinary Civilian officers to outweigh the views of authorities like Lord Ripon and Lord Morley who have emphatically declared themselves in favour of allowing the people as great a share as possible in the administration of their municipal affairs. In the subsequent issue it attritutes the mismanagement of municipal affairs in such places as Borsad to too much official interference and control.]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 4th May 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

H 32—6 CON

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 18 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 5th May 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on a reported speech of Mr. Wood, Principal, Roorkee College, to this students . . . . 32 & 33
Comments on His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab's defence of his Government's action against Messrs. Pal and Tilak 23
Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's views about India's fitness for self-government . . . . 27 & 28
Comments on Mr. H. G. Well's letter to the London *Times* regarding republican feeling in England 21
Comments on Mr. Tilak's memorial to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay regarding his libel suit against Sir V. Chirol . . 24 & 25
Comments on the cancellation of the order passed against Mr. M. K. Gandhi by the District Magistrate of Champaran, Behar . . 26
Comments on the Government attitude towards the discussion by Government officials of political issues with Mr. Curtis of the *Round Table* 31
Government's neglect of Indian men of science 30
How to popularise the Home Rule movement 22
The Indian public should have a voice in the financial policy of the country 29
His Excellency the Governor of Bombay: Appeal to His Excellency Lord Willingdon to devote the remainder of his term of office to the solution of questions affecting the welfare of the public 34
Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the Government Press Note regarding the Emigration Conference to be held in London 37
Judicial matters: Necessity of instituting a Civil Court for the City of Bombay 41

Police:

Comments on the treatment alleged to have been accorded by the C. I. D. to Mr. B. G. Pal during his return journey from Bombay to Calcutta 36
C. I. D. activities against the Home Rule movement at Delhi . . 35

Public Service:

Higher appointments in the Civil Medical Service should not be given to I. M. S. men 39
Recommendation that Mirza Abbas Ali Baig should be appointed member of the Bombay Executive Council in succession to the Honourable Mr. Chaubal 40
Recent cotton fires at Colába (Bombay) 42
Revenue matters: Criticism of the Government policy with regard to the period of land revenue settlements 38

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded*.

Sind : Thefts in Lárkána (—) 43

War :

Alleged objectionable character of the — Loan lotteries 19

Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir's speech before the Empire Parliamentary Association . . . . . . 1 & 2

Comments on Mr. Lloyd George's speech on the occasion of receiving the freedom of the city of London . . . . 3 & 4

Comments on Sir James Meston's suggestion that Dominion journalists should visit India 10

Comments on the grant of the freedom of the city of Manchester to the Indian representatives on the Imperial — Conference . . 5

Comments on the proceedings of Bombay Exemption Tribunal . . 20

Comments on the recommendations of the Imperial — Conference . 9

Complaint about official pressure in connection with subscriptions to the — Loan 18

Death of the Honourable Lieutenant Frederick Thesiger . . . 12—15

Disabled Indian soldiers and the Imperial — Conference . . . 11

India and the Imperial Conference . . . . 6—8

What the — has done for India 16

Why the — Loan is so popular in Bombay as contrasted with other provinces 17

EDUCATION—

Comments on the statement of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab about the willingness of the Punjab Government to make primary education free and compulsory in selected areas 44

MUNICIPALITIES—

Belgaum : Protest against the proposed appointment of Rao Bahadur Artal as President of the — District Local Board 45

Poona : Comments on the Government Resolution refusing to hand over the pumping station to the — Municipality . . . . 46 & 47

Surat : Comments on the attitude taken up by Mr. Hudson, Collector of —, in the matter of appointment of a non-official president for the — District Board 48

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir's speech before the Empire Parliamentary Association.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 3rd May; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 3rd May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 3rd May; *Hindusthán* (16), 2nd May.

1. Commenting upon the speech made by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir before the Empire Parliamentary Association, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—We hope the Maharaja's speech will make an impression on the minds of those people who are misdirecting their energies in the hope of securing *swarájya* very soon. India should thank the Maharaja for wishing that she might ultimately secure self-government by a gradual advance and for asking an instalment of political reforms after the war. These utterances of the Maharaja lead us to hope that the legitimate aspirations of the people will be satisfied by their rulers in due course. The Council of Princes, to which the Maharaja made a reference in his speech, is likely to be established in the near future. [The *Sánj Vartamán* is of opinion that the Maharaja's speech is likely to create the wrong impression in the minds of the people in England that the Congress and the Moslem League are contending that full self-government should be immediately given to India. It repeats its contention that Indians want a responsible share in the administration of the country and a control over its finances. It asks Mr. Chamberlain to pay a visit to India after the war and to see things for himself. If he does so, the paper feels sure he will give up his present erroneous views. The *Jam-e-Jámshed*, while agreeing that India is not ripe for full self-government, dwells upon the disabilities of Indians in the matter of the higher posts and complains against the continuance of official majorities in Municipalities and Legislative Councils. It hopes Government will satisfy Indian aspirations by granting the demands made by the non-official representatives of the Imperial Legislative Council. It favours the early formation of the Council of Princes with a view to ensuring closer relations between Government and the Indian Princes. The *Hindusthán* also asserts that no one in India has asked for complete self-government and that the Indians would for the present be satisfied with the reforms asked for by the Indian members of the Viceregal Legislative Council. It wishes that the deputation contemplated by the Congress and the Moslem League would soon be sent to England to place the Indian view before the English public and to counteract the mischief that is likely to be done by those who pose as her representatives.]

Message (5), 2nd May; **Mahrátta* (4), 6th May.

2. "His Highness the Maharaja of Bikáner seems to have become quite a favourite at the India Office and with the narrower and conservative elements of British public life. He has altogether eclipsed his other two colleagues from India and taken to run the show for them.......... The Maharaja is a Ruling Prince enjoying sovereign power within his own territories and is besides *not* a Congressman. Thus, however much he may sympathise with the Indian aspirations, he cannot and will not *identify* himself with those aspirations, because it would in the end reflect on his own State and the subjects of progressive Bikáner would be demanding before long that their Ruler do occupy a constitutional position similar to that of His Majesty the King-Emperor in regard to the great British nation. There is one more factor also, and that is that the Suzerain Government in India, whose strings are being pulled from behind the scenes at the India Office in London have committed themselves to a particular statement of policy. This policy was clearly, briefly and pointedly defined the other day by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford as 'self-government for India, not yet, but step by step', or to quote the latest phraseology adumbrated by the Great Mogul of the India Office: 'The realisation of this (self-government) could only come with time and as the Indians qualified themselves for it,' or as the Prime Minister of England, re-echoing these forces, has said: 'As Indians developed a political sense and a feeling of nationhood'. The policy has now become fairly well stereotyped. And

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner as 'our Ally' cannot in decency and fairness go in advance of it and adumbrate a new policy for British India, for he said at the lunch given by the Empire Parliamentary Association, the Indian Princes did not desire 'either to interfere in the affairs of British India or outside interference in their own affairs'.......... Thus, by his own admission the Maharaja of Bikaner is not the accredited nor even the competent spokesman of the Indian aspirations. And in the name of fairness and decency the people of India beg of His Highness to leave alone Indian politics to be fought out between themselves and Government of India. By his untimely and ill considered—we might add irresponsible—expressions of opinion *not* derived by close or intimate touch with the current of thought in India, he is doing an irreparable amount of harm rather than good, as these views will be seized upon 'in time' by the opponents of Indian aspirations to be used as the big stick to beat them down." [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"We wonder why men who ought to know better should reiterate *ad nauseum* that 'India is not at present ripe for full self-government'. When the authorised Congress-League scheme of Reforms stops a long way short of demanding full self-government 'at present', the question of 'full self-government at present' does not arise at all.......... Let us assure His Highness that everyone including the most extreme 'revolutionary' will thankfully accept the constitution recommended by the National Congress for the management of Indian affairs as a sufficiently advanced one *for the present*."]

Comments on Mr. Lloyd George's speech on the occasion of receiving the freedom of the city of London.
Kesari (92), 1st May.

3. Commenting upon the Premier's speech on the occasion of receiving the freedom of the city of London, the *Kesari* remarks:—It is worth noting that Mr. Lloyd George mentioned India along with the Colonies at every point in his speech. In his first speech as Prime Minister he had omitted India and the people of India naturally resented it. Probably his mistake then was an unconscious one, or it may be that a little experience has taught him a good deal. Whatever that be, it is essential that we take advantage of his new line of thought, and our representatives are no doubt engaged in doing this work. But if they are supported from outside they would welcome it, and it is with this intention that the All-India Congress Committee has resolved to send its deputation to England. If two people begin to demand rights Government will naturally prefer to comply with the lesser demand. The birth of the extremist party drew Government nearer the moderates, and if the Congress Deputation goes now to England and agitates, the Imperial Ministers are likely to comply with the demands of our three representatives. It is a well-known and universally admitted doctrine that at least a little is gained when much is asked for.

Mahrátta (4), 6th May.

*4. Commenting upon Mr. Lloyd George's speech on the occasion of receiving the freedom of the City of London and his references therein to the need of consulting India and the Colonies, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"The Premier must know—and if he does not know it, he must be made to know—that the action of England, or rather the inaction, in leaving the Indian bureaucracy to manage our home and foreign affairs for us according to their sweet will and pleasure has resulted and is daily resulting in *infinite trouble* for us and is costing us millions of precious lives! Millions die of starvation—who need not. Millions have to live a stunted life—which is worse than death—who need not live such a life. A reasonably national policy in industrial and administrative and educational matters would mend matters considerably. But who cares? Without a real surging sympathy in high quarters for the people of the soil the daily increasing *load of misery* which weighs alike on the illiterate and the enlightened in India must continue to embitter Indian feeling. Is it a desirable situation? In the interests of all concerned, an early grant to Indians of a fair instalment of 'real partnership' in the management of Indian affairs is a supreme necessity. When Mr. Lloyd George talks of India as being entitled to real partnership in the Empire we wonder whether he subscribes to the position that India must be autonomous in her internal affairs. As a consistent statesman he must accept this position."

Comments on the grant of the freedom of the city of Manchester to the Indian representatives on the Imperial War Conference.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 29th Apl.

5. The presentation of the freedom of the City of Manchester to the Indian representatives of the Imperial War Conference leads us to think that after careful consideration Manchester has been convinced of the folly of agitating against the enhanced import duties on cotton goods and thus playing into the hands of Japan. Japan is the greatest rival of India in the cotton trade and it has already commenced to develop its trade in Mesopotamia before India or Manchester has given a thought to the subject. It has, therefore, deeply resented the increase in the import duties. As stated by the Premier, there is very little of real competition between India and Manchester. Japan is the rival both of India and Manchester and steps should, therefore, be taken to guard against this rivalry developing into a curse in course of time. The Government of Great Britain has taken the initial step in this direction by allowing India to increase the import duties on cotton goods. This step will prove of immense use when Government will think of safeguarding the interests of the Empire as a whole in connection with the question of tariffs after the termination of the war. It is only fiscal autonomy that will enable India to give preferential treatment to the goods manufactured within the Empire over those manufactured elsewhere. India then will be able to work hand in hand with Manchester without any conflict of interests and to successfully compete against any other nation. It is possible that Manchester has been stimulated to honour our representatives in the Imperial Conference because it has been brought to its senses by the steps Japan is taking to capture the markets in Mesopotamia.

India and the Imperial Conference..

Indian Social Reformer (2), 6th May.

***6.** "While gratified at the exceedingly hospitable treatment which the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference received at the hands of the British Government and people, we must confess to some uneasiness at some of the conclusions to which they would seem to have subscribed at the Conference. The daily newspapers printed on Friday certain resolutions of the Imperial Conference, which were, it was stated, passed unanimously. Two of them relate to the need of co-ordination between the different parts of the Empire as regards military and defence matters. It is not clear how, as things stand, Indian co-operation is to be ensured in such co-ordination. Reuter had telegraphed some days back the resolution of the Conference favouring the full representation of India at future Conferences. We trust that future representatives will all be Indians and will be selected by some more constitutional process than the delegates to the present Conference. The resolution relating to the principles on which the constitutional relations between the component parts of the Empire should be readjusted after the war, is most disquieting. These, we are told, should be based on the full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of the Commonwealth, and of India 'as an important portion' thereof. If it means anything different from the Round Table scheme, Government will do well to say what it is without delay. Then, as regards reciprocity in the matter of trade and emigration, the Indian public will be anxious to know what exactly they are being committed to. We should much wish that the memorandum on the position of Indians in self-governing colonies, which the Indian delegates are said to have presented to the Conference, will be soon made available to the Indian public."

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 3rd May; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 2nd and 4th May.

7. However high a place India may obtain in the Empire it will be merely ornamental unless there is *swarajya* in India. If the Secretary of State is to speak on our behalf it means an additional vote for great Britain and the colonials are not likely to consent to such an arrangement. In that case our position may be higher than it is now, but we shall not receive any advantage. Side by side with our growing status outside, we should become masters at home and should be able to manage our own affairs. The European and other officials who rule over us as masters should become our servants.

There is no question of creating new difficulties for Government at the present time. But the work that is done by responsible associations in ventilating the public view that political reforms should be soon undertaken on a large scale, should also be carried out in villages. We must bring it to the notice of Government that we have settled views in this matter, also, as we did in the case of indentured labour. [The *Indu Prakásh* says :—The awakening in India is an intelligent one ; it is not a mere hankering after the moon. The educated classes in India feel that non-Indians have very few chances of knowing the heart of Indians. The strength of those who are loyal to the Empire and to themselves is increasing and therefore if India is given internal autonomy the virtues of Indians will have full play and they will attain a great position. So far as foreign relations are concerned India will be loyal to the Empire. So far as Indian national affairs are concerned, Indian public opinion should have full scope. To put it differently, Indians hold that the administration should not be carried on by Europeans who know but little about Indian affairs. In a later issue the paper says :—The present bureaucratic system is out of date, at least it is not approved by the educated classes. The heart of every educated man is torn to pieces by the humiliating thought that his intelligent opinion has no value in the national development. Every reasonable educated man is thoroughly loyal. Our educated men do not consider that every I. C. S. man is better informed and more reasonable than themselves, nor do they think that he looks after public welfare more efficiently than they do. They feel and think that they can more easily understand their own religion, customs and languages than the European officials. They feel it poignantly under these circumstances that they have no scope to do national work and it is not strange that some impatient reformers have gone to the length of holding that India will remain loyal to the Empire only in case the present administrative system is totally abolished.]

Praja Bandhu (24), 29th Apl., Eng. cols.

8. " The resolution unanimously passed by the Imperial War Conference to admit of India being fully represented at the Imperial Conferences that may be convened in future ought to set at rest all doubts in the matter. Not only that, but the fact that the resolution in question should have been moved by Sir R. Borden, the Canadian Premier, and seconded by Mr. Massey, the New Zealeand Premier, is extremely significant.......... While welcoming this act of justice to India we desire to thank the Canadian and New Zealand ministers for their sympathy and liberal-mindedness with regard to this matter."

Comments on the recommendations of the Imperial War Conference.

**Mahrátta* (4), 6th May; *Káthiáwár Samáchár* (62), 2nd May; *Hind Vijaya* (58), 2nd May.

9. Commenting upon the statement issued by the Colonial Secretary respecting the work done by the Imperial War Conference and the various recommendations made by it, the *Máhrátta* writes :—" The only remarks that we propose to make on these recommendations of the conference are the following :—The recomendations regarding consultation of India in matters of Imperial policy and the ' reciprocity of treatment ' as between the colonies and India are acceptable—but so long as our Government is not representative of our will, they can do us but little good. As to the other recommendations noted above India will be a distinct loser by the arrangement. Both as a producer and as a customer India has nothing to gain by her markets being restricted—unless the restriction is based entirely on a national development policy. The suggested restrictions are based on the Empire development policy which in practice will largely mean the development of the Colonies and the United Kingdom at the expense of India. To moderate the harmful results of the policy, a Home Rule Government skilfully utilising its restricted fiscal freedom is a pressing necessity." [The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* expresses gratification at the fact that full representation is to be given to India at future Imperial Conferences and expresses a hope that the interest that is being manifested in Parliament about Indian matters will lead to the reconstruction of the Indian Administration. The *Hind Vijaya* considers that the promise

of full representation at the Imperial Conference is tantamount to an assurance that the aspirations of the Indian people in the matter of self-government will be satisfied and hopes that India will soon be placed on a footing of equality with the self-governing Colonies.]

Comments on Sir James Meston's suggestion that Dominion journalists should visit India.

Young India (10), 2nd May.

10. Commenting on Sir James Meston's suggestion that Dominion statesmen and journalists should visit India, *Young India* writes:—"We believe Sir James would have with characteristic generosity placed the hospitality of his Government House at the disposal of the Dominion statesmen and pressmen, if he were only sure of his tenure of office till such time. It must be an unkind fate which deprives him of the opportunity of reciprocating in his own 'House' the lavish hospitality which has been extended to him and also assisting the deputation to study Indian problems at first-hand. Perhaps, he may leave behind him Sir Valentine Chirol and his super-journalist chum to guide the suggested deputation when it visits this country."

Disabled Indian soldiers and the Imperial War Conference.

Shetkari (37), 29th Apl.

11. The question of disabled soldiers is awaiting solution at the hands of the Imperial War Conference. Indian disabled soldiers will of course return to India. Sir James Meston who is one of the representatives of India at the Conference has invited Colonial statesmen and representatives of the Colonial press to visit India. This invitation must have some connection with this question before the Conference. We are sure the invitation will be accepted, for where is the Colonial who can be so hard-hearted as to decline an invitation of 'India's' representative? This gives us an idea of how this question will ultimately be solved.

Death of the Honourable Lieutenant Frederick Thesiger.

**Rást Goftár* (27), 6th May, Eng. cols.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 6th May, Eng. cols.; *Message* (5), 5th May.

12. "Their Excellencies' loss—the soldier's death in Mesopotamia of their eldest son, The Honourable Frederick Thesiger, R.F.A., is India's loss. And our hearts go out to them in silent sympathy in the midst of their sorest earthly trial. Such lives are never lost. They remain an imperishable memory to profit and ennoble mankind.......... India, with one heart, grieves for Their Excellencies. India is also proud of her young hero." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"He has died a noble death, fighting for his King and his country in Mesopotamia. Their Excellencies may expect the cordial sympathy of the millions over whom they rule in this hour of their heavy bereavement." The *Message* remarks:—"Genuine regret and sympathy will be felt for Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Chelmsford in the sad bereavement that has befallen them. The Honourable F. Thesiger, whose death in action has just been reported, was not many months ago in Simla and had endeared himself during his short sojourn among Simla society. We offer Their Excellencies our deep and sincere sympathy in their great loss."]

Gujaráti (12), 6th May., Eng. cols.

***13.** "The sad news of the death in action in Mesopotamia of Lieutenant the Honourable F. Thesiger has been received by the Indian public with deep regret.........The people of India had to mourn the losses that were suffered by Lord and Lady Hardinge and Lord and Lady Willingdon and some other high officials and will readily extend their heart-felt sympathy to Lord and Lady Chelmsford in their hour of distressing bereavement. In grief and sorrow brought on by the war we are all one, exactly as we are all united in heart and mind in the prosecution of the war. It is not for us to offer any consolation to Their Excellencies, but on behalf of our countrymen and countrywomen we offer our deep and heartfelt sympathy to Their Excellencies in their grievous loss."

Bombay Samáchár (53), 3rd May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 4th May; *Hindusthán* (16), 3rd May.

14. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the news of the death of His Excellency the Viceroy's son has produced among all sections of the Indian public feelings of deep sympathy for His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in his sad bereavement. It, however, believes that the Viceroy will derive consolation from the fact that those heroes who sacrifice their lives on the field of battle in a sacred cause like the defence of one's Empire immortalise their names. The paper observes that every Indian will cordially pray that the Almighty may grant His Excellency the fortitude to bear his great grief. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the whole Indian nation sincerely condoles with the Viceroy in his affliction. It is of opinion that the event must teach all the Indian communities the lesson of service and self-sacrifice. The *Hindusthán* sincerely sympathises with Their Excellencies in their sorrow and prays to God to grant eternal peace to the soul of the departed hero.]

Indu Prakásh (35), 3rd May.

15. The *Indu Prakásh* gives a brief account of the career of the late Lieut. the Honourable F. Thesiger and after expressing its deep sympathy with His Excellency the Viceroy remarks:—This terrible war has taken toll from almost all the illustrious families of England. The losses, grievous as they are, are being borne with the characteristic spirit of Englishmen. A glance at Indian History will show that such experiences were not novel to us Marathas in the past, although we are strangers to them now because we have been rusting for so many generations. Given suitable opportunities we will show that we can also sacrifice our sons willingly on the field of battle instead of merely contenting ourselves with verbal expressions of sympathy as at present.

What the war has done for India.

Young India (10), 2nd May.

16. "Naturally, people in this country have been profoundly interested in the doings of the Imperial War Cabinet and Imperial War Conference.......... In the last few days, few weeks, many pronouncements have been made—some noteworthy, others fundamentally foolish or absolutely antiquated. But in none of these, is there an indication of a desire to transcend the limitations, which at present circumscribe the Imperial outlook. Their outlook of the Indian situation has been egregiously faulty, if it is not also selfishly narrow.......... We have been reminded that it is for the first time that India's representatives are allowed to sit side by side with the representatives of our 'great dominions' and that it is a matter for which we ought to be grateful. We have been so long grateful for small mercies, that we do not consider this demand for our gratitude as in any way extravagant or ungracious.......... Apart from this, the war has already achieved many things. It has turned the tide of history.......... Last, but not least, it has quickened the pace of thought and consolidated national feeling in this country. We are no longer content to be moving in the grooves of old world ideas, when the tallest amongst us bent his head in reverent submission before the European and 'paid worship to colour'. We are no longer content to feel that we are not fit for managing our own households. We have learnt to realise at last that 'freedom is justified of her children'. We want power and we want responsibility so that we may effect our own characteristic national development.......... It would be the crowning triumph of the great British democracy were they to help us in securing freedom for ourselves as they have been doing for Belgium, Poland and Russia. With India in shackles, the reality and beneficence of the Empire of which Mr. Lloyd George spoke would be a sham, mere hypocrisy. It would be a great pity if a Prime Minister like Mr. Lloyd George succumbs to the Tory humbug about India's want of political sense and feeling of nationhood, so assiduously propagated by Lord Sydenham and his *chelas*. As Mr. Lloyd George has himself stated, one of two things must happen: 'either India must be admitted into the British Commonwealth along with the self-governing Dominions or India must be governed by the federal Parliament', consisting of the representatives of the peoples of Great Britain and the present self-governing dominions. The second alternative is destructive of the very principles for which we are fighting and would ultimately spell disaster to the Empire."

Why the War Loan is so popular in Bombay as contrasted with the other provinces.

Islámic Mail (3), 29th Apl.

17. In the course of a lengthy article in which it exhorts the people, especially the Muhammadans, to subscribe to the War Loan, the *Islámic Mail* writes:—"The loan has not made any appreciable progress in other provinces, not because of want of capital and money. If you were to look to the returns of export of bullion from Bombay published weekly in the papers you will find that more gold and silver are purchased by upcountry people than in Bombay. What is known as the hoarded wealth of India exists in the North where the modern methods of investment have not yet penetrated. The slow progress of the War Loan is therefore due to the inability of the people to realise its advantageous terms. People in Bombay are keen business men and they know that the War Loan is the best and the most profitable investment; hence they take advantage of its favourable terms in a large measure. People upcountry know nothing about business......... What surprise is there then, that the War Loan has not appealed to them as an investment? In fact people are so ignorant about it that a very large number of uncountry residents regard it as a *chanda* (subscription)......... Even those who ought to know something about it, such as Mahajans and Banias, consider it as something like a subscription. We were talking the other day with a prominent Mahajan in Lucknow who being asked how much he had contributed to the War Loan said that he was a poor man and had already given more than enough of his share of the war and relief funds. He was fairly astounded when we told him that it was not a *chanda*, but a profitable investment. Our belief is that if the authorities and the leaders of public opinion who stand in the name of the people and claim to represent them took a little trouble to explain to the people the advantageous terms of the War Loan and to impress upon them the great opportunity that they have of investing their idle funds in a manner which will bring them an excellent rate of interest and always leave their money at call, there will be no one in India who will not put his money in it." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"People outside Bombay naturally feel surprised at Bombay's magnificent display. Most of them ask what means have the Government of Bombay adopted to achieve this tremendous success? The reply may be summed up in one word—Sympathy. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the immense success of the War Loan in Bombay is as much due to the popularity of the Governor and his officers as to the good sense and loyalty of the people of Bombay. The generous regard and sincere affection which Lord and Lady Willingdon have for the people of their charge, the sympathetic way in which they have helped the public in each and every thing, the liberal spirit which inspires their actions have given them a firm hold upon the hearts of the people which they can easily touch and have touched with this glorious result. Much praise will go to Lady Willingdon for the striking success of her personal efforts in enlisting the active sympathies and co-operation of the Indian ladies, whose contribution equals the total contributions of some provinces. By her generous kindness and nobility of heart, Her Excellency has achieved a singular popularity among our women and as a lady told us 'they would do anything for her.' We congratulate Their Excellencies upon the success which the War Loan has attained in Bombay. It is mainly due to their personal efforts and to the indefatigable exertions of their officers and they have every right to be proud of it."]

Complaint about official pressure in connection with subscriptions to the War Loan.

Hindusthán (16), 28th Apl.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 6th May, Eng. cols.

18. The *Hindusthán* reproduces the complaint against official pressure in connection with subscriptions to the War Loan published by the *Bombay Chronicle* and remarks:—The complaint is couched in mild language and does not give us a true idea of the real state of things. The oppression practised by certain over-zealous officials in the name of loyalty over poor people can better be imagined than described. Many such cases have come to our knowledge. Is it right to make the war loan a success by resorting to terrorism? Would not such a process imply the trampling under foot of the high ethical principles for which the war is being waged? We do not think a very large sum would be realised by coercing the poor to subscribe to the war loan. Such behaviour on the part of Government servants gives rise to a misunderstanding of the situation and to wild rumours. Government should put down with a strong hand any pressure that their servants exercise on the people in the matter of the war loan and thus put a stop to the discontent to which it has given rise. They should issue a notification prohibiting their servants from taking any steps to popularise the war loan and entrust the work to the popular leaders. We hope Government will take prompt steps to satisfy the people by instituting enquiries in the matter. [the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—" We have not the slightest doubt that it is only some idiotic officer, who has been bullying the people into subscribing for the War Loan out of all proportion to their means. It is high time that Government immediately institute an inquiry into the antics of this mountebank officer, and deal with him as he deserves. In times like these it is nothing short of a crime for any one who resorts to acts that discredit the War Loan and indirectly the war itself."]

Alleged objectionable character of the War Loan lotteries.
Gujarāti (12), 29th Apl.

19. The *Gujarāti* objects to the countenance given by Government to the lotteries started in many places for promoting the war loan, as in its opinion such a step is inconsistent with the dignity of Government and conduces to degrade the morals of the people. If lotteries are to be permitted in connection with the War Loan, why should they not, it asks, be permitted in behoof of churches and temples, darmashalas, roads, for the benefit of the famine-stricken, etc? Why should people not be allowed, it asks, to try their luck in opium gambling? It, however, goes on to write with approval about the sys tem of premium bonds adopted by the Municipality of Paris and declares that if such a system had been adopted in the case of the War Loan, it would have been rendered more attractive.

Comments on the proceedings of the Bombay Exemption Tribunal.
Message (5), 4th May.

20. "The proceedings of the various Exemption Tribunals are not without their humorous side, though it is a grim humour that runs through them. Exemptions have been claimed for various persons for various reasons and one of these reasons overdoes every other conceivable reason ever put forward. That reason is that liquor production is a work of first rate national importance in India! If the applicant who put forward this excuse was foolish the Tribunal which seriously entertained that excuse was absolutely silly. Among other reasons which have been put forward by the applicants for exemption is that they are *indispensable* in their work, possibly as *indispensable* as Messrs. Hilton and Boyer of the Poona Pumping Station and Settling Tank fame. Leaving the private applicants alone, the claim put forward by the Bombay Secretariat on behalf of certain persons is preposterous enough. One of the claims considered by the Poona Tribunal on Tuesday was the one from the Secretary to Government, Political Department, in regard to Messrs. D. Macdonnell and C. R. Johnstone, Assistant Superintendents in the Bombay Secretariat, for whom partial exemption was claimed. We presume that these two gentlemen were *indispensable* to the Political Department in the Bombay Secretariat, as their work as Assistant Superintendents could not be discharged by anybody else. Similarly, the Bombay Secretariat has claimed exemption for a number of eligible clerks in the Secretariat, because these clerkships cannot be filled by others who are non-liable to military service. When such is the case with Government departments and Government institutions, should one wonder that the exemptions are granted to private applicants on the flimsiest pretexts? Somebody has called the proceedings of the various tribunals a mere farce, and we think we may well endorse that view."

Comments on Mr. H. G. Wells' letter to the London *Times* regarding republican feeling in England.
Message (5), 1st May; **Mahrātta* (4), 6th May.

21. "If, as the London *Times* says 'clever men could sometimes write very foolishly,' super-journals like the *Times* could write still more foolishly not sometimes but many times. The occasion for the outburst of the *Times* is Mr. H. G. Wells' sin in writing to its columns 'urging that the time was ripe to give a clear expression to the great volume of republican feeling always existent in the British community.'.......... The *Times* has taken the opportunity of preaching a homily on the doctrine of monarchy, as if that was in question, and goes on to add that loyalty to the Crown is as wise in this Empire of the democrats as it is natural and just. But the most obvious reason for this magniloquent outburst is that any form of Government, but the rule of the King-Emperor would be alien

to the most cherished ideal of all the peoples of India.' Where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise. It is not certainly convenient for the *Times* to remember that people in India realise as much as any other people do what the rule of the King-Emperor is. They know and they realise that that rule of the King-Emperor is nothing but the rule of the British Parliament composed of the King, the Lords and the Commons or the three estates of the realm and latterly, the virtual rule of party politicians and party principles....... We presume that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikánir took his cue from the *Times*. Otherwise, there is no meaning in his volunteering to repudiate with scorn Mr. Wells' letter as something unholy. We could understand His Highness if he had spoken for himself and his brother princes. With all deference to him, we beg to submit that in a matter of this kind he is the least competent person to speak for the feelings of the great masses. In the first place, it is most foolish to imagine that the masses think anything at all of this matter and much less of the views and suggestions of Mr. Wells, for which the Maharaja feels an unspeakable horror.......... The Maharaja of Bikánir might have well reserved his remarks for an Indian audience, instead of presuming to tell the British democracy what is right or what is wrong. The speech was, we think, more enthusiastic than discreet." [The *Mahrátta* remarks :—" We are sorry to observe that His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner went out of his way to repudiate the 'views and suggestions' of Mr. Wells not only on his own account but on behalf of his brother Princes and also on behalf of the masses of India and of the Indian Army.......... We assure His Highness the Maharajah of Bikaner that even in this country of 'Rajahs and Maharajahs' there are persons who fully sympathise with the views and suggestions of Mr. Wells."]

How to popularise the Home Rule movement.
Sandesh (100), 1st and 2nd May.

22. The *Sandesh* discusses in a series of articles the question of popularising the Home Rule movement. It says that newspaper stands should be established in places frequented by the people and that itinerant lecturers should be appointed to read out papers to the masses. It advocates meetings of ladies also wherein periodical literature may be read out to them. It holds that loyal national dramas and novels should be written and it makes a suggestion that the cinematograph should also be utilised in pushing the Home Rule propaganda. The agency of temples, *Kathas* and *Puranas*, it continues, should be made use of by Home Rule Leagues. It adds :—Where independent lecture halls cannot be had, a temple with a lecture hall may be more welcome to the people. It is our natural right to make such use of temples, since national service and service of God, loyalty to God and loyalty to the King, devotion to God and devotion to the constitution, are one and the same. Kathas and Puranas have been our free schools from times immemorial and there is no other easier medium for the education of females and the masses in current politics. [In a later issue it declares that Home Rule Puranas, Bhajans and Cries should be instituted in order to win over pilgrims. It also publishes some verses the purport of which is that there is no treason in demanding Home Rule, that even death is afraid of loyal Home Rulers and that the master is ready to give but that the steward raises an outcry. The paper holds that all movements in India have been religious and that it is proper and constitutional to carry on all agitation under the banner of religion.]

Comments on His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab's defence of his Government's action against Messrs. Pal and Tilak.
Dnyán Prakásh (33), 1st May.

23. The Government of the Punjab consider their province to be a sort of powder magazine which requires only a spark to cause an explosion. They apparently thought that the entry of Messrs. Pal and Tilak into it would supply this spark and hastened, therefore, to set the Defence of India Act in motion against them. In our opinion it is a great mistake to think that the Home Rule movement encourages rebels. His Honour has advised Indians to ponder over the failure of the Irish Home Rule movement.

Should not His Honour also ponder over the fact that close on the heels of the Sinn Fein rebellion the British Government is conferring Home Rule on Ireland? British statesmen realise when dealing with Ireland that people resort to violence only when all other legitimate and constitutional means of attaining their end fail; whereas in India it is strange that any seditious act by anyone anywhere is at once connected with constitutional movements, and these latter movements are equally condemned. His Honour asks us not to draw a parallel between Ireland and our caste-ridden country. Ireland, we are also told, was once under indigenous rule. Is Sir Michael unaware that India too was not always under foreign domination? It is useless, however, to argue with people who fail to see any difference between the Home Rule movement and a revolutionary propaganda. An impartial observer will find that the former is a natural development of the legitimate aspirations of the people. An Irish speaker recently reminded the House of Commons that Mr. Redmond could have struck at the very heart of the Empire by adopting a hostile attitude during the critical period of the war. We would ask the authorities to bear in mind that even if India had given no other help to the Empire, its steadfast loyalty at this crisis would in itself have been a great help.

Comments on Mr. Tilak's memorial to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay regarding his libel suit against Sir V. Chirol.

Young India (10), 2nd May.

24. Commenting on Mr. Tilak's memorial to His Excellency the Governor, *Young India* writes:—"Apart from the impropriety of the C. I. D. actively interesting itself on the side of one or the other of the parties to the case, the conduct of the agents provocateur of the C. I. D. is not at all creditable and if not properly checked and controlled it is sure to lower the prestige of the Government.......... The continued stay of Sir Valentine Chirol at Viceregal Lodge has already done much to give the people an impression that he is not here for any altruistic reasons. The answer given by the Local Government some time ago in connection with the lending of a few hands from the Oriental Translator's department was in itself most unsatisfactory and likely to have strengthened the impression on the public mind.......... Now that Mr. Tilak himself has moved in the matter and made a serious allegation against the police it behoves the Government to act promptly in the matter and put an end to the widespread scandal which it has caused amoung the public. Neglect in this matter for any reasons is bound to shake to the very root the faith of the people 'in the impartiality of British justice and integrity of British administration'."

Indu Prakásh (35), 30th Apl., Eng. cols.

25. "We sincerely trust His Excellency Lord Willingdon will immediately take proper steps to prevent Government servants, whether of the C. I. D. or any other Department, from interfering clandestinely in the suit between Mr. Tilak and Sir Valentine Chirol. Mr. Tilak alleges, on the authority of a reliable source, that members of the C. I. D. in several places are interfering and meddling in the affair by actively canvassing for likely witnesses in the interests of Sir Valentine Chirol. If this be true, such conduct is most reprehensible and is bound to destroy public faith in the purity of British justice. But, we are sure, these doings, if they at all take place as alleged, are done without the knowledge of His Excellency's Government, for we cannot for one moment imagine that they countenance any such illegal and unfair tactics. We trust His Excellency will order an immediate enquiry into the matter and if any Government servants are found to tamper with the even course of justice, bring them to book severely in the interest of the fair name of the British administration. The assistance by the Oriental Translator's Department to Sir Valentine Chirol has already damaged the reputation of Government to an unfortunate extent in the public eye, but that the C. I. D. should be actively engaged in the service of Sir Valentine Chirol, would be the height of indescretion and reverse of fairplay to Mr. Tilak."

Comments on the cancellation of the order passed against Mr. M. K. Gandhi by the District Magistrate of Champaran, Behar.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 29th Apl.; *Kaira Vartamán* (61), 3rd May; *Political Bhomiyo* (65), 4th May.

26. *Apropos* of the cancellation of the order passed against Mr. M. K. Gandhi under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to leave the Champaran District, Behar, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—The authorities have realised the rashness of their mistake and have acknowledged the illegality of their action by promising Mr. Gandhi to help him in his work. There can be no greater victory for straightforwardness and for the opinion of the public than this. We congratulate Mr. Gandhi on the courage he has displayed in opposing the illegal order of the Magistrate, though unsupported by anyone. Our complaint is not so much against law as against those who put it into execution in an arbitrary manner. Government should deal severely with those officers who are found responsible for spreading dissatisfaction among the public by a highhanded application of the law. [The *Kaira Vartamán* expresses its gratification at the cancellation of the order passed against Mr. Gandhi. It remarks that if India can produce a dozen men of the type of Mr. Gandhi she can without any delay attain to all her legitimate aspirations. The *Political Bhomiyo*, on the other hand, expresses its strong disapproval of the methods of passive resistance adopted by Mr. Gandhi in South Africa and remarks that he and his followers had preferred to go to jail merely for the sake of acquiring cheap popularity. It remarks that the Gold law, License Act, Marriage Act, etc., which are at present pressing hard against the Indians in South Africa owe their origin to Mr. Gandhi's useless agitation and that he has not done right in leaving his countrymen there to their fate and returning to India before securing their repeal. The paper advises Mr. Gandhi to give up dabbling in political matters and, instead of going to a far off place like Behar, devote his attention to tackling social questions affecting the people much nearer home.]

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's views about India's fitness for self-government.

Hindusthán (16), 2nd May.

27. The *Hindusthán* takes exception to the expressions used by Mr. Chamberlain before the Empire Parliamentary Association to the effect that India should be made a training ground for the realisation of the natural aspirations of the people. It is afraid that this means that Mr. Chamberlain is of opinion that India is first to be made into a training ground and after that process is completed then only would Indians be given training in politics. At such a rate, it fears, Mr. Chamberlain would think of giving anything approaching self-government to India only after centuries and the injustice under which Indians are labouring would be perpetuated for ages to come. It believes that if Mr. Chamberlain were to visit India he would soon be convinced of the injustice of the opinion he has formed of India and would take steps to redress her wrongs.

Mahrátta (4), 6th May.

*28. The *Mahrátta* remarks:—"Mr. Chamberlain, as we have said above is vague. What is playing the *full part*? Whatever it may mean, does Mr. Chamberlain hold that Indians are not qualified to play it to-day? We maintain that England can safely trust us to play 'the full part' satisfactorily, as satisfactorily as the colonies play it. Even to-day we have the necessary proportion of our countrymen qualified for supplying National and Imperial 'Cabinets and Parliaments' with able brains. As to our capacity to supply fighting men of the right stamp in adequate numbers no one has any doubt. The routine duties of the civilans will find many capable hands to discharge them. Everything will go on quite as it should, even from the standpoint of the efficiency-faddist—within a decade from the day when we are put in possession of rights which constitute the necessary capital for playing the 'full part'."

The Indian public should have a voice in the financial policy of the country.

Gujaráti (12), 29th Apl.

29. In view of the fact that India is to be fully represented at future Imperial Conferences, the *Gujaráti* suggests that the control of the British Parliament over the Indian administration will have to be removed to place India on a footing of equality with the self-governing Colonies. It refers to the pronouncements recently made in Parliament to the effect that the the House of Commons has no direct control over the Indian Budget and that it has no power to alter or readjust any scheme of taxation which has been approved by the Legislative Council of the Viceroy and opines that early steps will have to be taken to break down the uncontrolled authority which the officials enjoy in the matter of framing the Budget and to make them responsible to the people.

Government's neglect of Indian men of science.
Kesari (92), 1st May.

30. Referring to the remarks of Mr. Innes, Director of Industries in Madras, as president on the occasion of a lecture delivered by Mr. Ramaswami Acharya on 'Weaving factories', praising Japanese and depreciating Indian artisans the *Kesari* says:—If Mr. Innes pondered over the question whether the defects observable in Indian artisans existed even two or three centuries ago or whether they are of recent growth he would find out the weak link in his reasoning. If he had also taken into consideration the all-round encouragement given by the Japanese Government to Japanese manufactures he would not have abused Indian merchants and manufacturers. How eager our Government are in encouraging our savants, can be judged from the instances of Professors Bose, Roy and Dutt. Professor Dutt has recently made researches on Halogenation useful in producing asphyxiating gas and the American Government have given him a grant, but our Government have no cognizance of it. If Government were to afford proper facilities to Indians and show right appreciation of their powers they would not fail to find the requisite intelligence, imagination and daring existing in Indians. But of what use are all such qualities to 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'?

Comments on the Government attitude towards the discussion by Government officials of political issues with Mr. Curtis of the *Round Table.*
Message (5), 5th May.

31. "There can be no harm if officials study political problems, observe the political life around them and privately discuss them with the leaders of thought. That, therefore, officials were distinctly and clearly permitted, if not encouraged, to discuss political issues with Mr. Curtis can in no manner be reprehensible. But at the same time one likes to ask whether Government would have maintained a similar wise attitude, if, instead of the Round Table Curtis, they had to deal with a Square Table Bannerjee, Motilal Ghose or Kelkar. We hear that in some cases Indian officials are not only not allowed to discuss politics with such leaders, but also with their own brothers or uncles or even parents! Why, in some few cases officials are reported to have had to definitely make it understood to their superiors that, when they go to their 'political' brother's house for marriage or any other ceremony, they would not discuss politics at all there!"

Comments on a reported speech of Mr. Wood, Principal, Roorkee College, to his students.
Young India (10), 2nd May.

32. "Regard for space forbids us from enlarging and improving upon Mr. Wood's perfect candidness. If this is the sort of 'gentlemanliness' which he would inculcate on his students, Government would be well advised in sending Mr. Wood right about. Mr. Wood has taken the most cowardly advantage of his position as principal to insult the students, and perhaps he wishes his students to imbibe their ideas of a 'gentleman' from such conduct of their principal. The remarks constitute a downright libel on Indian home-life and also show that Mr. Wood is thoroughly unfit to be the head of an institution which some day aspires to become an Imperial one. We shall content ourselves for the present by remarking that the type of Indian life he has known is the creation of the Government by his own countrymen in this country."

Indian Social Reformer (2), 6th May.

33. "We think that Principal Wood, if he said what is attributed to him, is utterly unfit to be the head of an Indian College; but that does not prevent us from recognising that he is an honest man who has the courage of his convictions. There are other Principals whose opinion of Indians is scarcely different from his, but who act on the maxim that discretion is the better part of valour, and even manage to acquire the reputation of being sympathetic friends of Indians. The truth is that the Englishman in Indian is in a false position: the more sensitive and intellectual he is, the more keenly does he feel it. If he goes to France or Japan or even China, he can give free scope to his innate desire to see the best side of the people among whom he sojourns. In India, however, he can do so only at the peril of disquieting reflections regarding his privileged position which is not always easily related to his merits or deserts. The better type of Englishman develops out of this feeling, increased humility of judgment, great considerateness towards his Indian fellow-subjects, and a keen appreciation of his duty and his obligations to India. The inferior type seeks to salve its conscience by discovering or inventing moral obliquities in Indian human nature. Not until the Englishman is put upon an absolutely equal footing with the Indian in the administration of the country, and made to depend solely on his personal merits for making his way in it, will this false and demoralising position, cease to exist. Such a change is imperative in the interest of both races.

Appeal to His Excellency Lord Willingdon to devote the remainder of his term of office to the solution of questions affecting the welfare of the public.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 30th Apl.

34. Referring to the approaching end of Lord Willingdon's tenure of office as Governor of Bombay, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* declares that the people of the Presidency strongly hope that His Excellency, exercising the courage displayed by His Majesty's Government as well as the Indian Government, may now take in hand the solution of the problems affecting the advancement of the people within his charge. It remarks that His Excellency is a just and sympathetic Governor, but that he has not thus far been able to achieve the substantial results expected from a Liberal statesman like him on account of his unfortunately tenacious adherence to the principle of not participating in any controversial matter during the continuance of the war. It adds that his interpretation of this principle is quite different from that put upon it by the above-mentioned Governments. The paper does not regard the demands that are being made at present by the people of this Presidency for the expansion of education and the extension of local self-government as controversial matters inasmuch as the public are unanimous in making them, the opposition to them only proceeding from a particular set of officials. It advises His Excellency not to heed this opposition and relegate these matters to the category of controversial questions, particularly when His Majesty's Government have, in spite of their present serious preoccupations arising from the war, thought fit to take the necessary measures with regard to them. According to the paper the people cherish a strong hope that His Excellency Lord Willingdon will not be slow, during the remainder of his term of office, to try and make his governorship as memorable as those of Mount Stuart Elphinstone and Lord Reay.

C. I. D. activities against the Home Rule movement at Delhi.

Mahrátta (4), 6th May.

***35.** The *Mahrátta* quotes the communication addressed by Bar.-at-Law to the *Bombay Chronicle* and published in the issue of that paper dated the 3rd May 1917, complaining of the activities of the Criminal Investigation Department at Delhi against the Home Rule movement, and remarks :—" This in the capital of the country! The Home Rule movement is a legitimate movement, declared to be so by judicial authorities in more than one province and by more than one Government in the land. It is too late in the day to question its legality and constitutionality now. His Excellency the Viceroy is no lover of Home Rulers. We know it. Still we cannot believe that the abovementioned Criminal Investigation Department attentions can have or hope to have his approval. We cannot, of course, be sure. The authorities in Delhi seem to be seriously determined to frighten away the Home Rule propaganda out of their jurisdiction. But this is scarcely a reasonable policy. It is surprising that the Christian Governments of Indian territories should neglect the moral of the story of the Forbidden Fruit. The Home Rule ideal has come to stay—and to be achieved before long. There is a proverb in Marathi which literally translated runs: 'Government has long hands,' meaning that Government has ample resources to track out and punish persons who have incurred its displeasure. Are not the hands of the Moral Governor of the Universe longer? In His mysterious ways He reaches the Light Purifying to every home and individual that has been condemned to darkness by any human 'authority'. The waywardness of 'authorities' only helps to engender and foster bitterness, which is the breeding ground of revolutionary tendencies."

Comments on the treatment alleged to have been accorded by the C. I. D. to Mr. B. C. Pal during his return journey from Bombay to Calcutta.

Mahrátta (4), 6th May.

*36. The *Mahrátta* quotes the communication addressed by Mr. B. C. Pal to the press complaining of the way in which he was treated by the C. I. D. in his return journey from Bombay to Calcutta, and remarks:—"This is Old Russia. Babu Bepin Pal is not a common 'native'. He is one of the political instructors of India and has a following in many circles. High-strung patriotism will think bitter thoughts on a milder provocation. If the C. I. D. cannot do its appointed task in a less offensive manner it ought to be abolished. Government will not gain by the mean and insulting treatment which its servants mete out to our revered spokesmen. *Such insults make revolutionaries.* It would almost seem that in some official quarters peaceful India is not loved at all! 'Peace and good will between the people and Government' is 'a fad' in which some officials seem to have no faith. Forced subscriptions to war loan, the persecution of the patriots of Delhi added to the above story of Babu Bepin Pal give a fair idea of the policy (or the want of policy?) that rules in this country. *There is good at the core of every evil.* The *fanatical* (that is the only appropriate description) persecution of legitimate activities and law-abiding well-wishers of the Empire, which is now gleefully indulged in by not a few officials high and low, will, our Faith in Good assures us, bring us Better Days. God bless our persecutors!"

Comments on the Government Press Note regarding the Emigration Conference to be held in London.

Praja Bandhu (24), 29th Apl., Eng. cols.

37. Referring to the Government Press Note on the subject of the Emigration Conference to be held in London, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"We are no doubt glad that India will be represented at the above Conference. At the same time it must be said that the character of the representation is not such as can meet with the approval of the Indian public. A mere glance at the above list will suffice to show this. The representatives, with the solitary exception of Sir S. P. Sinha, are all English officials, and as such they are not the best fitted to view the question from the Indian standpoint. As for Sir S. P. Sinha it is no doubt true that he is one of us, but he has so far not shown any special interest in or study of the question. One can well understand the desire of the authorities to appoint Government officers as representatives of the India Office, but there is another and an important aspect of the question that has evidently escaped their notice. In order that the representation may be just and adequate it is necessary that a couple of non-official gentlemen who have studied closely this problem of emigration in its different aspects, *e. g.*, Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Polak or Mr. Andrews, should be appointed as representatives at the Conference, for none can put the Indian case there as lucidly and independently as the three gentlemen named above."

Criticism of the Government policy with regard to the period of land revenue settlements.

Hindusthán (16), 30th Apl.

38. The *Hindusthán* remarks that the official class in India holds the belief that the interests of Government are separate from those of the people and that both can thrive independently of each other. It maintains that such a belief on the part of Government is erroneous and tends to operate detrimentally in the matter of the advancement of the people. By way of illustration the paper refers to the alleged effects of the present system of land revenue settlements followed by Government in British India which, while filling the Government treasury, retards the progress of the people. It is of opinion that the system of revising the land revenue assessment every ten years in Sind is harmful to the interests of the people as well as Government. It deeply regrets the fact that Government do not pay heed to the demands made by the people of various provinces to increase the period of land revenue settlements obtaining in them. The paper wishes that Government may soon give up their present narrow policy in this connection. It refers to resolution brought by the elected members of the Punjab Legislative Council, urging that the present period of land revenue settlements in that province may be increased to 30 years, which was lost as a result of the President giving his casting vote against it, and it scoffs at the plea alleged to be have been advanced by

Government that they did not wish to commit themselves to any fixed policy in this matter. The paper then proceeds to observe:—Do Government know how much harm accrues to the people from the absence of any such fixed policy and how deep is the discontent that has been caused among them as a result of it? If agriculture has not yet developed satisfactorily in India, is that not due mainly to these short-period settlements? And yet the fact remains that Government do not open their eyes and go on following their *laissez faire* policy. This policy, whether it be due to indolence or indifference or interested motives, should be at once set aside and the principle that the interests of Government and the people are identical should not only be recognised in theory but also be given effect to in practice.

Higher appointments in the Civil Medical Service should not be given to I. M. S. men.

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 4th May.

39. In 1908 Lord Morley clearly laid it down that higher appointments in the Civil Medical Department should no longer be the monopoly of I. M. S. officers. The Government of India found out a loophole to evade this order and it has since remained a dead letter. It was earnestly hoped that the Public Services Commission would at least endorse Lord Morley's decision if it made no other useful recommendations. The Commission's report in this respect, however, is wholly disappointing. The following figures for 1910 will be found interesting. Out of 464 higher appointments in the Medical Department 354 were held by I. M. S. officers. Of the remaining 110 which could be filled up in India 55 were bestowed on Military Assistant Surgeons who are necessarily not Indians. Ten posts were vacant and ten more were occupied by uncovenanted officers. This left only 35 posts to which Indians could aspire! The Government of India, however, sees nothing unfair in this arrangement. In our opinion I. M.S. officers should be entirely excluded from Civil appointments. If that is not possible their number should be strictly circumscribed. Government, however, appear unwilling to submit to any limitations to their discretionary powers. We strongly protest against this injustice and urge Government to arrive at an equitable solution of this question when the Commission's report comes under their consideration.

Recommendation that Mirza Abbas Ali Baig should be appointed member of the Bombay Executive Council in succession to the Honourable Mr. Chaubal.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 29th Apl.

40. Speculating as to who would be appointed to succeed the Honourable Mr. Chaubal who will shortly retire from his position of Indian member of the Bombay Executive Council, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses its strong belief that the post, when it becomes vacant, will very likely go to a Muhammadan. It remarks that it should be borne in mind that this post, which is supposed to raise a citizen to the highest pinnacle of his public career, should not be treated as one that could be utilised for rewarding services done to Government, but that appointments to it should be so made that not only the interests of the public may be safe-guarded but it might enable the authorities to ascertain how far the Indians are fit for Self-government. The paper then goes on to refer to Mirza Abbas Ali Baig's career in his different official capacities and, dwelling upon his success as a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, suggests that Lord Willingdon should not fail to avail himself of the services of a Muhammadan officer of ripe experience like Mr. Baig, who is shortly going to return to India.

Necessity of instituting a Civil Court for the City of Bombay.

Message (5), 2nd May.

41. "The Judicial Department of the Government is the proverbial slow tortoise which jaunts along to win surely though slowly. In October last year, a circular letter went forth to the High Court and other bodies inviting their opinion as to whether it was possible to improve and extend the existing Small Causes Court or whether it was necessary to institute a full fledged City Civil Court in order to satisfy the requirements of the litigant public in the city. From all that we have come to know of the working of the Small Causes Court, it is our deliberate conviction that the time has come for reforming the Small Causes Court and instituting a City Civil Court, in order to meet the needs of the city.......... The public of the city has no faith in the virtue or wisdom of the Small Causes Court. This may be due to the manner in which the personnel is selected, and if in future the personnel is selected solely on higher considerations of merit, efficiency, legal acumen and sympathy, perhaps things may improve. But so long as hum an nature is what it is, it is impossible to expect much this way. We would r ather suggest the total abolition of the Small Causes Court, which, however convenient from the administrative point of view, is generally not conducive to the proper administration of justice, and the substitution of regularly constituted Civil Courts, with jurisdiction extending up to Rs. 5,000......... In this connection, we would also urge the imperative necessity for putting an end to the system of law touts and the interposition of attorneys between the litigant public and counsel......... As regards the question, now before Government, we emphatically regard the establishment of a City Civil Court as a *sine qua non* to the proper administration and cheapening of justice. Possibly, the consideration of initial cost may weigh to some extent against the establishment of the Civil Court. Even were it necessary, Government should have no hesitation in incurring it, if only to restore the confidence of the public in our courts. As it is, their faith has been almost completely shaken and many an honest litigant has come to believe that centres of justice have become prostituted by the rascality of a race of unscrupulous men to whom we have referred above."

Recent cotton fires at Colaba (Bombay.)
Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 3rd May.

42. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the recent epidemic of cotton fires at Colába and attributes it partly to the absence of adequate measures, such as are being taken in other civilised countries, to prevent spontaneous combustion of cotton. It believes that Government would do well to get the services of an expert from America at the expense of the cotton merchants to advise them as to the steps that should be taken to prevent cotton fires and to point out to them the defects in their present methods of storing cotton. The paper also refers to the belief entertained in some quarters as to the probability of these fires being due to the machinations of some foreign com petitors of the Indian textile industry. It hopes that the Criminal Inve stigation Department of Bombay will not make the least delay in investigating this phase of the question. It also suggests that the report which this Department is stated to have made to Government, in connection with similar tricks supposed to have been played by German agents in previous years with the cotton stored at Colaba may be published, if its publi cation can now be regarded as harmless, so that it might enable the owners of cotton to take the necessary precautionary measures.

Thefts in Lárknáa (Sin[illegible]).
Sind Patrika (44), 21st Apl., Eng. cols.

43. "A number of petty thefts are said to have occurred this week in the town proper and some of them in broad daylight......... We do hope that the Police authorities are not uncons cious of the fact that the security of property has been much disturbed during the past few days and that vi gorous measures are urgently called for to nip the mischief in the bud. The m ischief seems to be due to local *badmashes*, Hindus or Muhammadans, who have of late escaped the attention they deserve at the hands of the Police......... Inadequacy of the Police force is another complaint. The Police force is said to be one-third of the sanctioned number, *i.e.*, 40 instead of 60. It is, therefore, expedient that the deficiency be made up from the Head Quarter Police, as a temporary measure, till things assume their normal aspect.".

EDUCATION.

Comments on the statement of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab about the willingness of the Punjab Government to make primary education free and compulsory in selected areas.
Hindusthán (16), 1st May.

44. The *Hindusthán* expresses great satisfaction at the statement made by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in the Legislative Council of that province, declaring that his Government was re ady to make primary education free and compulsory w ithin selected local areas provided that the local bod ies were willing to make the necessary arrangements in that connection. The paper regards this as a bold stroke of statesmanship and believes that it will open a new page in the history of education in India. It also believes that the example set by the Punjab Government in this

matter will stimulate other Provincial Governments and will also make the people of other provinces more hopeful. The paper hopes that the Punjab Government will fulfil their promise in its entirety and will undertake the necessary legislation without delay. It observes that progress in this direction in the whole of India will depend upon the success of the experiment in the Punjab and, therefore, opines that the funds at the disposal of the local bodies in the Punjab, if insufficient for the purpose of making primary education free, should be supplemented by help from private individuals. It trusts that the people of the Punjab will not allow the cause of free and compulsory education to be marred by failing to provide the necessary funds for it.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the proposed appointment of Rao Bahadur Artal as President of the Belgaum District Local Board.
Sandesh (100), 5th May.

45. We understand Government intend appointing Rao Bahadur Artal President of the Belgaum District Local Board. The appointment is rightly viewed with great disfavour by the people of the Belgaum District. Rao Bahadur Artal's antecedents are such as would justify this disfavour. People demand a non-official President because he is better able to command their confidence. Rao Bahadur Artal is not such a man. [In a long letter to the paper a correspondent writes :—Rao Bahadur Artal is now too old and too weak to do any useful work and is besides a man of ordinary intelligence. If Government desire to show their appreciation for his past services there are many honorary posts in their gift ; he might be appointed an Honorary Magistrate. If no other suitable person is available Government might revert to the old practice and appoint the Collector to be President of the Local Board.]

Comments on the Government Resolution refusing to hand over the pumping station to the Poona Municipality.
Message (5), 29th Apl.

46. "Yesterday we published an account of the passing of the resolution of the Poona Municipality protesting against the use of insulting language by the Divisional Commissioner and the refusal of Government to hand over to that body the charge of the Pumping Station and the Settling Tank which Works were temporarily taken over under their charge by the Government. The Collector had consulted Mr. Mandy on this matter and the latter gentleman had given the view that it would be disastrous for the Municipality to take charge of the Works, for that they required the supervision of the two experts—Messrs. Hilton and Boyer—who were unwilling to serve the Municipality. Now who is this Boyer, who is thought to be so indispensable? We shall not say to what class of super-engineers Messrs. Boyer and Mandy belong, but we know something of their past. Mr. Boyer served the Municipality on Rs. 100 per mensem and his services were dispensed with as he could not satisfy his masters. And as to Mr. Mandy, the Poona Drainage works fittingly stand as an underground monument to his reputation of ill odours. Mr. Mandy, being a super-engineer, thought himself above the elementary law, of mechanics, but the dirty sewage water in Poona, being inappreciative of the super-engineer's transcendental views, refused to give up its properties and plunged the Poonaites in distress by reason of its cursed tendency to flow downwards and not jump upwards. Again it was Mr. Mandy who spoiled a part of Poona by draining the sewage water in the Nakzari stream. Further, it was under Mr. Mandy that the Settling Tank was constructed and that some walls gave way before the work was finished. Such *was* the super-engineer who is consulted by the Government as an expert and who gives a certificate to Mr. Boyer, whose services were dispensed with by the Municipality for something like incompetence, stating in the certificate that he is an expert in his business, so much so that he is irreplaceable and indispensable. If the Government want to foist a Municipal Commissioner on Poona, they should do it with a better show of reason than their attitude in this matter reveals. Again, even a Divisional Commissioner is not, or should not, be above the common decencies of life. Surely, the Poona Municipality, presided over by Mr. H. N. Apte and comprising men like the Honourable

Mr. Paranjpye, the Honourable Mr. Kamat, Professor Limaye, Professor Bhagwat, Dr. Gokhale and others, does not deserve practically to be styled "foolish" by even a Commissioner."

Kesari (92), 1st May.

47. The policy indicated by Government in this correspondence is of such an insolent nature that people should fight to the end and get it changed, or if that is impossible they should hand over the municipality to Government and admit that they are unfit for local self-government. There is no third alternative that would be consistent with self-respect. The Poona Municipality has now to declare that it is better to be widowed than to live as an unhappy wife. The municipality has many eminent personages serving in it, and if the Bombay Government honestly hold that all these men combined cannot manage a settling-tank they should put a stop to the farce of local self-government, abolish the municipality and take its mangement in their own hands or entrust it to some other body—if not, they should suitably punish the shameless official who refused the plain demand of the municipality and who, in addition, dubbed it 'foolish'. Government have an excellent opportunity to show their moral courage and prove the honesty of their views, and we advise them not to lose it. The Poona Municipality has addressed a letter to Government in this connection and we await their reply to it. We shall deal with it later on when the reply is received.

Comments on the attitude taken up by Mr. Hudson, Collector of Surat, in the matter of the appointment of a non-official president for the Surat District Board.

Hindusthán (16), 3rd May.

48. Referring to the meeting of the District Board of Surat which was recently held to consider whether the Board was in favour of having a non-official president, the *Hindusthán* makes adverse comments upon the observations made by Mr. Hudson who presided at the meeting to the effect that if the Board decided to have a non-official president Government would appoint a person of the Board's choice and that he would in that case resign but that the members should remember that the president of a District Board has to look after many things. The paper remarks:—These words of Mr. Hudson were quite unseasonable. "Enlightened self-interest" seems to underlie them. Mr. Hudson's attitude as president was not quite desirable on that occasion. Where lay the reason for his specially reminding the meeting about the serious nature of the duties of the president of a District Board? This reminder on his part points to his unwillingness to resign his present position as president of the District Board. If that was the case and if he intended to influence the opinion of the Board from considerations of self-interest, can Government be said to have secured the unbiassed opinion of the District Board? Has Mr. Hudson done right in securing the present opinion of the Board by influencing on the spot the opinion of its less courageous members by means of the words he addressed to them? Government wanted the opinion of the Board, not that of Mr. Hudson. Why did not Mr. Hudson hold his tongue under those circumstances? [The paper then goes on to suggest that the unwillingness on the part of officials generally to give up, even to some extent, their arbitrary powers is responsible for the carrying on of the agitation for *Swarajya* and Home Rule. It also considers the action of those who supported the resolution in favour of continuing the present official president to be the result of their weakness and timidity.]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 11th May 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 19 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 12th May 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

- Alleged analogy between the position of Poland under Russian domination and that of India 5
- Alleged urgent need of drastic measures to rid Bombay and other places of the Pathan peril . . . . 13 & 14
- Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's views about India's fitness for self-government 4
- Comments on the Madras Government's circular regarding keeping students in schools and colleges aloof from political propaganda . 10 & 11
- Comments on the order passed against Mr. M. K. Gandhi by the District Magistrate of Champaran, Behar 9
- Complaint about inconvenience caused to *pardahnashin* Muhammadan ladies by the regulation requiring photographs to be attached to applications for passports 15
- Complaint that certain remarks in a Gujarati book entitled "Biography of Sadguru Gopaldas Maharaj" are calculated to excite the feelings of Muhammadans 16
- Contrast between the educational policies of the English and Indian Governments 6
- India's future position in the Empire . . . . 1 & 2
- Native States and the Indian Government 7
- Publication of an extract from "Swami Vivekanand, Part II", dwelling upon the wretched plight of Indians 8
- The responsibility of Parliament for the good Government of India has become a mere sham 3
- What India has to learn from Japan 12

Police:

- Comments on alleged C. I. D. activities against the Home Rule movement at Delhi 35
- Comments on Mr. B. C. Pal's letter to the Press complaining about the way he was shadowed by the C. I. D. during his journey from Shikárpur to Calcutta 36
- The C. I. D. and the political activities of the people . . . . 33 & 34

Provincial Conference: Comments on the Honourable Mr. Srinivas Sastri's speech at the Bombay — at Násik 37

Revenue matters: Need of extending the period of revenue settlements especially in Sind 38

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War:

A committee representative of Indian tanning interests should associate with the Hide Examiner 31
Adverse comments on a speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir in England . . . . 18 & 19
Alleged rumours in Bombay about the sinking of steamers by the enemy 32
Alleged scandalous proceedings of the Exemption Tribunals under the Defence Force Act 26
Appreciation of His Majesty the King's reference to India's services in the reply to the address of loyalty presented by the Members of the Imperial — Conference 24
Are the so-called representatives of India on the Imperial — Conference her real representatives ? 17
Comments on Sir James Meston's speech at the Empire Press Association's banquet 21
Comments on Sir James Meston's speech on the occasion of receiving the Freedom of the City of London 20
Complaint about official pressure in connection with the — Loan. . 28 & 29
Europeans who are British subjects by naturalisation or birth in India should not be allowed to escape the provisions of the Indian Defence Force Act 27
How the — Loan can be made popular in the districts 30
India and the deliberations of the Imperial — Conference . . . 22 & 23
The applications made to the Exemption Tribunals show that the Anglo-Indians want to shirk their responsibilities in connection with military service 25

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Bombay Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill drafted by the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel 39

RAILWAYS—

Grievances of pilgrims travelling by rail 41
Grievances of third class railway passengers will not be redressed so long as there is no Home Rule 40

MUNICIPALITIES—

Hyderabad: Condemnation of the administration of the — (Sind) Municipal Committee of Management 44
Lárkána: Protest against alleged proposal to levy a house-tax at — (Sind) 43
Surat: Government should give no weight to the opinion expressed by the — District Local Board in favour of continuing the existing system of official presidents 42

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

India's future position in the Empire.

Kesari (92), 8th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 6th and 8th May; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 5th May.

1. Referring to the resolution passed at the Imperial War Conference regarding the relations of the different units of the British Empire, the *Kesari* says:—The Colonies have perfected their *Swarájya* and rendered it permanent, but no mention of India is made in connection with *Swarájya.* Only a fine phrase has been flung at the face of India. There is to be 'full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth and of India as a prominent portion thereof'. 'Of what worth is that importance which does not include the rights of *Swarájya?*'—What wonder is there if the people of India give vent to such an ejaculation? The importance of India is there; India does not deny it and even England cannot deny it after the war. But this importance will be only for the benefit of England! India is important because it has an army trained at the cost of India and available at any time. India is important because it produces wheat and cotton for the people of England. India is important because gold and other valuable minerals can be had in plenty in this country. India is important because it can consume crores of rupees worth of English manufactured articles. The importance of India can be described in various such ways. At the most English people may find the description sweet to their ears; what is there to charm us in it? [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—We are glad to note that the principle of reciprocity has been accepted by the Imperial Conference, but it would be foolish to give any opinion on it till we know the regulations and conditions of reciprocity. For they may be devised in a way to benefit only one party. The arrangement suggested by the Conference in connection with preferential tariffs will be ruinous to India. Though Indians are not for free trade both Indians and the Government of India were united in holding that the policy of treating on a favoured basis England and the Colonies would be harmful to India, when the question was discussed in the *régime* of Lord Curzon. Circumstances have not changed since then. The resolution about the reconstruction of the British Empire is also unsatisfactory. Indians will not but condemn it if there is to be any difference in the status of the Colonies and India. In a further issue the paper writes:—Indians will be contented if British statesmen accept the ideal of *swarájya* and promise to grant it fully in a stated number of years and immediately introduce some reforms. But the first instalment should not be merely nominal. Otherwise everything may end in confusion in the name of *swarájya.* There is reason to believe that the authorities intend to do something in this direction, otherwise the London *Times* would not have called for a declaration of policy. We should not any more remain content with showy reforms. The first instalment of reforms as suggested by the Moslem League and the Congress should be introduced in its entirety. Referring to the speech of His Majesty the King-Emperor in reply to the address from the Colonial and Indian representatives at the War Conference, the *Indu Prakásh* remarks:—The full extent of India's gain cannot be ascertained just at present. But the end of the indentured labour system, preferential tariffs, freedom to visit the Colonies and lastly the admission of Indian representatives at the Imperial War Conference are no small gains to begin with. This is only the thin end of the wedge. It should now be our first endeavour to secure control over the administration of our country which we do not yet possess. In order to achieve this it was essential that our relations with Great Britain and the Colonies should be clearly defined. This has practically been accomplished now.

Gujaráti (12), 6th May.

2. The War Conference has come to an end and from the various speeches made in the Conference and elsewhere it seems as if the future of India has been planned and laid out. But will India have to accept the resolutions approved of by the so-called representatives of

India? The Colonial representatives know their own interests and can take action to advance them. But we do not think either Sir S. P. Sinha or the Maharaja of Bikanir has made a study of Indian questions. We are, under the circumstances, afraid that the plan of future development settled at the Conference will prove merely a mirage for India. The Conference has given its approval to preferential tariff within the Empire. Let us now consider what influence preferential tariff will have on India. In the first place India will have to sell her raw materials within the Empire and so she will have to be contented with the prices given to her in the absence of outside competition. Similarly she will have to buy what she wants at a dear rate, even though she can get them cheap elsewhere. It is said that South African merchants recently suffered losses by having to supply cocoanut kernels exclusively to England according to the order published by Mr. Bonar Law. Mr. Bonar Law is opposed to the enhancement of import duties in India and so he will use his influence to get them repealed after the war. The import duty of seven and a half per cent. on cotton goods is not on the whole very beneficial to India as she will have to pay about seven crores and a half by way of interest on the war contribution and she will get only a couple of crores by means of the enhanced import duty. An assurance has been given that India will in future be represented at the Imperial Conference. But we have no intimation as to what place India will be given in the Empire. The Maharaja of Bikanir has given out his opinion that India is not yet ripe for self-government. This opinion would look well in the mouth of an Anglo-Indian official. India now wants to know definitely what time England would take to make her fit for *swarajya*. Mr. Chamberlain has given expression to hopeful views about India, but people have lost faith in sweet words and want to know what position they will hold in the Empire. India is to be treated as an important constituent of the Empire by being given representation in the Imperial Conference. But it does not seem as if she has secured any powers in the matter of administering her internal affairs.

The responsibility of Parliament for the good government of India has become a mere sham.

Message (5), 6th and 11th May.

3. "It has been widely noticed in recent years that the responsibility of Parliament for the government of India has become a myth, pure and simple. In our opinion two main causes have operated to bring about the state of things which many people who lived in the early seventies and eighties are mourning to-day. Firstly, there is the tendency of the Government both in England and India to become autocratic and intolerant of outside criticism. Secondly, since the days of Bright and Bradlaugh, the members of Parliament have ceased to take any direct or active interest in Indian affairs, particularly owing to their ignorance of such affairs. Thanks to the powerful bureaucratic influences in the Council of the Secretary of State, Indian affairs are presented to Parliament in the shape of accomplished facts and members have no interest or incentive to go behind them and challenge enquiry and substantiation...... ... During the mail week, Sir Charles Henry, the Liberal Member of the Wellington division of Shropshire, interrogated Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons on the desirabitity of a Parliamentary Commission for the purpose of examining and investigating the policy which might be recommended by the Government of the day in connection with Indian affairs. Apart from the looseness of the interrogatory, the reply of Mr. Bonar Law was as inconsistent as disappointing. While he did not propose, as at present advised, to take the course recommended by Sir Charles, he admitted that careful consideration was being given to the whole question and the enquiry was not complete. The answer, we may take it, was consistent with the policy of a 'Government of supermen in a hurry' as the *Nation* describes the Lloyd George Government. In other words, while these supermen grudged an open enquiry such as a Paliamentary Commission involves, they were conducting an enquiry into Indian affairs through the Napoleons on office stools in a private personal way, because India was a family affair of their own and no one, who had not been admitted into the charmed circle of supermen, had any right to an insight into such a family affair......... The whole thing is shrouded by an atmosphere of complete

unreality and people can hardly be blamed if they have lost faith in the make-believe of Parliamentary responsibility which is flung in their teeth, whenever anything goes wrong with the Indian administration. On the other hand, the bureaucratic influences have made a powerful combine to reduce Parliament into irresponsibility and well may they congratulate themselves on the dexterity with which they have managed it." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"The recent 'utterance' of the Maharaja of Bikanir in England that 'no reasonable man thinks India fit for full self-government' at present only gives a very humiliating and ludicrous position of the Maharaja himself. This is the utterance of an Indian Ruler who is much praised by the very audience he was addressing as one of the most capable and cultured rulers of Indian Native States. Such being the case, we are incessantly forced to ask whether the Maharaja himself is fit to *rule* over a nation. If, as he says, India is not yet fit for full self-government, why should he not leave the management of his own State under the guardianship of the benign Indian bureaucracy to be better administered? His Highness might then contentedly rest in solitude, enjoying a munificent pension till such day when Indians will be fit for self-government. It may be, Mr. Chamberlain might have promised this 'able' Maharaja an 'unique' position of 'subordinate superiority' in the coming reconstruction of the Indian Administration and that is why he so very religiously and accurately dances to the tune of that one 'autocract' of the whole world."]

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's views about India's fitness for self-government.

Gujaráti Punch (14), 6th May.

4. We are disappointed at the opinion expressed by Mr. Chamberlain at the luncheon given to the Colonial and Indian representatives of the War Conference by the Empire Parliamentary Association to the effect that India is not yet ripe for self-government. Such an opinion ill accords with the aspirations of the Indian people and is not calculated to give rise to any hopes or expectations. On the contrary the fact that Mr. Chamberlain holds such views will not in any way please the people in this country. It seems that Mr. Chamberlain is in no way conversant with the real state of affairs in India, nor can he be said to be well informed about the aims and aspirations of the Indian people. According to Mr. Chamberlain's view India is still to be made fit for self-government and that it will get self-government after its fitness is proved. It does not reflect credit upon British rule in India if India is really unfit for self-government. As long as people are not given an effective voice in the Government of the country such utterences are bound to increase their disappointment.

Alleged analogy between the position of Poland under Russian domination and that of India.

Mahrátta (4), 13th May.

*5. "Dr. E. J. Dillon's article in the *Daily Telegraph*, reproduced by the *Times of India*, dealing with Poland contains the following:—'The story of the Russian Poles—the most numerous group of the ancient kingdom—is permeated with the atmosphere of the Tsardom and bristles with ups and downs, promises and deceptions, hopes and disappointments. For well nigh half a century all the well-paid offices of State, the lucrative professions, and the material advantages flowing from grandiose undertakings were reserved for Russians who were not the best specimens of their race. This privileged class, which alone could make its voice heard in the State departments and the Palace, had therefore irresistible motives for baulking every reform conceived by the Emperor, stifling every plaintive cry for redress and thwarting any good measure which chanced to be inscribed on the Statute-book. Poland was the paradise of the ne'er-do-wells whose career had been wrecked in the centre of the Empire, and of the ambitious in quest of a shortcut to power or emolument'......... Readers will notice that India's story of the last fifty years and more may be written in almost identical terms! With Free Russia, Poland is assured Freedom. As has already been reported in the Press, the new Government of Russia has declared that the Poles will be granted the constitution that will be prepared for Poland by a constituent Assembly of Poles elected on the basis of universal suffrage. When is India to be blessed with the Sacred Goal of Humanity?"

Contrast between the educational policies of the English and Indian Governments.
Subodh Patrika (38), 6th May, Eng. cols.

6. "It is the tendency of Provincial Governments in this country, more particularly that of the local Government, to shelve aside educational questions on the score of the all-important excuse of war. Financial stringency is responsible for cutting short the settled programme of primary education. It is responsible for postponing many useful educational undertakings. If the war has taxed the resources of any country most it is of England. But there the policy of the President of the Board of Education is altogether of a different kind from that of the Government of India. Dr. Fisher has raised the school age to fourteen. He has in his budget for 1917-18 provided for agricultural education in village schools. A substantial amount has been voted for improving the salaries of school masters. Altogether the present allotment to education in Great Britain exceeds that of the previous year by nearly four millions of pounds. And this at a time when the war loan has mounted to thousands of millions sterling! What a contrast this presents to the similar performance of the Education Member in the Imperial Council? War or no war, education cannot be permitted to lag behind. Dr. Fisher has with true statesmanship realised this and has, therefore, put the needs of the country in this respect above all others. We hope the Government of India and particularly of Bombay will not fail to understand the lesson which Dr. Fisher's Budget teaches them."

Native States and the Indian Government.
Dnyán Prakásh (33), 8th May.

7. The grievances of people in British India are so numerous that they are unable to devote any time to the discussion of the affairs of the Native States. Government also have banned all such discussion in the Legislative Councils. The condition of the Indian rulers is really more pitiable than that of their subjects. Lord Macaulay said about a hundred years ago that Residents and Political Agents issued orders to Indian rulers under the guise of advice. This state of things continues to this day. The Indian rulers are not yet freed from the trammels of Political Officers. They do not get proper education and as they wield considerable power and are inexperienced they easily fall into errors and thus into the clutches of Political Officers. They then lose their complete independence and the State passes under the dual control of the Chief and the Political Officer. His Highness the Gaekwar once declared that Native States had no desire to interfere in the administration of British India and, therefore, the British Government should also not interfere in the internal administration of Native States. Recently His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir gave expression to similar views. As His Highness is one of those selected to advise the Secretary of State it becomes clear as to what the nature of the coming reforms will be.

Publication of an extract from "Swami Vivekanand, Part II," dwelling upon the wretched plight of Indians.
Kaira Vartamán (61), 9th May.

8. Under the heading "Our sorry plight" the *Kaira Vartamán* publishes the following passage which purports to be an extract from a book entitled "Swámi Vivekánand, Part II":—You have become really miserable and unmanly by continuously thinking such thoughts as "what can a poor wretch like me do?" Almost the whole nation has caught the infection. Once visit the countries across the ocean and see how rapidly the current of life is flowing there. And what is the condition in your country on this side of the world? In spite of having acquired so much knowledge, people here do not understand what to do beyond going from door to door humbly supplicating service like beggars. The very sense of humanity has been lost in you as a result of your enduring kicks and (beating with the) shoes. To tell the truth, you are not now worth even a pie. You have got a beautiful country which is prolific in fruits and flowers, nature in her kind dispensation can make your country bring forth in a measure crores of times larger than other countries and still you have to struggle hard for getting food and clothing How sorrowful has become your plight in this very bounteous land whose civilisation once spread

in other parts of the earth! Do not your eyes still open in spite of your present miserable plight which is worse than that of despised curs? After having suffered so much, you do not yet cease from indulging in tall talk about your Vedás and Vedánta! What has a nation to pride itself upon which cannot make the ordinary provision for its own food and clothing and which has to pass its existence by looking up to others? What a variety of things are produced in India! But foreign nations carry away raw products from your country and turn them into gold at your expense, while you can find no better occupation than carrying loads like donkeys. Those foreign nations manufacture various goods from your raw products by the exercise of their skill and get wealthy while you people close the doors of your intellect and after giving away your treasure to others, cry for food in the agony of starvation.

Comments on the order passed against Mr. M. K. Gandhi by the District Magistrate of Champaran, Behar.

Gujaráti (12), 6th May.

9. Referring to the order issued against Mr. M. K. Gandhi, by the District Magistrate of Champaran, Behar, to leave that District, the *Gujaráti* considers it a piece of good fortune that Mr. Gandhi was not brought into the trap of the Defence of India Act, and was not made short work of under the deportation regulation of 1818, for under those circumstances, believes the paper, the people would not have got any justice in the immediate present. In its opinion the order of the Magistrate has given the public room for indulging in various surmises with respect to the condition of the Indian labourers of the Champaran District. It regards the order as an illustration of abuse of authority. The paper remarks that by his conduct in the present case Mr. Gandhi has taught the public a good object-lesson in the matter of accomplishing their object in a constitutional manner and of securing the cancellation of illegal orders. It then goes on to quote the words of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, stated to have been uttered by him in a session of the Imperial Legislative Council during the *régime* of Lord Elgin, to the effect that what he complained of was that the authorities forgot that Indians were human beings, and proceeds thus :—On the present occasion the authorities forgot that fact; but Mr. Gandhi proved more than a match for them. In the course of a book entitled 'A letter to the people of India', Mr. Curtis asked the Indians to co-operate with the officials. It would be interesting to know what Mr. Lionel Curtis thinks about the Commissioner of Muzafarpur in that connection. Mr. Curtis cannot have a better instance than the present case to learn how much regard the officials in India have for the people and how they oppose public movements set on foot for obtaining justice.

Comments on the Madras Government's circular regarding keeping students in schools and colleges aloof from political propaganda.

Gujaráti (12), 13th May, Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 13th May, Eng. cols.

***10.** "The circular issued by the Government of Madras for weaning students in schools and colleges from the influence of political propaganda involves an attempt to achieve the impossible, at least so far as certain instructions are concerned. Now and then such attempts have been made in the past. But they have failed, as they were bound to do. The renewed attempts are likely to share the same fate, unless of course Government are prepared for widespread agitation in connection with this question.......... The political propaganda which the Madras Government has in contemplation obviously refers to the agitation in connection with the question of self-government for India on the lines adumbrated by the Indian National Congress. That scheme has met with the acceptance of the leaders of Indian political thought and it is useless, if not absurd, to appeal to the parents and guardians of students to ask their wards not to take any interest in this subject of vital importance.......... We fail to understand why students should be prohibited from *attending* political meetings. During the last two years meetings have been held in connection with the war. Are students to be prevented in future from attending such political meetings? If not, on what principle of consistency can they be honestly prevented from attending political meetings like those of the Indian National Congress, the Provincial or District Conferences or meetings in connection with the question of indentured labour? Is it because Government disapprove of the latter, while they approve of the former?......... Prohibitive measures of a sweeping character are bound to fail in the long run......... A forbidden fruit is the very fruit that is ardently sought after and eagerly tasted, especially when the reasons for the prohibition are considered suspicious, unfair or interested. We do not think students in the Western countries are subjected to any such stringent restrictions and it is futile to seek to enforce them strictly in India only.' [*Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—" Frankly, though regretfully, we have to admit our incapacity to appreciate the wisdom of these new regulations. As we do not have the same faith in the capacity of the police that the Government seem to have, we wonder how such a regulation is going to be rigidly enforced. Assuming it is enforced, we fail to see how the end that Government have in view will at all be attained, for the most efficient police cannot prevent students from feeding their minds on unhealthy literature. For our own part we have always felt that an impracticable repression of a movement is its finest advertisement.......... As has been pointed out by several leaders of Indians, the greatest defect of Indian students is that their political ideas are so crude. The real danger lies in this crudeness. This crudeness will not be lessened but perpetuated by an order that seeks to repress all healthy interest in politics.......... The Madras Government would have been better advised, if they had passed an order, less drastic, but more sober and hence more practicable."]

Mahrátta (4), 13th May.

*11. "The Madras Government has set itself seriously to the task of 'improving' and supplementing the disciplinary regulations of the Madras Educational Rules with a view 'to meet the present situation.......... The *unfettered discretion* is the distinctive mark of unfettered bureaucratism. Our sons and daughters are not our wards, but the wards of the benign bureaucracy. They must see, hear, feel, think, speak, act according to *rules* framed for the purpose by the Educational authorities! The Madras circular beats even the Risley circular in some points. The latter asked undergraduates not to take an active part in politics. The Madras circular forbids them even *to attend* political meetings. Then, again, the Risley circular applied directly to 'colleges under public management' alone, while the new circular makes no distinction of management. It is more 'liberal'! We are advancing! *Statu pupillari* is a fine expression. But it is not a stage in which boys and girls can be safely trusted to the unsupplemented 'protection' of the Educational authorities. If we desire that our boys and girls should have active patriotism rooted in their constitution by the time they come out of *Statu pupillari* (and this must be provided for if progress is to be made in National advancement at a satisfactory pace), we must see that they come into touch with great political ideas even in their early years. As the students take in more and more of the knowledge available in schools and colleges, it is imperatively necessary that they should be brought increasingly into touch with active civic and national life. This is the rule in Free countries. In countries which are not free, a similar 'education' of the rising generation is not less but more necessary—*if the achievement of Freedom is the goal.*"

What India has to learn from Japan.

Vivechak (70), Mar.-Apl.

12. In the course of a contribution appearing in the *Vivechak* number for the months of March-April the writer remarks that India should learn from Japan the following facts:—In Japan ninety per cent. of the people are educated whereas in India eighty-five per cent. of the population are illeterate; that there is not a single village in Japan without its school whereas in India four out of five villages are without a school; that education is given in Japan for the good of the people whereas in India it is imparted merely from motives of self-interest; in Japan every individual desires for national advancement whereas in India the feeling of self-interest is uppermost in the minds of the

people: the Japanese children learn to say "my Japan" whereas the Indian children are taught to say "India of the English". [The writer then goes on to remark that as long as education in India is not placed under the control of Indians and is not made free and compulsory to hope for the necessary changes in the abovesaid ideas prevalent among the Indians is chimerical. He then refers to the fact of Japan being governed by a Japanese ruler and of the interests of Japan being identical with those of the Mikado, and proceeds:—] The condition of India is different from this. In the Imperial Parliament there is scarcely any time for the discussion of Indian affairs. The people have very little voice in the Legislative Councils and, therefore, it is not only that Bills on such subjects as village punchayats and compulsory education are lost in these Councils but in some provinces they are not even allowed to be introduced into the Councils. People are prevented from taking part in the National Conferences. Obstacles are placed in the path of those who wish to pay honour to patriots and the movement for *swarajya* is viewed with disfavour. The Indians do not possess arms not only to protect themselves from thieves and defend themselves against tigers and lions but for recapturing a run-away bull. They cannot speak or write with freedom. Indentured Indian labourers suffer hardships, like the slaves of ancient times, under the British flag. In the Colonies the Indians are required to give their thumb impressions, produce certificates from officials, etc. But in spite of this they have to suffer many difficulties. They are not allowed in those Colonies to exercise any municipal franchise, to purchase lands or freely to carry on their trade. Not only that, but the Colonials are loath to travel in the company of Indians in railway trains, steamers and tramcars. Indians are often insulted even in London, and Indian students have to suffer great difficulties while securing admission in English Universities. To liberate herself from all these hardships it is necessary for India to learn preliminary lessons from Japan in the direction of (national) advancement. It is for these reasons alone that the Indians want equal rights with the Colonies under the British flag—*i. e.*, *swarajya*—from the Britons.

Alleged urgent need of drastic measures to rid Bombay and other places of the Pathan peril.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 9th May, Eng. cols.

13. "The Pathan money-lender is a curse and a pest and a constant danger to society. It is unthinkable that in these civilized times, outrages upon women and defenceless citizens should take place in broad daylight in a city like Bombay, and no action should be taken by the authorities in spite of appeals and protests in the press.......... We have a story, given by a reliable correspondent in Thursday's *Chronicle*, of a Pathan who was found dragging away a poor Marathi girl to his lodgings, because she happened to kick a stone near the ruffian's foot. It is alleged that it took not one but four police havildars to persuade this inhuman wretch to let go his victim. We cannot conceive how after such revelations the Government of His Excellency Lord Willingdon can sit quiet and do nothing. We appeal to Government to take instant measures to rid this city and Presidency of a pest which will soon become a terror to all law-abiding and peaceful citizens.......... The Pathan is a moral coward, for the bully is always a coward. A few sharp strokes, instant prosecutions, and deterrent sentences will bring him to his senses. But we are afraid the authorities have been so lax in dealing with this pest that nothing short of a law enabling the police to deport every Pathan money-lender and brothel-house keeper will have the desired effect. Unless Bombay is to become a city of horrors, immediate and urgent action ought to be taken to prevent the recurrence of any more outrages.......... Any member of this fraternity found talking to poor women in the streets should be instantly apprehended and brought to book. Unless the Pathans are made to feel in an unmistakable way that they cannot feed and fatten in our midst, they will continue to remain a pest and a nuisance."

Gujaráti (12), 6th May.

14. Referring to a recent incident in which a Pathan is alleged to have been seen dragging a young Maratha girl in the direction of his dwelling in the vicinity of

Sir J. J. Hospital and with regard to which it is also alleged that it was only after four Police Constables had arrived on the scene that they were able to persuade the Pathan to liberate her, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—If these facts be true they do not redound to the credit of some members of the police force, and it is the duty of the head of the Bombay Police to inquire into the matter and to dismiss such cowardly Constables and thereby save the pay which they are needlessly drawing. Why should those who are not able to defend the person and property of others on public thoroughfares be retained in the police force? Another phase of the incident also requires being pondered over. It is stated that a crowd of people had collected on the spot. Was there not a single manly person among the whole crowd who could defend the girl and bring the Pathan to his senses? Is it not the duty of the State to give the people such training as would enable them boldly to come to the rescue of the weak on occasions like the one mentioned above? If the State comes forward to fight for the protection of weak nations, is it not necessary to create similar feelings among the subjects residing within the State itself? Is it not also necessary to repatriate these Pathans who behave in such a lawless manner?

Complaint about the inconvenience caused to *pardahnashin* Muhammadan ladies by the regulation requiring photographs to be attached to applications for passports.

Muslim Herald (118), 11th May.

15. The *Muslim Herald* draws the attention of Government to the rules governing the issue of passports which require the production of photos of *pardahnashin* Moslem ladies. It states that the necessity of getting their women-folk photographed before they proceed on a voyage has compelled many Musalmans to postpone the trip, for, according to Muhammadan ideas, it is considered a sort of disgrace to allow female relatives to be photographed. The paper admits that reasons of state demand that some such rule should be put into force; at the same time it assures Government that all apprehensions of danger or trouble arising from such a quarter as this are unfounded. It suggests the substitution of fingerprints in place of the photographs, and relates how Mr. S. M. Edwardes, late Commissioner of Police, Bombay, had made up his mind to move Government in the matter, but that he was prevented from doing it owing to illness and other causes. It concludes by hoping that Government will pay attention to this matter and remove the difficulty of the Muhammadans.

Complaint that certain remarks in a Gujarati book entitled "Biography of Sadguru Shri Gopaldas Maharaj" are calculated to excite the feelings of Muhammadans.

Political Bhomiyo (65), 11th May.

16. The *Political Bhomiyo* publishes a letter from a Moslem correspondent wherein the writer refers to a Gujarati book entitled "Biography of Sadguru Shri Gopaldas Maháráj", written by a Yati (Jain priest) of Cambay named Mukundáshramji, in which the author is stated to have represented that the Muhammadan emperors, after the establishment of their rule in India, held a sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, and asked the Hindus to choose between Islam and death, that the Hindus were so devoted to their religion that they chose death, but that only low class and thick witted Hindus who had no valour in them and who were ignorant of their religion espoused the Moslem faith. The correspondent remarks that the author does not understand that by such malicious and partisan writings he is exciting the minds of 40 crores of Muhammadans against himself. He asks the Yati how it is that he and the Hindu temples in Cambay, a Moslem state, are safe even up to day if it was the case that Muhammadan kings ruled India with the sword. He further remarks that there was no necessity for the Moslem kings to use the sword when their Hindu subjects had surrendered themselves to them and were living under their protection. The correspondent believes that the author has made such a mess in his book either as a result of want of college education or knowledge of history on his part or on account of his having been actuated by interested motives.

Are the so-called representatives of India on the Imperial War Conference her real representatives?
Indu Prakásh (35), 10th May, Eng. cols.

17. "**The question naturally occurs what our so-called representatives—whatever might have been their private sentiments—did for India, now that they were called forth to do it? The Maharaja of Bikánir was a Maharaja and that means a lot. He could not speak boldly. Moreover he had neither business nor right to speak for the Indian people. It was only left for him to sing the burthen of loyalty and goodwill and this he did profusely.** What should we write about Sir James Meston?......... Poor man: what could he say about India? Was he to tell the English people that the Indians were now tired of the ill-starred bureaucracy? How could he? Was he not the representative of that very system? So the only member who ought to have done his best in giving expression to the opinions and sentiments of India was Sir S. P. Sinha. India *is* loyal. No Chirols or Curtises could deny that. Her sacrifices will plead her loyalty before the English people. The thing which they ought to have known was the political psychology of India of the present day and this Sir S. P. Sinha never told them. With one exception, he too followed the lead of the Maharaja. He had a unique opportunity.......... His speeches were eagerly heard and lustily cheered. General Smuts who had no better name for Indians in South Africa than coolies did not think it humiliationg to sit with him in the Conference. The angle of vision was changed, but the late president of Indian National Congress kept silent."

Adverse comments on a speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir in England.
Message (5), 8th May.

18. "We have never felt confidence in the competence of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir to voice Indian aspirations, feelings and sentiments in respect of the war and the post-war readjustments. If anyone had ever recognized him as the representative of the people of India he could not have made a greater blunder. The pronouncement of His Highness the Maharaja at the Guildhall is not therefore disappointing to us. The pity of it is that the Maharaja, whom we have in the past regarded as an enlightened ruler above the petty-fogging limitations of his class, has not been able to discard the traditions of environment.......... The comments of the British Press, which in Reuter's opinion consist of the *Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, are even more illuminating than the speeches themselves at the historic scene at Guildhall. The *Times* has gone into hysterics over 'the loyalty, generosity and insight' of the Maharaja of Bikanir's speech, because he is not a political agitator and he is so overcome with considerateness for the permanent officials of the India Office as to publicly compliment them by repeating their views. As the *Times* goes on developing its theme, one comes to see where the key to this enthusiastic outburst over the Maharaja's speech lies. It urges that an *authoritative declaration on the subject of India's future should be made now and not as a reply to agitation after the War*. We have a presentiment that this is an inspired statement, reflecting the opinion of the India Office and we may look forward to such a declaration before long. This declaration is not likely to be any more statesmanlike than many of those in the past, unless it can be taken for granted that British statesmen will disdain to stoop to the level of the *Times* and its guides like Lords Curzon, Milner and Sydenham."

Subodh Patrika (38), 6th May, Eng. cols.

19. "Of the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference His Highness of Bikánir is the most distinguished by reason of his position. He has been also the most articulate at public functions—at any rate Reuter makes him so. On more than one of those occasions His Highness made Indian affairs in general the subject of his remarks; and if he had confined himself to the sphere of Native States everyone would have to recognize that it was a subject in which he was directly interested and on which he had some authority to speak. But when His Highness roams into the domain of Indian politics in general and travels out of his own peculiar province he cannot blame people if they remind him that he is going astray into unaccustomed regions which may have pitfalls for him. The speech made by

His Highness at the lunch given by the Empire Parliamentary Association is a case in point.... ... His Highness remarked: 'No reasonable person would contend that India was at present ripe for full self-government but many thought there was room for further political reforms'. As we all knew this is the creed of those among the official class who call themselves progressive in these epoch-making times of Irish Home Rule and Russian manhood suffrage......... Responsible Indian publicists, like the late Mr. Gokhale and others, who formulated the demand for self-government have known perfectly well where and to what extent the administrative shoe was pinching, and what they were asking for; but the Maharaja has clearly had no experience whatsoever of it, and was talking of what he did not know. Apparently the temptation of touching a subject of such general interest as 'Indian Reforms' in a distinguished assemblage was too much for him."

Comments on Sir James Meston's speech on the occasion of receiving the Freedom of the City of London.
Gujarâti (12), 13th May, Eng. cols.

***20.** Commenting upon Sir James Meston's speech on the occasion of receiving the Freedom of the City of London, the *Gujarâti* writes:—"Sir James Meston spoke in the vein of the overcautious, timid and suspicious bureaucrat who is anxious to discover difficulties in the path of progress rather than to create facilities and opportunities for taking a forward step in advance in a spirit of trust, courage and generosity.......... The theory of the slow process of regeneration has been carried to disastrous lengths in this country so as to stop further progress in some directions or prevent even the initiation of progressive measures in others. All kinds of pleas have been urged, the validity of which the foremost leaders of the people of India have never recognised. The report of the Public Services Commission presided over by Lord Islington is the latest instance in point and no amount of special pleading on the part of the interested advocates of vested interests will convince the Indian public of the wisdom and sincerity of those who are responsible for the production of that extraordinary and reactionary document. Sir James Meston assigned to the Indian Civil Services and their sister services the *rôle* of interpreters between the Government and the people of India. We do not think this duty has been successfully discharged by the Services. Sir James Meston pointed out that the Services had to do their duty in an inhospitable climate, and often in solitude and anxiety. But those were self-imposed hardships for which the Indian taxpayer has been remunerating the Services on a princely scale......... We wish the Services looked upon the 'trust and affection of the people their highest reward' and endeavoured to win it in a whole-hearted spirit. It is, however, an undeniable fact that the people do not come across many such instances, though no doubt the Services do what they regard as their duty to do with ability and due sense of honour........ Narrowness, timidity and distrust and not breadth of view, depth of insight and boldness of conception have been the traits of bureaucrats everywhere and English bureaucrats in India have not been an exception to this rule, no matter how able and conscientious they have been in the discharge of their official duties and responsibilities."

Comments on Sir James Meston's speech at the Empire Press Association's banquet.
Gujarâti (12), 6th May.

21. At the banquet given to the representatives of the War Conference by the Empire Press Association, Sir James Meston is reported to have said to the effect that India did not render the help she was expected to do because she was not told what she would do and that India was eagerly waiting to place all her resources at the disposal of the Empire and that she merely wanted a lead in the matter. It is surprising that Sir James has not gone to the root of the question. Why did not England ask India to join and why did not the officials awaken the people? Did England keep our officials in the dark? Sir James should have publicly announced the fact in England that help was not asked in a confiding spirit from India because certain officials have created the wrong impression in England that the people of India were desirous of becoming independent. India has unhesitatingly and enthusiastically offered her help, but England availed herself of it in an hesitating and cautious manner. Even now the members of the C. I. D. are shadowing editors of newspapers and popular leaders under the impression that Indians are traitors, and are creating fear in the minds of the authorities that it would be difficult to manage Indians if they are given military training, India will not be able to render all the help she can and England will not be able to fully avail herself of India's help as long as the higher officials continue to be guided by the Criminal Investigation Department and other advisers who are equally distrustful of Indians.

India and the deliberations of the Imperial War Conference.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 7th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 5th May; *Hindusthán* (16), 7th May.

22. Commenting upon the deliberations and conclusions arrived at by the Imperial War Conference, the *Bombay Samachár* writes:—The recommendations made by the Conference with respect to the relations of the various constituent portions of the Empire are of special interest to India. We know that India has not been treated on a footing of complete equality because she has not yet reached a stage when it can be so treated. We cannot, however, fail to express our gratification at the recommendation about allowing India to have a voice in international politics. The establishment of a 'Bureau' for the development of the resources of the Empire will go a great way in ensuring the solidarity and safety of the Empire. The recommendation about reciprocity of treatment within the Empire will, we hope, tend to solve the knotty question of Indian emigration to the Colonies and will confer upon Indians the right of settling in any part of the Empire. [The *Sánj Vartamán* also expresses gratification at the prospect of India being given representation at future Imperial Conferences as recommended by the War Conference and at the prospect of the early solution of the question of the disabilities of Indians in the Colonies. The *Hindusthán* is afraid that the system of preferential tariff recommended by the Conference will prove inimical to the interests of India.]

Sandesh (100), 6th May.

23. The *Sandesh* writes:—The Imperial Government seems to have realised that it is no longer possible to completely disregard Indian public opinion and that it is necessary to enlist the co-operation of some at least of the popular leaders. After dividing thus the popular party against itself Government are able to deal with those who persist in their opposition. They have hit upon the convenient plan of laying hold of a few big persons who are on their side and appointing them as their representatives. There would have been no distrust about the Maharaja of Bikanir or Sir S. P. Sinha if they had been chosen by the Chiefs and people of India. We do not suspect the good faith of the Honourable Mr. Sastri when he tells us that the scheme outlined by the Indian National Congress does not constitute a demand for self-government, but is only a step in that direction. On the contrary there is universal disapprobation when His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir declares that Indian leaders are not yet prepared to demand self-government and that without granting it in the immediate future Government can effect many reforms in the existing administration. We do not of course blame His Highness for this. The system of nominating representatives is to blame. We note with satisfaction that the Conference has not hurriedly disposed of the intricate question of Imperial reconstruction, thus giving us time to clearly formulate our demands. It now rests with Indian leaders to take full advantage of their opportunity. The proposed deputation to England will prove of very great use in acquainting the British public with the Indian point of view. The question of inter-imperial trade after the war does not appear to have been solved satisfactorily. Reciprocity is all very well if it does not injuriously affect Indian interests. Mr. Chamberlain avows his intention of making India a prosperous country. There will be keen discontent among the people if he acts contrary to his protestations, although there will be nothing strange in it if he does. We hold that it is the duty of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikánir and Sir S. P. Sinha to issue, as Indian representatives, an authoritative statement containing a full report of the proceedings of the Conference. This will leave no room for any possible misunderstanding about their attitude towards our aspirations.

Appreciation of His Majesty the King's reference to India's services in the reply to the address of loyalty presented by the Members of the Imperial War Conference.

Bombay Samâchâr (53), 8th May; *Jâm-e-Jamshed* (19), 7th May.

24. The *Bombay Samâchâr* expresses its gratitude to the King-Emperor for the reference made by His Majesty, in the reply to the address of loyalty presented by the members of the Imperial War Conference, to the services rendered by India and hopes that it will stimulate Indians to add to their contributions towards the War Loan and to help the Empire in various other ways and thus to deserve the praise bestowed upon them. The paper looks forward with joyful expectation to the visits of the children of the Royal family to India and suggests that members of the Royal family should be appointed as Viceroys and Governors with a view to strengthening the bonds between England and India, and ensuring cordial relations between India and the Colonies. [The *Jâm-e-Jamshed* also expresses its gratitude for the reference made to India by the King-Emperor and hopes that His Majesty's words will have the effect of making the Colonies sympathetic towards Indians and of inducing them to give them fair treatment.]

The applications made to the Exemption Tribunals show that the Anglo-Indians want to shirk their responsibilities in connection with military service.

Islâmic Mail (3), 6th May.

25. "We have carefully noted the ratio of exemption applications to the numbers eligible for service and we are staggered to find that not even half of our Anglo-Indian friends are willing to fight for their country. It is a curious phenomenon that whilst Indians fret at not being put under conscription, Anglo-Indians who are treated as the favoured sons of lords are doing their utmost to evade conscription.......... In the matter of monetary contribution too, the Anglo-Indian Community has not made any great display. Whether you take up the war funds or war loan the men of the ruling class have done comparatively very little. They have lorded the shows here and there or secured prominence as office bearers but they have made very little contribution in substance. If this is so how can they claim superiority over us."

Alleged scandalous proceedings of the Exemption Tribunals under the Defence Force Act.

Message (5), 11th May.

26. "Day by day, the Defence Force Exemption Tribunals are assuming more of the character of a scandal rather than an earnest endeavour to separate the 'indispensable s', from the general lot. Just the other day, the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces got exemption for eighty officials under him. Similarly, wholesale exemptions have been granted to a number of persons in Burma and elsewhere. Are all these 'indispensable' for the work they are doing? *Cannot* their places be managed by Indians just a step below them in their offices? Is the gulf between the coloured and the 'colourless' so unbridgeable? Then, again, is there *no one* rule for the so many tribunals in dealing with similar questions? To-day we see a tribunal refusing exemption to some teachers saying that the teaching profession is not of 'national importance', the next day we see another tribunal granting exemption to a number of teachers. To-day we see a tribunal styling commerce as a whole to be of national importance; the next day we see another tribunal doing just the contrary. We, in the name of commonsense, may ask what all this means. Is it to squander away India's precious wealth that these 'tribunals' have been brought into existence? Are we to suppose that these tribunals are nothing more than a counterfeit of the so many 'Commissions' that have come and gone in this land?"

Europeans who are British subjects by nationalisation or birth in India should not be allowed to escape the provisions of the Indian Defence Force Act.

Sind Observer (9), 1st May.

27. "It has been brought to our notice that certain Europeans who are British subjects by naturalisation or by birth in this country have not been included in the Defence Force because they do not claim to be European British subjects. Surely such persons do not desire to evade military service simply because of a technicality of the law. They enjoy all the rights and privileges of British subjects, and should shoulder some of the irksome duties attaching to British citizenship and lighten the burden of others who

are roped in under the Defence regulations. The Exemption Tribunal might look into the matter."

Complaint about official pressure in connection with the War Loan.

Praja Bandhu (24), 6th May, Eng. cols.; *Islámic Mail* (3), 6th May.

28. Referring to the complaint published in the *Bombay Chronicle* about official pressure in connection with the War Loan, the *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"The allegations are serious enough in all conscience, and as such they indicate an urgent necessity for a thorough and impartial inquiry at the hands of responsible authorities. The incident also incidentally reveals the risk of entrusting the work of such a delicate nature to subordinates who often possess more zeal than discretion, and who labour under the delusion that their competence or otherwise will be judged according to the extent to which they get the War Loan subscribed by people under their jurisdiction. As has been more than once declared by high officials, Government desire that no pressure should be used in connection with the War Loan subscriptions. In the light of this fact, if any subordinate does so he evidently acts in direct opposition to it, and thus discredits the fair name of Government. The most effective way of preventing this is that the work should be left entirely to a non-official agency especially in the mofussil where people are generally too timid to raise their voice even against petty officials, such as Talatis and the like." [The *Islámic Mail*, on the other hand, writes:—"A zealous officer in a talukdari estate exceeds the bounds of moderation and makes the people contribute a little sum to the war loan. The fact they could pay is borne out by the stern logic of facts—they have paid. Paid What? not a *Chanda*, not a bribe, not a *Nazrana* but invested their money in a very profitable business. After a certain time they will get their money back with a handsome profit. The overzealous officer—we must confess we admire him for his excessive zeal in the cause of the country—is not a Government official or his condemnation by our valiant contemporary would be justifiable. He is a Talukdari officer, and according to the ethics of our Congress friends none but a Government officer deserves condemnation. We only wish our friend had known something of the old days when people were tortured to death by warring chiefs to get money for the compaigns. At least if he had heard of the ways in which Chauth was collected by our Mahratta sepoys in the days of the Peshwas he would not have been so hard upon an overzealous Talukdari officer. We wish Mr. Horniman were living in Germany, and then he would have known what official exactions mean. Our one duty is to win the war, and if people would not contribute to the war loan they may have to pay extra taxes."]

Kesari (92), 8th May.

29. The *Kesari* advises one and all to subscribe to the war loan and says:—The wish for the continuance of the British in India for some days more and the confidence that they will remain in India can be shown by subscribing to the war-loan, and we can also serve our self-interest thereby. We cannot but suggest to the Government officials that they should check the temptation to which they have fallen victims in some few places to tyrannise over the poor rayats about the war loan. We have already referred to such complaints from a few places. Since then we have received complaints from Walwa Taluka (district Sátára) and Chándor Taluka (district Násik). Though His Excellency may like that people should subscribe to the war loan we think that he certainly does not like that people should think that they are forced to the loan. We humbly request him to give a proper warning to the lower officials in this connection.

How the War Loan can be made popular in the districts.

Chandrodaya (30), 7th May.

30. Collections have been begun for the War Loan in the villages and we are given to understand that many villagers have confounded the War Loan with the war fund. Those who raise the War Loan should kindly explain to the people that their money would be returned with interest. We suggest that the names of those who have subscribed to the War Loan together with the amounts paid should be posted in the *chavadi* every week or at least once a month.

A Committee representative of Indian tanning interests should associate with the Hide Examiner.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 6th May.

31. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* refers to certain complaints made by the tanning merchants of Dharawi (near Bombay) against the alleged highhandedness of the Hide Examiner who is said to make an arbitrary use of certain powers vested in him under the new rules issued under the Defence of India Act, and asks Government to appoint a Committee representing Indian tanning interests to co-operate with the Hide Examiner with a view to remove the complaint of the tanning merchants and to facilitate the work of Government.

Alleged rumours in Bombay about the sinking of steamers by the enemy.

Hindusthán (16), 7th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 6th May.

32. The *Hindusthán* declares that for some time past there have been rumours afloat in the city about particular steamers having been sunk. It believes that they are rumours pure and simple and that they must be creations of mischief-mongers. In its opinion it is not wise to give credence to them, and it asks the public not to attach any importance to these unfounded stories. The paper, however, wishes that Government would enlighten the public in this connection and remove all doubts. It maintains that a more extensive circulation of such rumours and a prolonged hold of the doubts created by them over the minds of the people are likely to cause great harm to commerce. It, therefore, hopes that its above suggestion will receive attention from Government. [The *Prajá Mitra and Parsi* refers to the rumour about two steamers with a cargo of piece-goods for Bombay and Karáchi having been sunk by the enemy. The rumour, however, the paper remarks, does not seem to have affected the present dullness of the market in respect of piece-goods.]

The C. I. D. and the political activities of the people.

Kesari (92), 8th May.

33. Elsewhere we publish a brief account of the celebration of the first anniversary day of the Home Rule League at different places in the Karnatak and Maharashtra. In reply to an interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council Government have declared that the police make an inquiry about the members of Home Rule Leagues under Government orders. As Government have confessed that they take such a keen interest (!) in the work of the Home Rule League it becomes one of the duties of the people also to help them in this work. We have given also the names of prominent persons who took part in the celebrations with the view that public information about prominent workers of the Home Rule League in different places would facilitate the work of Government and that it would also save the trouble of the police to that extent. If the police are after us simply because we are engaged in some public service, they are quite welcome. It has become now necessary for the people to understand and for Government to realise that such an experience will, if at all, lessen gradually the people's fear of the police and that public work will not be stopped thereby. It is now necessary for us to hold up to ridicule the superfluous official activity in setting the police after the servants of the public. The best and most beneficial way to do so is to produce so many servants of the public and so many public occasions that Government may find it difficult to supply sufficient police to shadow them. The fear of being included in the black list will continue only so long as the list is a small one. When thousands will enter into the service of the public how long will even Government continue to fill in the list?

Chandrodaya (30), 7th May.

34. So long people used to be afraid of working for the Congress and Conferences. Many used to keep themselves aloof from the movement with the idea that Government would deem them to be seditious and that their names would be included in the black list. Now even Sirdars, pensioners, Rao Sahebs and Rao Bahadurs are not afraid of being Chairmen of the Reception Committees of such institutions or of speaking there as delegates. The black list maintained by Government is no longer such a terror. People do not attach much importance now if the C. I. D. take down notes of their

speeches. What can we do if we receive the title of Seditionist for describing what aches us in the stomach? What reason is there for Government to be discontented if we attain political progress by constitutional means?

Comments on alleged C. I. D. activities against the Home Rule movement at Delhi.
Deshi Mitra (57), 10th May.

35. The *Deshi Mitra* gives a substance of certain letters appearing in the *Bombay Chronicle* about the alleged harassment by the C. I. D. of the Lady Superintendent of a girls' school at Delhi and some people who frequent the Home Rule Library in that city, and adds:—The European lady has thus been subjected to many annoyances. The managers of the school deserved to be congratulated on their adherence to the Home Rule movement in spite of the bad treatment given to them. Can it be said that the members of the C. I. D. and the executive officials of Delhi are following the path of justice? If the Home Rule movement is unlawful why is it not publicly banned and put a stop to? People will continue to participate in the movement as long as it is not openly prohibited. It is really not proper to harass the people. We hope Government will ask their officials not to harass people who take part in such a legitimate political movement.

Comments on Mr. B. C. Pal's letter to the press complaning about the way he was shadowed by the C. I. D. during his journey from Shikarpur to Calcutta.
Kesari (92), 8th May; *Prakásh* (99), 9th May.

36. Though one who works for the public need not be afraid of the police, there must be some limit to the insolence of the C. I. D. while they are on duty. We have to complain when they exceed their limit. Political agitators are not fugitives and they do not travel secretly. They travel openly and often in the second class. [Here the paper gives a summary of Babu Bepin Chandra Pal's recent letter to the press about the doings of the C. I. D. while he was travelling from Shikarpur to Calcutta, and continues:—] The police did not fail to dishonour publicly Babu Bepin Chandra Pal in as many ways as were possible without actually arresting him. All this is sheer tyranny. They do not similarly treat even real suspects; they behave towards them in such a way as not to give a clue to them or to other persons. Why should not the political suspects also have the benefit of such skilful behaviour? Why should they alone be so insulted? Will such conduct create in the minds of the people content or discontent? [The *Prakásh* writes:—When we think that this force which fattens on our money harasses our selfless and revered public leaders, we cannot but feel indignant; and when we see a large number of these C. I. D. men employed in shadowing our noble leaders we feel how beneficial it would be if this force were abolished and if the money spent on it were spent on education. But we feel dejected when we remember that in our present dependent state we have no control over the purse.]

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Srinivas Sastri's speech at the Bombay Provincial Conference at Násik.
Mahrátta (4), 13th May.

*37. The *Mahrátta* thus concludes its article on the Honourable Mr. Shinivas Shastri's speech at the Bombay Provincial Conference at Násik:—"Whatever our programme on paper, success in the self-government campaign depends upon the 'military' qualities which the army of the Indians engaged in this campaign will exhibit. Our active numbers, compared with the population of the country, must necessarily be small. Greater, hence, is the necessity for people of the self-government creed, whatever their differences of opinion in minor matters, acting in close co-operation. And as such co-operation is facilitated by 'regular military training', Mr. Shastri urged upon the young men of India to eagerly embrace the first opportunity, however small and restricted, of getting that training. Opposed as we are to an organised force of bureaucrats on the spot, 'loyally' helped by their caste-brothers in England, our task is no easy task. And let it never be forgotten that the task is to convice the Imperial Government and the British Nation that *if our demands are not granted there will be more harm than if they are granted.*"

Need of extending the period of revenue settlements especially in Sind.

Sind Journal (8), 3rd May.

38. The *Sind Journal* thus concludes a long article on the subject of the period of revenue settlements and the debate in the Punjáb Legislative Council on the resolution moved by the Honourable R. B. Bakshi Sohan Lal for a 30 years' settlement for the province:—"The whole debate has shown the necessity of changing the constitution of the Legislative Councils in India so that the will of the people may prevail. In Sind also we have to labour under the grave disadvantage of short-term settlements, and if the wishes of the people were to be consulted the period of settlement should be 60 years as was strongly urged by the Sind Provincial Conference held recently at Shikárpur."

LEGISLATION.

Comments in the Bombay Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill drafted by the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 10th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 10th May.

39. The *Bombay Samáchar* expresses the hope that the Bombay Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill proposed to be brought in the local Legislative Council by the Honourable Mr. Patel will be favourably received by Government. It endorses the suggestion embodied in the Bill in favour of allowing hospital assistants and sub-assistant surgeons to be elected as members of the Bombay Medical Council and regards their present disability in this respect as anomalous. It believes that the extension of this privilege to the above-mentioned officers will not fail to enhance their prestige in the eyes of the public. The paper also approves of the provision in the Bill for fixing the meaning of the term "unprofessional conduct" used in the Medical Registration Act and believes the application of the term to the conduct of those who take interest in the development of the Ayurvédic and Unani systems of medicine to be very far fetched and improper. It also opines that the adoption of Mr. Patel's suggestion to give the medical graduates of the Bombay University the right of electing two more representatives to the Bombay Medical Council than at present and to reduce the number of members nominated by Government to four will tend to preserve the independence of the Council as well as that of the medical profession. [The *Jam-e-Jamshed* also writes in appreciation of the last mentioned suggestion and believes that its adoption will make a public body like the Bombay Medical Council win the confidence of the public and will also render it more popular with the medical profession. It remarks that the fanciful interpretations put upon the term "unprofessional conduct", as was done in Bombay in the case of Dr. Popat Prabhuram and in Madras in the case of Dr. Krishnaswami Iyer, should no longer be possible under the amended Act.]

RAILWAYS.

Grievances of third class railway passengers will not be redressed so long as there is no Home Rule.

Message (5), 9th May.

40. Mr. V. G. Javadekar writes to the *Message*:—"Railway Grievances form one of the proposed subjects which the Provincial Conference that meets at Násik is going to consider. The following is a copy of the letter I have addressed to the General Traffic Manager of the East India Railway and which I hope you will be good enough to publish for the general information of the public. [Here follows the letter in which grievances of third class passengers are given in detail. The writer concludes:—] Although this letter was written nearly a month ago, I have yet had not even an acknowledgment of it. God knows what may have become of it and how it may have been disposed of! This is all because we go without 'Home Rule' and are not masters of ourselves."

Grievances of pilgrims travelling by rail.

Kalpataru and A'nand-vrit (90), 6th May.

41. The Government of India appointed a committee for each province to inquire into the grievances of pilgrims travelling by rail. Most of the committees have reported that the pilgrims owe their miseries to the mismanagement and indifference of the Railway Companies. There is widespread discontent on

account of overcrowding in carriages and the use of goods waggons for the conveyance of passengers. Most of the vehicles, especially the goods waggons, are not provided with latrines. Similarly water is not made available at all the Railway stations. The committees express the opinion that all these grievances can be easily remedied if the Railway Companies will take a little more trouble. It is evident from the indifference hitherto shown by the Railway Companies that they will not look to the convenience of passengers. We request Government, therefore, to compel the Companies to adopt the suggestions made by the aforesaid committees.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Government should not give any weight to the opinion expressed by the Surat District Local Board in favour of continuing the existing system of official presidents.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 7th May.

42. In view of the cry that is being raised at present in all parts of the country for an increased measure of local self-government, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regards the decision recently arrived at by the District Local Board of Surat in favour of continuing the system of official Presidents as both regrettable and surprising. It however, attributes this decision to the presence of the Collector who presided at the meeting of the Board that was held to consider the question. The paper believes that the Collector would have done well to absent himself from the meeting when the very character of an appointment in which he was concerned was to be discussed. It also remarks that Collectors of Districts wield very great power within their territories and people do not dare express in their presence any views that may be in conflict with theirs. The paper, accordingly, believes that the action of the Collector in reminding the meeting about the nature of the duties of the President of a District Board was tantamount to influencing indirectly the opinion of the meeting. It hopes that His Excellency Lord Willingdon will not allow himself to be influenced by the opinion expressed by the meeting but will be guided by the liberal principles laid down by statesmen like Lords Morley and Hardinge in the matter of local self-government.

Protest against alleged proposal to levy a house-tax at Lárkána (Sind).

Sind Patrika (44) 28th Apl., Eng. cols.; *Lárkána Gazette* (42) 28th Apl., Eng. cols.

43. "A very disquieting rumour is afloat since the last few days that something like house-tax is being proposed by some of our Muhammadan brethren in their burning desire for special representation in the Lárkána Municipality. The object seems to be to increase the number of Muhammadan voters but we fail to see how that could be achieved by these means, Hindu house-owners being many more than Muhammadans. To do away with halalkhore cess and to put an offensive and oppresive tax in howsoever a mild form is, in our opinion, a most suicidal step that could be taken in utter disregard of the interests of the people in general, Hindus as well as Muhammadans, many of whom are hardly able to pay the petty halalkhore cess even. We have been discussing the matter with some of our Muhammadan friends and gentlemen during the past few days and we are glad to see that they also agree with us and regard the above proposal as a calamity upon the town.......... We, therefore, hope and trust that the sensible section of Muhammadans will realize the situation and oppose with all their might the said proposal which is frought with serious consequences." [The *Lárkána Gazette* also writes in a similar strain.]

Condemnation of the administration of the Hyderabad (Sind) Municipal Committee of Management.

Sind Jorunal (8), 3rd May.

44. In the course of an article in which it criticises the administration of the Hyderabad (Sind) Municipal Committee of Management, the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"The Committee of Management feels no responsibility to the public and is hopelessly out of touch with public sentiment. The most drastic rules framed by it for the control of milk-supply which evoked a strong protest are a glaring instance of that. The way in which proposals for the enhancement of octroi and [illegible] taxation were made in the early part of the Commitiee's *regime* clearly showed that the Committee wanted to increase its revenue anyhow. The same idea underlies the rules framed by the Committee for levying private water service fees and the general water rate which have caused a widespread dissatisfaction. The Committee while anxious to enhance its revenue by any means, has decided to discontinue a few vernacular schools to effect some economy. The Committee has been increasing its expenditure on establishment without any justification, but is depriving some poor boys of the opportunity to pick up some knowledge of the three R's.......... The whole of India is agitating for free and compulsory primary education, but the Committee of Management, Hyderabad, in its superior wisdom, is thinking of closing down schools.......... The several protests against the actions of the Committee in the Press as well on the platform must have reached the ears of Government; but still the Committee goes on its usual way."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 17th May 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 20 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 19th May 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION –

British Rule:

A plea for the revival of village Panchayats . . . 9
Application of the term *Mlechcha* to the Moslem religion in a Gujarati publication . . . 10
Comments on Mr. Gandhi's inquiry regarding labour on the indigo plantations in Bihar . . . 5
Comments on the Madras Government's orders for keeping students from political propaganda . . . 7 & 8
Comments on the order passed against Mr. M. K. Gandhi by the District Magistrate, Champaran, Bihar . . . 6
Moderates and Extremists are all alike in the eyes of Government . . . 3
No permanent peace is possible so long as races like the Indians are held in subjection by dominant races . . . 1
The Bureaucracy in India should resign as it does not represent Indian interests . . . 2
What is "disaffection"? . . . 4

Provincial Conference:

Comments on Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao's presidential address at the Cuddalore (Madras) — . . . 29
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's presidential address at the Nasik — . . . 24—28
Public service: A Muhammadan should be appointed to succeed the Honourable Mr. Chaubal as member of the Bombay Executive Council. 30
Viceroy: Alleged partiality shown in replying to European and Indian telegrams of sympathy sent to His Excellency the — . . . 23

War:

Appreciation of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon's services in the cause of wounded and disabled soldiers . . . 22
Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir's letter to the London *Times* on India's future . . . 11 & 12
Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir's speech at the Empire Parliamentary Association's luncheon . . . 14
Comments on the action taken against the *Cambridge Magazine* and the *Nation* . . . 17 & 18
How India will lose on account of having representation on the Imperial Conference . . . 13

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War—*concld.*

Offer of military service made by Indians should not be spurned . 21
Reflections on the Revolution in Russia and the political changes that must take place in the Empire and in India after the war . . 15
Some reasons why Indians have failed to join the Indian Defence Force 20
The rules made under the Indian Defence Force Act 19
Will Russia make a separate peace? 16

EDUCATION—

Complaint about insulting terms being applied to the Prophet of the Muhammadans in the Arabic paper set for the B.A. Examination by the Allahabad University 31

RAILWAYS—

Complaint about overcrowding of third class passengers at the Poona Railway Station 32
Comments on the measures taken by the East India Railway for the protection of first and second class lady passengers 33

MUNICIPALITIES—

Belgaum: The presidentship of the — District Local Board 34

Surat:

Affairs of the — Municipality. 35
The — District Local Board and the right of having a non-official president 36

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

No permanent peace is possible so long as races like the Indians are held in subjection by dominant races.

Mahratta (4), 20th May.

*1. Commenting on General Smuts' address at a meeting of the League of Nations Society in London, the *Mahratta* writes:—"'There must be no patchwork peace or peace which is simply a compromise of conflicting interests. Every nation must have the choice of its own destiny and not be cut and carved to please the Great Powers.' This observation is of course specially related to the immediate end in view—the peace that is to terminate the present war. But it affirms a principle which is of wide application. *Every nation must have the choice of its own destiny*: this is a proposition which though easy enough to formulate is not so easy of practice, when 'the passion for gain or conquest' rules the responsible authorities of nations.......... Any nation, he proceeded, not wishing to run straight must be compelled to realise that as a last resource the world will use force to make it run straight. This idea of straight-running is a very good ideal. But who is to define straight-running? If the signification which the words possess in the mind of the unsophisticated reasoner is to be taken as identical with what General Smuts and men of his 'station' mean by the expression, we must come to the conclusion that these generous-hearted men will side wholeheartedly with India—not to speak of other conquered and ill-used peoples of the Earth—in her demand for self-government. England must accept undivided responsibility for the *crooked running* which has been the order of the day for years past. Compare American policy in the Philippines and the Japanese policy in Japan with English policy in India —policy not as expressed in proclamations and other worthy 'scraps of paper', but as *practised* in the actual management of Indian affairs. Are there not evident differences which mark out the English policy as the one to be avoided by those who would be champions of straight-running? Here is a reflection occurring in an article headed 'Promise and Performance' in *India* of the 13th April:—'It is melancholy to reflect that as far as India is concerned, the *German* and not the British model is the one which has found most favour with the governing bureaucracy.' The difference between the treatments given to Britons and Indians even after a century and more of British rule cannot rouse the most grateful feelings within our bosom. We have been promised a good many times that race or creed or colour would be no bar to Indians rising to the highest offices in the land. Equal treatment with British-born subjects has been promised to us time and again. But there has been a wide divergence between promise and performance. That is not straight-running surely! *Will the world use force against England to make it run straight?* That is a question for the future.......... Germany's 'Crimes' are easily observed. Her procedure in 'punishing' Belgium and other small nations for their patriotic stand has been whole-heartedly condemned. But crimes at home escape notice. It should not be difficult for wide awake statesmen to realise that there are such things as Peace-cruelties as there are War-cruelties. We Indians, 'enjoying' as we have been 'a peace' long unbroken by foreign aggression, have not been free, however, from the cruelties which are inseparable from alien unsympathetic domination. We may acknowledge that there have been a few kind rulers in the long train of *temporary satraps* to whose care our affairs have been entrusted by 'British policy'. But the system of rule itself being 'a despotism', a few kind 'despots' could not make any great difference, as regards the steady exploitation of the country in the interests of the foreigners and the keeping down of 'native' aspirations. These are the cruelties of Peace which we have been enduring for a long time now. And it were well for England to realise that the Indian broods over these cruelties, as the Belgian must be brooding over the War-cruelties inflicted on him by Germany.......... Permanent Peace is a great idea, but it is almost permanently impossible in view of the conditions which surround us. Peace Idealists and nations satiated with conquests and possessions will join hands to work for a permanent peace. But on the other side will be Idealists of Rights and Nations chafing under bondage or swayed by ambition.......... What the Peace-Idealists would, therefore, be well-advised to do is to bring home to the dominant nations the necessity of realising the universality of the love of Freedom. Every people, however admiringly it may gaze for a period at the civilised shows stalking their soil, soon learns to hate the foreign yoke. *If every nation must have the choice of its own destiny*, it follows that every subject people must sooner or later be restored to Freedom, for Freedom is the only destiny which commends itself to a people which has become self-conscious. Internal autonomy is the least that any people can be satisfied with.......... As things stand, the States ruling over alien peoples will agree neither in keeping their proteges permanently helpless, nor in universally quickening their progress. Peace cannot, therefore, long establish itself on this much suffering Earth. Wars must come now and again as a result of the heart-burning of half-developed subject nations making common cause with the ambitions of jealous free ones. That is the prospect as it impresses itself upon our brain. We may be wrong. And we shall be glad if events prove us to be wrong."

The Bureaucracy in India should resign as it does not represent Indian interests.

Mahrátta (4), 20th May.

***2.** Commenting on the Honourable Nawab Syed Ali Chaudary's resignation of the presidentship of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"As the Honourable Nawab has gained the good opinion of those who do not agree with him by resigning the place, which only a true reprasentative of the community has a right to fill, so will the *bureaucracy* of India gain our good opinion if it works for its own removal on the ground—which is a very valid ground—that it has ceased to 'represent' the best opinion of India. Time was when our 'educated' and our 'masses' felt that for all the defects that must go with a foreign bureaucratic rule, India had a balance of advantages to be grateful for. In those times, our bureaucracy might be said to rule us with our consent and so in a sense to 'represent' us. Now that India's claims upon Britain and India's actual gains and losses due to her connection with Britain have, in the light of advanced knowledge, been re-appraised, and the Indian bureaucracy has been discovered, in the process of re-appraisement, to have done and to be doing us more harm than good and, further, as it has been proved that the bureaucracy can only go from bad to worse as years pass, we can no longer speak of the administration of India as administration by consent, tacit if not expressed. The demand has been clearly formulated that the bureaucracy must be dethroned and the people enthroned. It is supported by the vast majority of those whose opinion ought to count as 'informed opinion.' The masses who are 'inarticulate' are represented as favonring the present despotism and opposed to the demand for popular government. This is a gross misrepresentation, almost criminal. So long as a plebiscite is not taken, the opinions of the educated leaders must be accepted as representing those of the masses who, in every country, even the most enlightened, generally leave *the thinking* to be done by those who are better situated and equipped than themselves. The masses suffer under the present rule. Their sufferings due to their being *kept* in dark illiteracy and to other conditions easily remediable by a sympathetic Government need no enumeration. In one word Indian bureaucracy has become 'unfit' for the place it fills and will deserve our grateful thanks if it tenders its resignation. But such a 'generosity' is of course an impossibility. It is not an affair of one *Nawab*. The bureaucracy is a stronghold of hundreds upon hundreds of Nawabs, who *live* by their bureaucratic trade, and upon whom depend numerous families for their bread and 'station in life'. Hence it will not be reasonable to expect that our bureaucracy will 'go out' of itself. *It will have to be turned out.* Our Home Rule or Self-government Campaign is in one aspect an attempt to enlist the sympathy of the Sovereign British electorate with a view to *oust* our bureaucracy from the position of dominance which it occupies in this country's affairs to the infinite harm of the people of the soil."

Moderates and Extremists are all alike in the eyes of Government.
Kesari (92), 15th May.

3. The Honourable Nawab Ali Chaudhry has submitted a separate memorandum on Indian Reforms and his demands may be considered to be moderate ones. But the point is: are Government willing to accede even to these moderate demands without any complaint? If Government are not willing to listen to the moderates how will the moderates glory in their moderation? Where lies the sense of discriminating between moderates and extremists? Government themselves have destroyed the class of moderates throughout the country by their unreasonable policy of ignoring moderates and extremists alike. In what way can the people be blamed for it? Let Government not listen to the extremists; but are they willing to comply completely with the request of the moderates? No! And, therefore, both alike have lost all faith in the wisdom of Government.

What is "disaffection"?
Young India (10), 16th May.

4. Mr. L. G. Khare writes in *Young India*:—"Policemen get anxious about the movements of Mr. Pal, they deliver him over from the C. I. D. adminstration of one province to another like a bundle of goods, they exaggerate to him the terrors of the Defence of India Act, because he is said to be 'disaffected.' Now what is disaffection? There lies the difficulty of a definition. One can understand what affection is; one can understand even what Political affection is. When the heroic Danish children in Schleswig-Holstein refused to sing that vulgar banality 'Germany, Germany above all', they showed their political affection for the patriotism of their race; but in British India it is difficult to understand what disaffection means, disaffection when it has reference to British rule in India. I can understand sometimes under *incongruous* circumstances what affection for British rule means. It is the 'dis' that works the trouble. When the Governor of an Indian province went to open some time ago a Technological Institute, and made a speech not on Technology but on the War Loan, the circle of C. I. E. hunters that surrounded him applauded and, I am sure, were 'affectionate' towards British rule in India. What, then, is 'disaffection' towards British rule?...... If I had met as a child a certain Superintendent of Police, just a few years ago, and not saluted him, he would have certainly have called me 'disaffected.' In fact, as the report of the case runs, he would have visited this exhibition of disaffection with corporal punishment there and then..........Is it 'disaffection' if an Indian youth feels hurt, and expresses his resentment in no uncertain manner, as a result of his reading Mr.—now Captain—Percival Cristopher Wren's novels? Is it disaffection when he thinks that this great teacher of Indian youth has libelled educated India in his 'Dew and Mildew,' where—as the Indian youth would put it—the Dew is presumably the European, and the Mildew—the 'native'? Is it disaffection when an Indian writes to the press asking if anybody would explain the riddle why, if any inebriate planter were to kick a coolie into accidental death that coolie is always supposed to have had an enlarged spleen? One comes to conclude that disaffection in British India cannot be defined. It is like the English weather, a thing liable to sudden and startling changes. The intepretation of what it is, depends sometimes upon the wisdom of some brainless, h—less Englishman, who finds himself in the position of a police-sab."

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's inquiry regarding labour on the indigo plantations in Behar.
Mahrátta (4), 20th May.

*5. "The Honourable Mr. Maude, member of the Executive Council of Behar, has recently had a conference with Mr. Gandhi who is investigating the question of the relations of the planters and the ryots in Behar. This conference is said to have been the result of the deputation of the Planters' Association which waited on Government at Ranchi. It is reported that the deputation urged before the Government that the inquiry which is being carried on now has created a great stir and agitation amongst the ryots and asked that either this inquiry should be stopped or that, in the alternative, Government should appoint a commission, including representatives of planters and ryots, to hold a public inquiry. The Muzafferpore branch of the European Defence Association have also through their parent body in Calcutta submitted a representation to the Government of India on the subject. This is good news. 'A stir' among the ryots is a necessary preliminary to their grievances receiving any adequate attention. For, '*the meek shall perish*' is the Commandment of the Gospel of Might. This Gospel rules on the plantations, and not exclusively there. Mr. Gandhi deserves grateful thanks for having engaged upon an inquiry which promises to end in a rectification of gross abuses on the Behar plantations. It is reported that a factory at Olaha in the outworks of a huge indigo concern has been completely burnt down by fire, and that the planters suspect it as a case of incendiarism. For aught we know, it may be a pure accident, or a deliberate act of some aggrieved tenants or perhaps a desperate trick of some ill-wishers who are wroth with Mr. Gandhi for his 'audaciousness' and wish to prejudice the inquiry he is conducting by any means, fair or foul."

Comments on the order passed against Mr. M. K. Gandhi by the District Magistrate, Champaran, Bihar.

Islámic Mail (3), 13th May.

6. "Our friends in the Congress Camp are jubilant over Mr. Gandhi's triumph in what is now known as the Bihar Notice case. It was indeed very wrong of the District Magistrate of Motihari to issue a notice under section 144, Indian Penal Code, which he could not maintain and had to cancel. A man of Mr. Gandhi's position who knows how to twist the lion's tail should not be dealt with in the careless manner that this officer appears to have done and the jubilations in the Congress Camp at his defeat are quite justified. The effect of a foolish act like this is often very dangerous. It impairs the authority of Government and gives a severe blow to their prestige. If what the *Bihari* reports is true, that not only was the notice withdrawn but Mr. Gandhi was promised every assistance in his enquiries, then the Government of Bihar have committed a great mistake. We have every sympathy with our great patriot Mr. Gandhi and would have been much pained if any untoward incident had happened to him. But the defiance of law and authority and the baneful effect it has upon the impressionable people of India is not conducive to public peace or to good government, and put it whatever way you like, Mr. Gandhi's action amounts to that. Perhaps there is some truth in what our Congress friends say that public influence is more helpful than official favour. We do not bring our conscience to abuse Government and we are called khushamadis and supposed to be in official favour. But if we were to write half as acrimoniously as our friend of the *Chronicle* does, we would not find life worth living. Yet simply by virtue of his abusive language Mr. Horniman is in the good graces of the public and for all intents and purposes treated as an official favourite."

Comments on the Madras Government's orders for keeping students from political propaganda.

Hindusthán (16), 12th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 14th May.

7. In the course of an article headed "New Chains," the *Hindusthán* refers to the order recently issued by the Government of Madras, prohibiting students from taking part in political meetings and discussions of an objectionable character, and remarks:—What epithets should be applied to this order depends upon the discretion of the public. Truly, this order is nothing but hasty and unjust. No sane man will say that students should be allowed to waste their time in taking part in unprofitable movements; but an order prohibiting participation in political discussions should be placed in a different category altogether. It is doubtful if the Madras Government have carefully considered the matter before issuing this order. It is the guardians who are the proper persons to take care of the character of the students, and the responsibility of shaping their character rests with them. Orders like the one above referred to, instead of accomplishing the object Government have in view, only lead to undesirable results. In the present condition of things in India a student who keeps aloof from political movements can never make a good citizen. The sentiments expressed by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in the course of his Calcutta University Convocation address and the advice he gave to students to try to become useful citizens, seem to have

escaped the notice of the Madras Government. Every student has a right to take part in political discussions, meetings and movements of an unexceptionable character and the Madras Government have no right to interfere with it. It is not an act of great wisdom to transform educational departments and universities into detective departments. [The *Praja Mitra and Parsi*, on the other hand, writes in justification of the Madras Government's order. It remarks that those who consider this subject in a dispassionate manner and from the view point of students' welfare will have no cause to complain against the order in question. The paper, however, believes that the order is defective inasmuch as no provision is made for starting debating societies in High Schools and Colleges, as is being done in other civilized countries, where students can take part in the discussion of current public questions and can be thus saved from the perils of participating in mischievous political propaganda. It hopes that Government will soon take steps to remedy this defect.]

Kesari (92), 15th May.

8. To deny the students political education and to prohibit them from attending political meetings is to starve them in all ways. We have discussed the question on many an occasion. People thought that the Madras Government would not trouble themselves about it after the experience of the Risley Circular, but the bureaucracy does not care to learn any lesson from the past experience of others. Students may enter grogshops, they may witness *tamashas*, but they should not attend political meetings. This is a curious example of moral education. Many Civil Servants do not want political agitation and they are absolutely against the Home Rule agitation. These bureaucrats will uphold the 'freedom of drinking', but they will have nothing to do with the liberty of the people, and if possible they will prohibit others from having anything to do with it. There is no doubt that students will acquire indirectly the knowledge denied to them by the bureaucracy; for in the end, the prohibition will come to nothing! We warn the Madras Government that the political health of the students will be impaired by the ill-digested opinions acquired stealthily by them.

A plea for the revival of village Panchayats.
Sandesh (100), 19th May.

9. In the course of a long article the *Sandesh* remarks that although the British Government has infused new life into India and has created a yearning for popular government it has practically obliterated the Village Punchayat system which was the basis of all political, social and economic progress. Indians, it says, have secured admission into the Executive Councils and have even been able of late to make their voice heard in the councils of the Empire. The paper considers these reforms incapable of being appreciated by the masses, although eminently satisfactory in themselves, and it pleads, therefore, for the revival of the defunct Village Punchayat system.

Application of the term *Mlechcha* to the Moslem religion in a Gujarati publication.
Political Bhomiyo (65), 4th and 5th May.

10. Under the heading "Advocates of *Swarājya* and *Mlechhas* (infidels)" the *Political Bhomiyo* publishes a letter from a Moslem correspondent in which the writer takes exception to the term *Mlechha* having been applied to Islam in a book entitled "Chhatrapati Rajaram" being one of the Cheap Reading Series published by Mr. Dayabhai Ramchandra Mehta. He observes that writings such as these cannot but excite Moslem feelings. Is the object aimed at in publishing these Cheap books, inquires the correspondent, to degrade the Muhammadans and create bad blood between community and community? He observes that when terms like *Yavan* and *Mlechcha* are applied to the Muhammadans now, the latter pause to consider what men of the community of the author of the book in question would not do to harass the Muhammadans if they secured *Swarājya* and enjoyed the ruling power. He asks the author and men of his ways of thinking to let the Muhammadans alone, for, observes he, once the latter are enraged they will be difficult to control and in that case the consequences might be far from desirable. [Else-

where in the same issue the paper publishes a contribution from one "Sayalakar", a Hindu correspondent, in which the writer deprecates with reference to the same book the use of the term *Mlechha* in connection with Muhammadans as, in his view, it is likely to wound Moslem feelings. He remarks that at a time like the present when the Indians are busy making appeals for the grant of *Swarájya* and advocating national unity writings which are calculated to wound the religious feelings of others tend to prove detrimental to public harmony. A supplement to the paper dated the 5th instant, however, contains an explanation of the publisher of the Cheap Reading series wherein he writes to say that by the term *Mlechha Dharma* he only means an alien religion, that while going through the manuscript the term escaped his notice through oversight, that he never meant, nor does he now mean, to injure the feelings of the Muhammadans and that he is sorry if their feelings have actually been hurt. He further promises that he will strike out the objectionable word from the copies of the book remaining unsold with him and that he will also expunge it from future editions. The Editor of the *Political Bhomiyo* expresses his gratification at the above explanation and remarks that after this there remains no cause for anybody to be dissatisfied.]

Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's letter to the London *Times* on India's future.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 16th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 14th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 14th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 14th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 15th May.

11. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses, at great length, its appreciation of the letter written by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir to *The Times* and believes it will be a good rejoinder to the hasty criticisms passed by certain newspapers on the Maharaja's recent pronouncement to the effect that India was not fit for full self-government, and that it will convince them that he is in full sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the Congress. The paper lays special stress on the suggestion made by the Maharaja for the early grant of some measure of political reform to India and expresses a hope that British statesmen will now see their way to make an early instalment of political reforms on the lines suggested by the non-official members of the Viceregal Legislative Council. [The *Sánj Vartamán* is of opinion that the Maharaja has rendered valuable service to India by giving a clear idea of the aims and aspirations of the Indian people to the British public. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its gratification at the Maharaja's openly identifying himself with the aspirations of the Congress and the Moslem League and expresses a hope that British statesmen will not fail to be prompt in giving some measure of political reform to India in a broad and ungrudging spirit. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* endorses the Maharaja's suggestion for an authoritative declaration with regard to British policy in India and hopes that the authorities will act in accordance with all the suggestions embodied in His Highness' letter to the *Times*. The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Our detractors say that the fad of *swarájya* is confined to the educated classes and that the rest of the population keeps aloof from the movement. His Highness' speeches and particularly his letter to the *Times* furnish an effective reply to this assertion. No one can accuse His Highness of being an agitator, nor can it be said that he has lost the balance of his mind by reading Burke and Milton. His Highness cannot be called an irresponsible critic, an epithet usually applied to men who criticise the actions of the authorities. Like other popular leaders he only calls for an immediate declaration of the policy to be adopted towards India. Who would disagree with His Highness that over-cautiousness in this respect is as bad as undue haste?

Young India (10), 16th May.

12. "We believe the statement which His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner is reported to have communicated to the *Times* is intended to clear the misunderstandings and misconceptions which exist in this country in regard to His Highness' views. We had thought that the Maharaja's views had suffered considerably by Reuter's genius for reporting or misreporting. The views which were attributed to him in his Manchester and London speeches were otherwise so difficult to reconcile with those to which he had given expression in Bombay at the Taj Mahal Banquet. The statement which is now made comes as a great relief and will be welcomed by the people in this country.......... We are glad that the Maharaja has taken the earliest opportunity of clearing the misunderstanding to which the singularly ill-digested report of Reuter had given rise in the minds of many of his sincere well-wishers in this country."

How India will lose on account of having representation on the Imperial Conference.
New Times (New), 8th May.

13. "The exact powers of the Imperial Cabinet have not been strictly defined, but it is not difficult to see that whatever its theoretical powers be, such a powerful and authoritative body, backed as it is by such an overwhelming body of public opinion in the white portions of the Empire, its recommendations will have almost the validity of the laws of an all-powerful legislature. So far as India is concerned, we cannot but view this prospect with serious misgivings.......... Nominated as the present Indian delegates have been, by the all-powerful Secretary of State, to perform the harmless function of advising and assisting him in 'representing' Indian interests, no one can seriously regard them as genuine representatives of the life and interests of India. It still remains to be seen whether the Secretary of State and the Dominion Premiers will treat India fairly when it has no real representatives of its own amongst them. Experience up to this time has not tended to encourage belief in this direction. Beyond some polite platitudes on the part of the Dominion delegates expressing pleasure at the participation of India we have not heard anything of the nature of a redress of the innumerable Imperial grievances of India. It might have been expected that in a fit of Imperial enthusiasm, the Imperial Cabinet would have removed some of the disabilities under which Indians suffer in the Colonies, but we are not aware that such a generous measure has been contemplated. Without a satisfactory measure of self-government and effective guarantees of genuine representation, India will look very much like a poor dependent invited to swell the marriage procession of a rich personage. Without any equivalent advantage it will be faced with that Colonial domination against which the whole of India has protested."

Comments of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir's speech at the Empire Parliamentary Association's luncheon.
Kesari (92), 15th May.

14. Discussing the Maharaja of Bikanir's speech at the luncheon given in his honour by the Empire Parliamentary Association, the *Kesari* says :—How will the British public realise the nice point involved in the fact that the Maharaja of Bikanir is a nominated member and that he voices the opinions of Government and that he has no right to give out anything as the opinion of the people? It is but in consonance with the wisdom of Government that they should try to gain their ends by making the Maharaja confess that India is not hungering for *swarájya* and that it will remain contented with mere crumbs. But we do not know how to characterise the wisdom of the Congress that has not yet sent a single representative to lay before the British public its demands though four months have elapsed since the acceptance of the *swarájya* resolution by the Lucknow Congress. We cannot make out how the Government of India may send a despatch on Indian Reforms even during war-time and how propriety is offended only if the Congress sends a deputation to England and informs the public that India will not be satisfied except with *swarájya*. The English people may be deep in cares, but confusion does not reign in their minds. They may be engrossed in thought, but they have not become irrational. They have not lost their selfish instinct because they are thinking about the welfare of others. Though their tongue is wagging freely about gratitude for India's help, they never commit the mistake even once of saying anything about the grant of *swarájya* to India. It is but natural for the Maharaja to speak against Indian *swarájya*. Our Indian Chiefs, to speak the truth, are younger brothers of the Tsar. They have not yet forgotten the old doctrine of the divine character of rulers.

Unfortunately the British Government has followed a policy regarding them that confirms them in their views. We do not know whether Government have kept them from giving any rights to their subjects, on the principle that though you may keep your own house clean, it does not matter if there is a dung heap near about as it would be useful to throw your rubbish on. Government are forced unwillingly to allow some liberties to the people because of the persistence of British Indian subjects and of public opinion in England. Hence they are not enthusiastic about getting things done by others which they themselves allow unwillingly. Indian Chiefs are born amidst traditions of absolute government and they are not controlled by public opinion or by Government. It is not surprising therefore that the freedom of the people in the States is lagging behind that allowed to British subjects. We have to protest against the Chiefs when they repress not only the liberties of their own subjects but also try to hold down the freedom of British subjects. When the Maharaja said the other day that the time for granting *swarájya* to India had not yet come, it was an uncalled-for interference with things that do not concern him. If Indians are not fit for *swarájya* how is the Maharaja fit to rule over lakhs of people and to conduct the administration of his State? We both have sprung from the same mine. Just as he gained in capacity by experience, why cannot the British subjects become fit by experience? But how can they get the experience if they are not given the opportunity? Like Government, the Chiefs have gathered all power in their own hands. These are the Bourbons, Romanoffs and Hohenzollerns of India. The eyes of the Chiefs are not opened by Government; their subjects are unable to open them. No wonder then that even an educated Chief like the Maharaja of Bikanir should decline to give a certificate of fitness for *swarájya* to the Indian people.

Reflections on the Revolution in Russia and the political changes that must take place in the Empire and in India after the war.

Gujaráti (12), 13th May.

15. The whole world is subject to the law of change and the British Empire cannot possibly escape its operation. With what ovations was the news of the Russian Revolution received by the British public as a triumph of the principles of justice and equality! If, according to Lord Chelmsford's views, such wonderful political changes are harmful, he should warn the British public against expressing their delight at such revolutions! Those who ask Indians to keep quiet should bear in mind that the Indians do not fail to institute a comparison between the attitude of British public leaders and their opinions on the current world events and the treatment meted out to the Indians. In spite of all that may be said to the contrary, India will not fail to be influenced by the spirit of change that has come over the British Empire. The Prime Minister is prepared to give the go-bye to the old ideals and principles. But will the Anglo-Indian officials still continue to cling to antiquated superstitions and principles? Certainly not. When the officials cease to wield the powers they at present enjoy, the unfitness of Indians for *Swarajya* will disappear......... While the Czar has been dethroned in Russia England has deposed from authority ministers who followed the old and worn out paths and has thrown overboard old theories, broken assunder the hide-bound rules of custom and has betaken herself to new paths. Just as uncertainty prevails in the matter of the form the Russian Government will assume, no one can guess what shape political reform will take in the British Empire. But some change will certainly take place in the Government of India with the reorganisation of the Empire and matters will be looked at through new glasses. What the Indians want is not an efficient government or good government; they do not want government by officials; they want government by Indians, government in the interest of India and government responsible to the Indians. If political changes are effected in India on the lines indicated above India's ties with the Empire will be strengthened and its loyalty to the Throne will be intensified, its love for England will increase and its admiration for her principles of justice and equality will be stimulated.

16. Commenting upon rumours of a separate peace by Russia, the *Gujarati* writes:—The Czar was not deposed for bringing the war to a close. The socialists in Russia and Germany may prate about peace, but it is not in their power to make one. Germany might be willing to restore Poland to Russia in order to curtail her battle front but Russia would not get any special advantage by it. Russia wants the Dardanelles and Constantinople and it is not likely that Germany would induce Turkey to concede them. Russia is not likely to make peace at present, but at the same time it will not be able to prosecute the war vigorously owing to its unstable domestic condition. Perhaps there will be a grand conflagration in Russia like the one that occurred in France about one hundred and twenty-five years ago owing to the high-handedness of those in authority. There is some probability of the provisional Government of Russia being tempted by advantageous terms to conclude peace, for in that case it would be able to gain popularity. [The *Gujarati Punch* considers it a pity that Russia should be internally divided at a time when a supreme effort is required on her part to face the threatened German advance towards Petrograd and when the Allies are about to inflict a defeat upon the enemy. The *Hindusthán* writes:—The fear expressed in certain quarters about Russia making a separate peace has no foundation. Russia will carefully consider the question before taking any step in the direction of peace. Circumstances, however, lead us to believe that there is a great probability of peace conditions being restored at an early date. The message sent by the Socialists in Russia to those in Germany leads *Praja Mitra and Parsi* to believe that German machinations have achieved some measure of success in Russia and it expresses a hope that Russia will be able to see through the deceit of the enemy and frustrate its nefarious plans. In the subsequent issue the paper regards the resignations of the Russian War Minister and Foreign Minister as an ominous sign of Russia being led to conclude a separate peace with Germany.]

Will Russia make a separate peace?
Gujaráti (12), 13th May; *Gujaráti Punch* (14), 13th May; *Hindusthán* (16), 17th May; *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* (25), 17th and 18th May.

***17.** "It is nothing short of a tragedy that even England—and England under a democratic leader like Mr. Lloyd Geroge—should see her liberty restrained and checked. It seems almost inconceivable that such well-known and respectable journals like the *Cambridge Magazine* and the *Nation* should be attacked by the Government, simply because in these days of deadened thought they have had the courage of their conviction, and ventured to speak out what appeared true to them in a bold and fearless manner. We cannot say that the reputation of Mr. Lloyd George has at all been enhanced by these measures which would have been worthy of Prince Bismarck or Lord Curzon. It speaks volumes for the spirit of English freedom that Englishmen of various creeds and classes still exist who have had the strength of character to protest against an abuse of power."

Comments on the action taken against the *Cambridge Magazine* and the *Nation*.
Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 20th May, Eng. cols.

18. A thorny hedge is no doubt troublesome to others, but sometimes the owner himself is its victim and then it makes him bleed too. Once the thorns of repression are spread there is no knowing whom they will pierce. Many Englishmen had no exact idea of the sufferings of Indians under the action of the Press Act and the Defence Act. As if to give them a taste of repression the Defence of the Realm Act was ushered into existence in England. However well framed a law may be, if its execution depends not on evidence tested in the law courts but on the will of the officials, it is bound to tend towards repression. The *Nation* has been asked to stop its foreign circulation under the Defence of the Realm Act. In one way what is happening is for the best. Unless the repressive laws turn against the framers their days will not be numbered. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Generally Indians respect very much the *Nation* and they are grateful to it for its advocacy of the proper rights of Indians. It is our misfortune that many articles in the *Nation* other than those on war that are conducive to the spread of the ideas of equality and liberty should be prohibited here because its criticism of the conduct of the war has been considered to be improper. The prohibition is not surely in keeping with the love of freedom of the English officials.]

Kesari (92), 15th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 18th May.

Unfortunately the British Government has followed a policy regarding them that confirms them in their views. We do not know whether Government have kept them from giving any rights to their subjects, on the principle that though you may keep your own house clean, it does not matter if there is a dung heap near about as it would be useful to throw your rubbish on. Government are forced unwillingly to allow some liberties to the people because of the persistence of British Indian subjects and of public opinion in England. Hence they are not enthusiastic about getting things done by others which they themselves allow unwillingly. Indian Chiefs are born amidst traditions of absolute government and they are not controlled by public opinion or by Government. It is not surprising therefore that the freedom of the people in the States is lagging behind that allowed to British subjects. We have to protest against the Chiefs when they repress not only the liberties of their own subjects but also try to hold down the freedom of British subjects. When the Maharaja said the other day that the time for granting *swarájya* to India had not yet come, it was an uncalled-for interference with things that do not concern him. If Indians are not fit for *swarájya* how is the Maharaja fit to rule over lakhs of people and to conduct the administration of his State? We both have sprung from the same mine. Just as he gained in capacity by experience, why cannot the British subjects become fit by experience? But how can they get the experience if they are not given the opportunity? Like Government, the Chiefs have gathered all power in their own hands. These are the Bourbons, Romanoffs and Hohenzollerns of India. The eyes of the Chiefs are not opened by Government; their subjects are unable to open them. No wonder then that even an educated Chief like the Maharaja of Bikanir should decline to give a certificate of fitness for *swarájya* to the Indian people.

Reflections on the Revolution in Russia and the political changes that must take place in the Empire and in India after the war.

Gujaráti (12), 13th May.

15. The whole world is subject to the law of change and the British Empire cannot possibly escape its operation. With what ovations was the news of the Russian Revolution received by the British public as a triumph of the principles of justice and equality! If, according to Lord Chelmsford's views, such wonderful political changes are harmful, he should warn the British public against expressing their delight at such revolutions! Those who ask Indians to keep quiet should bear in mind that the Indians do not fail to institute a comparison between the attitude of British public leaders and their opinions on the current world events and the treatment meted out to the Indians. In spite of all that may be said to the contrary, India will not fail to be influenced by the spirit of change that has come over the British Empire. The Prime Minister is prepared to give the go-bye to the old ideals and principles. But will the Anglo-Indian officials still continue to cling to antiquated superstitions and principles? Certainly not. When the officials cease to wield the powers they at present enjoy, the unfitness of Indians for *Swarajya* will disappear......... While the Czar has been dethroned in Russia England has deposed from authority ministers who followed the old and worn out paths and has thrown overboard old theories, broken assunder the hide-bound rules of custom and has betaken herself to new paths. Just as uncertainty prevails in the matter of the form the Russian Government will assume, no one can guess what shape political reform will take in the British Empire. But some change will certainly take place in the Government of India with the reorganisation of the Empire and matters will be looked at through new glasses. What the Indians want is not an efficient government or good government; they do not want government by officials; they want government by Indians, government in the interest of India and government responsible to the Indians. If political changes are effected in India on the lines indicated above India's ties with the Empire will be strengthened and its loyalty to the Throne will be intensified, its love for England will increase and its admiration for her principles of justice and equality will be stimulated.

Will Russia make a separate peace?

Gujarâti (12), 13th May; *Gujarâti Punch* (14), 13th May; *Hindusthân* (16), 17th May; *Prajâ Mitra and Pârsi* (25), 17th and 18th May.

16. Commenting upon rumours of a separate peace by Russia, the *Gujarâti* writes:—The Czar was not deposed for bringing the war to a close. The socialists in Russia and Germany may prate about peace, but it is not in their power to make one. Germany might be willing to restore Poland to Russia in order to curtail her battle front but Russia would not get any special advantage by it. Russia wants the Dardanelles and Constantinople and it is not likely that Germany would induce Turkey to concede them. Russia is not likely to make peace at present, but at the same time it will not be able to prosecute the war vigorously owing to its unstable domestic condition. Perhaps there will be a grand conflagration in Russia like the one that occurred in France about one hundred and twenty-five years ago owing to the high-handedness of those in authority. There is some probability of the provisional Government of Russia being tempted by advantageous terms to conclude peace, for in that case it would be able to gain popularity. [The *Gujarâti Punch* considers it a pity that Russia should be internally divided at a time when a supreme effort is required on her part to face the threatened German advance towards Petrograd and when the Allies are about to inflict a defeat upon the enemy. The *Hindusthân* writes:—The fear expressed in certain quarters about Russia making a separate peace has no foundation. Russia will carefully consider the question before taking any step in the direction of peace. Circumstances, however, lead us to believe that there is a great probability of peace conditions being restored at an early date. The message sent by the Socialists in Russia to those in Germany leads *Prajâ Mitra and Pârsi* to believe that German machinations have achieved some measure of success in Russia and it expresses a hope that Russia will be able to see through the deceit of the enemy and frustrate its nefarious plans. In the subsequent issue the paper regards the resignations of the Russian War Minister and Foreign Minister as an ominous sign of Russia being led to conclude a separate peace with Germany.]

Comments on the action taken against the *Cambridge Magazine* and the *Nation*.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 20th May, Eng. cols.

***17.** "It is nothing short of a tragedy that even England—and England under a democratic leader like Mr. Lloyd Geroge—should see her liberty restrained and checked. It seems almost inconceivable that such well-known and respectable journals like the *Cambridge Magazine* and the *Nation* should be attacked by the Government, simply because in these days of deadened thought they have had the courage of their conviction, and ventured to speak out what appeared true to them in a bold and fearless manner. We cannot say that the reputation of Mr. Lloyd George has at all been enhanced by these measures which would have been worthy of Prince Bismarck or Lord Curzon. It speaks volumes for the spirit of English freedom that Englishmen of various creeds and classes still exist who have had the strength of character to protest against an abuse of power."

Kesari (92), 15th May; *Dnyân Prakâsh* (33), 18th May.

18. A thorny hedge is no doubt troublesome to others, but sometimes the owner himself is its victim and then it makes him bleed too. Once the thorns of repression are spread there is no knowing whom they will pierce. Many Englishmen had no exact idea of the sufferings of Indians under the action of the Press Act and the Defence Act. As if to give them a taste of repression the Defence of the Realm Act was ushered into existence in England. However well framed a law may be, if its execution depends not on evidence tested in the law courts but on the will of the officials, it is bound to tend towards repression. The *Nation* has been asked to stop its foreign circulation under the Defence of the Realm Act. In one way what is happening is for the best. Unless the repressive laws turn against the framers their days will not be numbered. [The *Dnyân Prakâsh* writes:—Generally Indians respect very much the *Nation* and they are grateful to it for its advocacy of the proper rights of Indians. It is our misfortune that many articles in the *Nation* other than those on war that are conducive to the spread of the ideas of equality and liberty should be prohibited here because its criticism of the conduct of the war has been considered to be improper. The prohibition is not surely in keeping with the love of freedom of the English officials.]

The rules made under the Indian Defence Force Act.

Young India (10), 16th May.

19. "The rules which have been framed under the Act are an overwhelming testimony to the spirit of jealousy and distrust of the people on the part of bureaucratic officials and Anglo-Indian vested interests. In ordinary circumstances, as the Honourable Mr. Jinnah said at a recent public meeting, we would have spurned the measure with the contempt which it so richly deserves, as an insult offered to the great body of public opinion, now offered in the guise of a great boon. But having regard to the fact that the bureaucracy is interested in keeping us out of the Defence Force, it is and ought to be our aim to baffle its desires and this aim cannot be better achieved than by enlisting forthwith in the Defence Force. We trust that the leaders will take serious note of the suggestion which has been so widely made and enable deserving young men to join the Foce by helping them, whenever they deserve, financially and otherwise."

Some reasons why Indians have failed to join the Indian Defence Force.

Gujarâti (12), 20th May, Eng. cols.

*20. Commenting on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's presidential address at the Nasik Conference, the *Gujarâti* writes:—"We think Mr. Sastri took a somewhat alarming view of the consequences that would ensue from the failure of the Indian people to join the Indian Defence force. We heartily endorse his appeal to young Indians to respond to the call made upon them even under disadvantageous circumstances. But the fact is significant that whilst the whole official world in India has thrown its influence on the side of the Indian War Loan, it has studiously kept itself aloof from the movement for raising Indian units. Whilst Governors and Lieutenant-Governors have presided at meetings for encouraging people to subscribe to the Indian War Loan and made eloquent appeals to them in this behalf, they have done scarcely anything to rouse the same spirit of enthusiasm in favour of the other movement. Besides, Government could have easily modified some of the needless restrictions and obstacles that have been thrown in the way of Indian youths. Moreover, it is no use losing sight of the grave consequences upon national character that have resulted from the unjust policy adopted by Government during the last 75 years with regard to the military training and advancement of the Indian people."

Offer of military service made by Indians should not be spurned.

Message (5), 13th May.

21. "Mr. Chhotu Ram, B.A., LL.B., of Rohtak, begins his note, in a recent issue of the *Tribune*, as follows:—'The other day an Arya Samajist offered himself for enlistment in the army. He was asked to put off his sacred thread as a condition precedent. He refused to comply with this demand and was rejected in consequence.' If these allegations be true, then it is surely imperative for the bureaucracy to ponder over its actions for a while. It is nothing short of *criminal* folly to kick out an enthusiastic and loyal subject rushing to the front to serve the King and Country in this time of crisis simply because he has a spiritual reverance for his 'sacred thread'. We suspected this much of mischief long before, when the conditions for service were made known, and lo! it has already begun to work out its wonders. May we, in the name of loyalty to our Emperor, ask what this sort of behaviour means? We hope the Government of India will not be so very insensible to the devout feelings of His Majesty's subjects to allow their offers to be spurned with scorn or trifling excuses."

Appreciation of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon's services in the cause of wounded and disabled soldiers.

Bombay Samâchâr (53), 14th and 19th May.

22. Her Excellency Lady Willingdon has been evincing a very keen interest in the welfare of the people in this Presidency ever since she landed in India and scarcely a day passes in which she does not do some useful and philanthropic work. The good work Lady Willingdon has been doing for the wounded soldiers, both Indian and British, will be written in letters of gold in the annals of history. We would now take this opportunity to express our thanks to Lady Willingdon for the initiative she has taken in the matter of organising a technical school for disabled Indian soldiers which will enable them to earn a livelihood without being a burden to their families. We hope all classes of people will come forward to help the school in the way it deserves and to

make it a success. [In a subsequent issue the paper hopes that the appeal made by His Excellency Lord Willingdon for help at the opening of the school will be responded to in a hearty manner by the people.]

Alleged partiality shown in replying to European and Indian telegrams of sympathy sent to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Message (5), 13th May.

23. "Surely, it is calculated to do much harm whenever an impartial administrator looks or seems to look upon two classes of subjects under him with two different eyes. On the 5th May, in the year of dis-grace 1917, Mr. J. H. Abbot, Jhansi, sent a telegram of sympathy to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy asking him to convey on behalf of the 'Domiciled Anglo-Indian Community of India,' to His Excellency, his deepest sympathies in their sad bereavement. To this His Excellency personally replied on the 7th instant as follows, "We are both most grateful for your kind message—Viceroy." But when the Indian Merchants Chamber of Bombay sent a similar message, alas! they got a reply only from His Excellency's Private Secretary, 'Their Excellencies are most grateful for your kind message of sympathy.'"

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's presidential address at the Násik Provincial Conference.

Young India (10), 16th May.

24. "Mr Sastri's presidential address at Násik was a welcome departure from the oft-trodden path of yore and in every way remarkable for its thorough grasp of the question, clearness of judgment, depth of feeling and passionate patriotism. The main theme of his address was that question of questions which has at the present moment engrossed the deep and abiding interest of all thoughtful Indinas: 'self-government under the British flag, equal partnership in the British Confederation with the United Kingdom and the overseas Dominions.' The last few months have opened altogether new chapters. The old prejudices and the party spirit among English statesmen have been swept away and a better and nobler polity has taken hold of men's minds, under which everyone, however small or humble, is eager to share in the great principles of freedom and opportunity for unhindered self-expression, which are being reconquered at terrible cost to human civilisation. Under this renewed impulse Indians no longer dream but look upon the ultimate issue to-day as a matter of practical politics. The admission of India into the inner Councils of the Empire on terms of perfect equality with the Dominions has revitalised her interest in Imperial affairs and made her heart throb with renewed hope and faith in the statesmanship of the Empire. The practinal recogntion of India's legitimate place in the Empire has lifted the weight of dependency from her fair brows.......... This view of the matter has gained considerable support in the last few days from His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir, who has endorsed the suggestion of the *Times* for such a declaration.......... Mr. Sastry has clearly indicated in his address the utter untenability and illogicality of those who advocate 'a position of equality for India in the federation of the Empire, but resist the movement for internal freedom'. The Anglo-Indian bureaucrat who is guilty of this illogicality may not perceive the absurdity and incongruity of telling Indians to grow from top downwards instead of growing in the natural direction of from bottom upwards. On the contrary, Mr. Sastry stated most unequivocally that the self-governing status is almost a *sine qua non* of India becoming an equal partner in the Empire."

Indu Prakásh (35), 14th May, Eng. cols.

25. "No man—not even the writer of "Indian Unrest"—could manage now to believe implicitly and to preach dogmatically that it is the divine dispensation that a few Englishmen should eternally rule over millions of Indians. India *must* be given something and so certain politicians have been busy in drawing up some alluring schemes. So we find that the Imperial Conference resolved that 'India as well as the Dominions should have an adequate voice in the determination of foreign policy and foreign relations.' We also find it resolved that 'the Dominions must be recognised as autonomous nations of the Imperial Commonwealth and *India*

an important portion thereof." All this sounds very nice and we must congratulate ourselves over the success......... You leave India to be ruled by the bureaucracy and still you give India a voice in foreign relations. Not to India indeed, but to the bureaucracy which rules over India......... So long as the Secretary of State for India occupies that undesirable office, so long as most vital problems could be dismissed from India's councils without the least scruple, as long, in short, as we have not come to own our own, conferences will be held, sham representatives will receive honours and distinctions and India will know what all this means. So comes it that we are so very serious over the Home Rule. Mr. Curtis dreams that if India should be adequately represented in a Federal Parliament, she will have a voice in the determination of the steps and the pace at which she should advance towards full responsible government in internal affairs. This means, as the Honourable Mr. Sastri happily expressed, 'that the Federation movement outside India will reach consummation sooner than the Home Rule movement inside India' and that 'India is to *wait* on such a *chance* as the former may have of success.' Why this beating about the bush? Why not come forward and boldly assert that we do not want to give India self-government, but in order that she should be satisfied in some way or other, we mean to give a sham representation in foreign policy?"

Indian Social Reformer (2), 20th May.

***26.** "Mr. Sastri's address is remarkable for its many apt quotations, but the best of them all is that from a recent speech of Mr. Bonar Law. 'I do not agree,' said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'that the only thing you have to think of with respect to the government of Ireland is to set up a Government that will govern in the best way. I do not think so at all. I think that very often a very bad form of government, if it is with the consent and goodwill of the people governed, will work infinitely better than a much better system without that consent and goodwill.' We do not know if any of the opponents of the Congress scheme will be prepared to hold that the consent and the goodwill of the people of India will be detrimental to the good government of the country. We think that their position is that the present system has that consent and goodwill. If that were so, why have you been passing so many repressive measures within the last few years? Why have you been demanding more powers for the executive? The answer, of course, is that these are aimed at the handful of agitators who are bent on making mischief. But how can the agitators make mischief if you have really and truly the goodwill of the governed? 'O,' you say, 'they are very ignorant?' But why are they ignorant? Why have you not taken steps during the century and a half of your system to relieve them of their ignorance. There can be no answer to that question. The recent order of the Madras Government prohibiting students from attending meetings except such as may be addressed by officially approved orators, what is it but a confession that your teachers and professors are utterly without influence on their students? That is the fact. And why is this the fact? Because, notwithstanding profuse professions, any display of active, heartfelt sympathy with the students is discouraged and even penalised."

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 13th May; *Sandesh* (100), 13th May; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 15th May.

27. All advocates of self-government will find the Honourable Mr. Sastri's address as President of the Provincial Conference to be most inspiring. Indians at any rate no longer need any proof regarding the necessity of self-government. It has been universally recognised that it is unjust to enslave a nation on the strength of military power. People also feel that the principles in defence of which they are fighting against Germany with all their resources should triumph throughout the Emire. The movement for self-government aims at securing for India the benefit of this remarkable revolution in ideas and no far-seeing statesman can oppose it. The British nation cannot possibly view with approval the action of a few of the narrow-minded officials who try to suppress this movement. We shall undoubtedly enlist the sympathy of responsible British statesmen if we put forth our demands before them heedless of the persecution of these officials. There have been instances, although very rare, of a free nation conferring freedom on another nation under its domination. The Americans recently conferred autonomy on the Philippines and the Russians emancipated the Poles immediately they got rid of their autocratic government. There is nothing wrong in India expecting similar treatment at the hands of England. British statesmen no doubt will admit the resonableness of our demands. But we must be prepared to submit to the persecution of some short-sighted officials whose interests lie in the continuance of the present system of government. This period will of necessity entail much hardship on men striving to obtain *swarájya*. But they must be prepared to pass through this ordeal if they wish to see their political ambitions fructify in the end. [The *Sandesh* remarks:—The Honourable Mr. Sastri's speech was accompanied neither with the theatrical gestures of Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee nor was it tame like the utterances of Sir S. P. Sinha. His speech clearly shows that if there is any politician capable of filling the void created by the death of the late Mr. Gokhale it is he. If he continues as he has begun people will realise that the Servants of India Society is an useful popular institution and not a mere appendage of an irresponsible administration. Mr. Sastri has given an effective reply to the wicked libel that the Servants of India Society has taken Mr. Lionel Curtis into partnership. The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—Our representatives are admitted into the Imperial Conferences whereas we have no voice in the internal administration of our country. The Honourable Mr. Sastri aptly remarks that the right of representation at Imperial Conferences will not mean much for us unless it is supplemented by the right to govern ourselves.]

Bombay Samáchár (53), 15th and 16th May; *Hindusthán* (16), 14th May; *Sanj Vartamán* (28), 12th May.

28. The *Bombay Samáchár* regards the speech recently delivered at Násik by the Honourable Mr. Srinivas Sastri as President of the 17th Bombay Provincial Conference as being learned, instructive and full of sober views. It remarks that its special feature is its tone of moderation and asks those who are in a hurry to obtain large political rights to study it patiently. The paper maintains that the Honourable Mr. Sastri has made it clear how India is not in the same position as the colonies in being allowed to send as her representatives to Imperial Conferences men elected by the Indian Government on account of her not being self-governing like the colonies. It, accordingly, expresses the hope that Government will be kind enough to accede to the just demand of the people of India to allow the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council to nominate a man of their own choice to act as India's representative at the next Imperial Conference in which will be determined India's position in the Empire. Further, the paper hopes that Indian youths will make a generous response to the appeal made to them by Mr. Sastri to join the Defence of India Force in large numbers. It maintains that the British Government are not slow to appreciate merit wherever it is found and referring to the grant of the Victoria Cross and other decorations to Indian soldiers, remarks that the difficulties at present confronting the Indians in joining that Force will, in all probability, be removed soon after they have rendered service to their country in a loyal and devoted spirit. [In the subsequent issue the paper endorses the views in favour of a wider spread of education in India. It approves of the resolution passed at the Conference urging Government to amend the present law so as to enable the Bombay and District Municipalities to make primary education free and compulsory, within their jurisdiction. If Government are not in a position, opines the paper, to make education free and compulsory throughout the country the experiment suggested by the abovementioned resolution, if it is permitted to be made, will be found useful by them. The paper winds up by making an humble appeal to His Excellency Lord Willingdon to undertake legislation for making education free and compulsory in this Presidency before he lays down the reins of his office. The *Hindusthán* regards the presidential speech delivered by Mr. Sastri as a learned, manly, weighty and courageous utterance. It considers his observations in favour of the grant of internal autonomy

to India to be irrefutable and remarks that until it can be so arranged that Indian representatives may command greater weight and respect in the country's internal affairs and in the Legislative Councils, it would be folly and presumption on the part of Indians to send representatives to take part in Imperial Conferences in the discussion of matters affecting the whole Empire. For this reason the paper prays to Great Britain forthwith to grant *swarájya* to India. The *Sánj Vartamán* observes that Mr. Sastri has shown that the political reforms suggested by the Indian National Congress, All-India Moslem League and the 19 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council are in no way revolutionary. It writes:—In spite of declarations to the contrary made in the past in the matter of high posts the ruling race still enjoy the monopoly. The Indian nation has remained patient for 85 years and yet we are told that we ask for revolutionary and catastrophic reforms. The people of India have never made any such unjust demands. They only want their birthright and the present is the time to grant it.]

Comments on Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao's presidential address at the Cuddalore (Madras) Provincial Conference.

Indian Social Reformer (2), 20th May.

***29.** "When it is suggested that an existing institution should undergo more or less radical changes, the man in the street naturally wants to know if and how it has failed to fulfil the functions which it was intended to perform. Mr. Madhav Rao applies this crucial test to the administration, and states the result in simple and straightforward language. 'The bureaucracy,' he says, 'has been tried and been found wanting. The bureaucracy has neglected and mismanaged things so badly that, when a crisis like the present war arises, India in spite of her earnest desire for giving every support to the mother country, finds herself unable to do all she can in helping England in men and material.' This is evident from the particular instance he fastens upon as conclusive proof of the failure of the Indian bureaucracy. 'If the bureaucracy had discharged its trust properly', he says, 'and endeavoured to carry out the policy of the British nation........., we should have the expedition to Mesopotamia entrusted to an Indian, say, a man like the Maharaja of Bikanir, and Indians made largely responsible for the mobilization of resources in money and material which the Viceroy has so graphically described in his speech at Lahore.' And, again, 'The war has shown that the Government still acts as a foreign garrison in military occupation of the country. The people are not trusted, and the protection of the country against internal disorder is not entrusted to them. The people have remained disarmed. There is unrest in two large provinces, one of which supplies fighting material to the Government and the other inhabited by one of the most intelligent and sensitive races of India, and Government have not yet succeeded in allaying discontent in them.' These are not the criticisms of the academic politician but of the trained administrator whose instincts are affronted by the opportunities lost, the materials misused. If more proof were wanted of the failure of the present system, we may point to the appalling illiteracy of the population, the yearly increasing expenditure on the agency for the investigation of political offences, the series of repressive laws which have been enacted within the last few years."

A Muhammadan should be appointed to succeed the Honourable Mr. Chaubal as member of the Bombay Executive Council.

Akhbár-e-Islám (50), 14th May.

30. Speculating as to who would be appointed to succeed the Honourable Mr. Chaubal on his forthcoming retirement from the Bombay Executive Council, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks:—We would raise our voice as a Moslem organ and declare that the Government of Lord Willingdon should not fail to appoint a Muhammadan as the successor of the Honourable Mr. Chaubal. We could easily point out half a dozen Muhammadans of Bombay who are competent to fill the post. Men like the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Sir Fazulbhai Karimbhai, the Honourable Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Justice Kajiji are likely to adorn the chair occupied by the Honourable Mr. Chaubal with greater ability, greater courage and greater independence of spirit. While Mr. Chaubal has not succeeded, on the whole, in acquitting himself of his responsible duties in a satisfactory manner, we have every hope that the abovementioned gentlemen, whom we regard as the most independent persons among the Moslem community and as the deadliest enemies of the policy of submissiveness to high Government officials, are likely to cut a much better figure in the Executive Council than the Honourable Mr. Chaubal. The names we have mentioned above are those of men who enjoy the confidence, affection and esteem both of Government and the people. In view of the creditable manner in which competent Moslems have discharged their duties as member and Vice-President of the Imperial Executive Council and as member of the India Council, we can unhesitatingly count upon the appointment of a Muhammadan in the local Executive Council proving a success. We shall not, however, wonder if the choice of Lord Willingdon's government falls upon Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, member of the Secretary of State's Council, who is shortly expected to return to India.

EDUCATION.

Complaint about insulting terms being applied to the Prophet of the Muhammadans in the Arabic paper set for the B. A. Examination of the Allahabad University.
Sind Moslem (New), 5th May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (50), 12th May.

31. "The Arabic paper set for the B. A. Examination of the Allahabad University has aroused the greatest indignation in the whole of the country by reason of its containing phrases that no Muhammadan would use or allow another to use for their Prophet; and we cannot compliment the authorities for appointing such examiners, devoid of all common-sense and decency. It is only natural, therefore, for the Musalman candidates to tear it there and then and nothing we suppose would have prevented them, excited as they were, from throwing the pieces into the face of the Examiner had he been near them. It is not unoften that one sees very objectionable attacks in text-books on Islam and though they have been subsequently erased or put mildly on the representation of the Musalmans, yet the wrongdoers are left untouched; but the mischief done at Allahabad is by far too grave to be allowed to rest uninvestigated and unpunished. Surely His Honour Mr. Holmes is not going to pat Musalmans into silence; nor will they be satisfied with that. We hope and trust His Honour's Government will inflict substantial punishment on this mischief-monger." [In connection with the above incident the *Akhbár-e-Islám* inquires of those who protested against the line in the Third Book of the Gujaráti Readers Series which ran, "Oh Lord, you are my mother and father" and of the Honourable Mr. Syed Ali El Edrus who made an interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council about that line, whether Moslem feeling has been really wounded by that line, which was of Hindu authorship, or by their own co-religionists who set and acted as moderators of the Arabic paper above referred to and who style themselves learned and educated men. While remarking that the explanation published by the Syndicate of the Allahabad University, to the effect that the Examiner and the two moderators were all Muhammadans, has to some extent quieted down the Moslem feeling, and, expressing its gratification at that result, the paper declares that, in view of the ignorance these three Muhammadans have displayed in allowing Islam to be insulted by their present action, they would not be considered as having proved true to the duty entrusted to them.]

RAILWAYS.

Complaint about overcrowding of third class passengers at the Poona Railway Station.
Sandesh (100), 18th May.

32. Mr. V. G. Javdekar writes to the *Sandesh*:—I was travelling by the Madras Mail on the 7th instant. At the Poona Railway Station the carriage, including the latrine, was crowded with passengers. The guard could occasionally be seen walking on the platform but he would only enjoy the sight and pass on as is usual with these callous functionaries. A man by name Lala Vrindavan had once written to the *Kesari* that he was made to carry on his head buckets of nightsoil while working on a sugar plantation (in Mauritius). Well, that man after all was an indentured coolie. But is it not extremely degrading to men supposed to be free to be compelled to

submit to the noxious stench from a latrine when they have every right to expect better treatment from the Railway Company in return for their money?

Comments on the measures taken by the East India Railway for the protection of first and second class lady passengers.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 17th May.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 17th May; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 20th May, Eng. cols.

33. The *Bombay Samáchár* approves of the steps taken by the East India Railway at the instance of the Railway Board to introduce certain devices by which ladies travelling in the first and second classes can close the doors of their compartments from inside which the guard and station master alone can open from outside for the ingress of passengers, and suggests that a similar devise should be introduced by the other railways not only for the first and second class lady passengers but for the third class female passengers as well. The paper suggests that in order to obviate the possibility of the recurrence of assaults on female passengers by railway guards all the railways should appoint female guards or inspectors in order to ensure the safety and safeguard the honour and interests of third class female passengers. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* suggests that steps should be taken to guard against the misuse of the powers given to the guard in the matter of opening the doors of female compartments. While approving of the measures taken for the protection of first and second class lady passengers on Indian Railways, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"There is one thing which we cannot but criticise. There is no reason why this protection should be extended only to first and second class lady passengers. Women travelling by the third class are as much entitled to the protection of their virtue and property as their more fortunate sisters. Here at least any sort of such invidious distinction is most misplaced, and the Railway Board will be well advised if they rise above distinctions too petty to be considered by any Government department".]

MUNICIPALITIES.

The presidentship of the Belgaum District Local Board.

Chandrodaya (30), 14th May; *Din Mitra* (86), 16th May.

34. The *Chandrodaya*, in a leading article, refers to the protest made by a correspondent of the *Sandesh* of the 5th May 1917 (*vide* paragraph No. 45 of Weekly Report No. 18 of 1917) against the appointment of Rao Bahadur Artal as the President of the Belgaum District Local Board, and stigmatizes it as the outcome of communal hatred. The correspondent's allegation that the Rao Bahadur is a man of ordinary intelligence, is, it says, ridiculous as his abilities have won him the admiration even of his enemies, and the other allegation that he is full of class hatred is dismissed as the outcome of his unpopularity with a certain section of the Belgaum public due to his having sentenced certain Kulkarnis for bribery and caused a Mamlatdar to be punished by the High Court for a similar offence when he was District Deputy Collector of Belgaum. The paper then goes on to recount the various qualifications of Rao Bahadur Artal, chief among which are, it says, the experience he has acquired about the working of the Local Boards during the tenure of his office as District Deputy Collector, and the first-hand knowledge he has gained from the evidence of the various witnesses examined by the Local Self-government Committee of which he was a member. Finally the paper asserts that of late there has been a great change in the ideas that Rao Bahadur Artal held concerning national unity and co-operation and earnestly prays that Goveenment may be pleased to appoint him as the President of the District Local Board of Belgaum. [The *Din Mitra* expresses similar views.]

Affairs of the Surat Municipality.

Deshi Mitra (57), 17th May.

35. The *Deshi Mitra* expresses the opinion that the powers at present exercised by the Municipal Commissioner of Surat are very wide. In its view the Municipal Councillors err in believing that they have no right to interfere with what that officer does in the exercise of those powers. It remarks that the Municipal Commissioner is a public servant and is in a way a trustee of the public money and that the Councillors and the President should have the power of supervision over his acts. The paper also refers to the discontent which the present policy of nominating outsiders to various posts under the Municipality is alleged to have created among the old Municipal servants. It further deprecates the existing state of things under which men of the same community hold the principal post in each of the municipal departments. The paper concludes thus:—Though Government have at present set aside the resolution passed by our Municipality against the continuance of the appointment of a Municipal Commissioner under a trivial pretext, yet, in order to remove that trivial cause people of different municipal wards should meet in large numbers and the Councillors also should in an overwhelmingly large majority make endeavours to bring about the desired result. It is also necessary for the Surat Corporation to show the City's sympathy towards and agreement with the Poona Municipality by passing a resolution similar to the one passed by the latter in favour of having all Municipal Councillors on its board elected by the people. The question of the powers with which the Municipal Commissioner is invested should also be taken in hand.

The Surat District Local Board and the right of having a non-official president.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 13th May.

36. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes in a tone of ridicule about the resolution passed by the Surat District Board in favour of continuing the present system of appointing an official President. It remarks that the said resolution constitutes a slur upon the lofty name of local self-government and only betrays the cowardly weakness of those who passed it. It futher maintains that the resolution has exposed the whole of India to ridicule, and has, as it were, proved the truth of the comparison made by Mr. Curtis between the Indians and the African people. The paper is also of opinion that the resolution passed by the Surat Board is not an independent resolution but that it was influenced by the remarks made by the Collector as President of the meeting which arrived at such a decision. It expresses the wish that His Excellency Lord Willingdon should ignore the resolution and should either give the Surat District Board the right to elect its own President or ask it to reconsider the matter, in which latter case, suggests the paper, the votes should be collected by ballot.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 24th May 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

B 60—5 CON

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 21 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 26th May 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Adverse comments on the proposed grant of *Jágirs* in the Punjab as a reward for loyalty 31
Comments on a case of dacoity and rape in Bengal 32
Comments on Lord Pentland's recent speech in the Madras Legislative Council 21
Comments on orders passed by the Madras and Central Provinces Governments prohibiting students from taking part in politics . 22—25
Comments on the Home Rule League Conference held at Násik . . 26
Comparison between the Irish and Indian question 27
Defence of the Pathans against the allegation that they are usurers and brothel-keepers 33
How Muhammadans would suffer at the hands of the Hindus if India were granted *swarajya* at the present juncture 29
If the ignorance of the masses has not kept the people in Russia or elsewhere from self-government, it should not in India also . . 28
Protest against the alleged misapplication of the King Edward Memorial Fund at Násik 30
Comments on the Bombay Pilgrim Committee's Report for 1916 . . 39
His Excellency the Governor of Bombay: Proposed public movement in favour of the extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office 34
Indians in the Colonies: Comments on Sir Robert Borden's statement regarding reciprocity in admitting Indians into Canada 36
Judicial matters: Comments on the judgment of the Acting Third Presidency Magistrate in the defamation case of Anantram *vs.* Patwardhan . . . . . 37 & 38
Provincial Conference: Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's address at the Bombay — at Násik 35

Sind:

Are Muhammadans in — really less fit for Government service than the Hindus? 41
Complaint about inordinate delay in the publication of the Report of the — Land Settlement Committee 42
The Commissioner in — and the principalship of the D. J. Sind College, Karáchi 40

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War :

Appreciation of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon's efforts on behalf of wounded and disabled soldiers 16

Comments on the Government decision to have fortnightly sailings of mail steamers between England and India 20

Comments on the Government Resolution on the unsatisfactory recruiting for the Indian Defence Force . . . . 1—11

Comments on the present situation in Russia . . . . . . 18 & 19

Government should issue orders to stop the activities of officials in connection with the — Loan 13

Suggestion that Government should formulate for the benefit of Government servants a scheme similar to the one adopted by the Bombay Municipality for assisting its employees to contribute to the — Loan 15

The fullest information should be given about the labourers sent out of India for — purposes 17

The Government of India should explain why confidential — work cannot be entrusted to Indian clerks 12

What should be done and what avoided to ensure the complete success of the — Loan 14

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the orders alleged to have been issued to Local Boards and Municipalities in Sind to have their printing work done at the Government Press, Karáchi 45

Poona :

A Committee should be appointed to inquire into the affairs of the — City Municipality 44

Protest against the attitude of Government towards the — Municipality 43

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on measures taken by Her Highness the Begum of Bhopál to check the drink evil in her State 47

His Highness the Nizam should be permitted to prefix the words His Majesty to his name 46

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Government Resolution on the unsatisfactory recruiting for the Indian Defence Force.

Young India (10), 23rd May.

1. "The expected has happened, though the end is not yet in sight. Politicians in England and super-journalists in India had begun to wonder why in this terrible war India's colossal man-power was not being better utilized, and critics were not wanting in India who suggested that what the Anglo-Indian would term the 'Bhadr-log' class should be given a chance to defend their own country. Yielding to this insistent cry, the Government of India began with vague promises and ended with the publication of a set of rules for entry into a Defence Force, which chilled the enthusiasm of that Bhadr-log class. So the first stage was to offer something which Government should have known would be distasteful, the second to read a homily to those who cannot accept the conditions offered and the third, in which the reactionary press will play the leading part, will be the inevitable one of labelling those who refused to accept such conditions as persons unfit for self-government. The Government of India in their latest resolution on the Indian Defence Force have achieved the second stage.......... We have no hesitation in repeating again with all the emphasis at our command that the conditions of service in the Defence Force have been very rightly represented 'as being such as to deter volunteers from coming forward.' If the Government of India were anxious that middle-class Indian youths of some education should receive their scheme with enthusiasm, why did they not take leaders of Indian opinion of *all shades* of political thought into their counsel on such a vital matter? If the European is considered efficient for military service at 41, why should the Indian be considered unfit for being trained in the defence of his own land if he is just over 30? The Government of India were perfectly aware that among educated Indians, among the class they wanted for the Defence Force, those between 30 and 35 would have been the most able to come forward for enrolment.......... The reasons the Government of India give in their public lament over the failure of the scheme they have suggested are as lame as they are inopportune. It is, as a matter of fact, too early to say that the youth of India have not responded to the call. They have not been enthusiastic over the conditions of the service imposed, because they rightly consider that a distinction should be made between the middle class Indian joining the Defence Force, and the Indian joining the regular Indian army as a profession.......... There is another point to be considered. Did the Government of India instruct the teachers of Indian youth for whose untarnished name they seem to be so anxious, to give every encouragement to their pupils in this matter of enlistment? Our impression has been that the mentors of Indian youth had all their energies spent up in popularising the war loan and that they looked on rather coldly at the efforts of their pupils in trying to understand what the conditions of recruitment really were. It was alleged that the Principal of a professional college in Poona went out of his way to make some offensive remarks while dealing with the question of Indian enrolment in the Defence of India Force. Has this official been severely reprimanded by the authorities? Further, may we not ask what steps the various Government departments have been instructed to take in order to facilitate the enlistment of eligible Indians? For aught we know, the European heads have not only viewed the question with indifference but positively discouraged any effort being made in the direction. Employees in European mercantile houses have fared even worse, because these great employers are unwilling to extend to their Indian employees at least some of the concessions that were extended to the European employees who have volunteered. We agree that the scheme with its 'modest dimensions' should not prove a 'hopeless failure' as it would 'create an impression throughout the Empire prejudicial to the good name of India', but we may also point out that if the Government of India persist in enforcing a scheme which alienates the sympathy of the educated classes, the blame of the failure, if failure there is,

will rest on them and not on the people of India.......... Fine words butter no parsnips, and mere sentimental appeals to leaders of public opinion cannot make good the deliberate shortcomings of 'a scheme conceived in the general interests of Imperial Defence'. It has further been urged in the resolution that the Territorials in England have not been accorded any differential treatment in respect of pay, status, etc., from men in the regular army.......... All this is unquestionably true. Even Indians of position and means would have done the same under similar conditions.......... In the first place, it is false analogy to place the British Territorials in relation to the British Army on the same footing as Indian Volunteers in relation to the Indian Army. The conditions of the two are entirely different from each other. While a Territorial by reason of merit and attainments has the prospect of rising to the highest office open to a private in the army, Indians as such are debarred from aspiring to any high office.......... We are surprised that this sort of reasoning should have found a place in what purports to be a serious document. In this connection, the observation of Mr. Yusuf Ali, I.C. S. (retired), is, we think, very apposite. He says:—'The principle is capable of great extension, and a *direct* increase in the man-power available from India for the war is possible, provided the people of India are trusted, they are made eligible for the King's commissions, and a special Indian Volunteer force for war service is raised on conditions which will bear comparison with the terms offered to fighting units in Great Britain and the Dominions.' We commend this to the Government of India." [Elsewhere the paper says:—"The resolution is injudicious and premature. We have a more than ordinary suspicion that it was resorted to not for any disinterested ends, as one might be led to imagine from it."]

Mahratta (4), 27th May.

*2. "Government apparently regret the failure of the Act to evoke a thrilling response.......... Where is the root of this failure? It must be in the conditions of service or the general conditions of the country. What are the general conditions? The Governments, Local and Supreme, are exhibiting the utmost distrust of the popular leaders. Those whose appeal to the rising generation counts most, are treated by the authorities as 'undesirables'. Mrs. Besant, Mr. Bepin Pal and Mr. Tilak have received such attentions from the powers that be, as are ill-calculated to rouse enthusiasm in those who look up to them as their First Guardians—and these are legion. There has not been any reservation in the appeals made by Mrs. Besant and others to the student population and to the general public. The unfortunate conditions of service, which are based on hateful race distinctions, have had to be clearly explained in the course of the appeals. But we are of opinion that it is not so much these galling distinctions as the general atmosphere of distrust which is responsible for making the appeals of leaders futile....... There is not in the Resolution, beyond assurances of sympathy, any sign of Government having realised that their own conduct is responsible for the ill-success of their scheme of 'modest dimensions'. They ought in the first instance to remove the political embargo on our revered leaders. They ought to frame an all-India policy in educational matters, specially laying down the principle that students in no province shall be prohibited from attending or taking a reasonable part in political meetings. These are the first steps necessary to re-create the atmosphere of hope in which alone the call for the defence of the Empire can make an impression on the youthful Indian hearts.......... Government have sermonised us on the subject of 'pay and conditions'. Does not the Governor-General know that the general conditions in the 'United Kingdom and distant parts of the Empire' differ radically from those obtaining here? Englishmen and Colonials are not in bondage. Englishmen *own* their country and an Empire besides. The Colonials are practically independent in their several lands and derive immense profit by their membership of the British Empire. What are we in our country or in the Empire? Mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. Does that not sufficiently account for the difference with which the call to enrol in the interests of Imperial defence has been received in India and in the self-governing parts of the Empire? Let an assurance of a trustworthy nature (*i. e.*, accompanied by the immediate grant of certain primary rights such as the carrying of arms) go forth that India will receive full self-government within say 15 years from now, the Congress-League Reforms to be granted immediately after the War. If such an assurance goes forth, and India's response still remains only a hesitating one, then there will be some reason for comparing the English or the Colonial response with the Indian with a view to putting us to shame. In conditions as they are to-day the comparison indulged in only serves to bring into bold relief the fact that the shell of supercilious vanities within which the authorities have imprisoned themselves has not yet burst. We must make it clear that we wish and have been wishing all success to the scheme, ill-conceived as it is. We have appealed to our young men to go forward and help Government in their need—but as events show, we have failed to penetrate the thick encrustation of gloomy anger which envelops the youthful hearts. Let us hope that Government will ease the situation materially—if they really care to make the Defence Force scheme a success. We believe that if Government take into confidence the popular leaders and entrust to them the task of recruitment much disappointment will be saved. So far there has been no commendable interest displayed by Government in the recruitment for the Indian Defence Force. They have devoted themselves heart and soul to the *recruiting* of the money of India. Indian money-power would seem to be more attractive in the eyes of Government than Indian man-power."

Message (5), 22nd, 23rd and 24th May.

3. "It has been more than once reiterated by the highest authority in the land that the Defence of India Force was intended to do away with the invidious racial distinctions which obtained in the Indian Army between the European and Indian units............ But this ultimately proved to be merely illusory and in this case there was a great divergence between promise and performance.......... The promise of future remedy, however tempting it may be, does not make amends for the present shortcomings.......... Try as we may, we cannot help thinking that the whole question was one of willingness and as one of our local contemporaries put it, the action of Government argues an utter want of such willingness on its part. Where there is a will there is a way.......... There is another circumstance which has apparently escaped notice, but which demolishes this carefully constructed emergency argument. It will be recalled that when the definition of 'European British subject' was being evolved, the committee of the Imperial Council insidiously introduced a far-reaching change in the term and the Government of India acquiesced in the change. We refer to the inclusion in the term of everyone from a born and bread European to the mixed progeny of an undefinable class, which would not be tolerated by the Europeans themselves. It was then said that they could not afford to forego the services of men who had been trained at the expense of the State. All the same, a change such as this which would have provoked the bitterest opposition in other circumstances was permitted and the Government of India could not see any difficulties in regard to it. But when it is a question of according similarly liberal treatment to Indians at least in respect of their own ranks, the bogey of the emergencies of a great war is trotted out. Indians, for all we know, have been extremely reasonable. They have demanded no revolutionary concessions. They have simply asked for those opportunities of distinguishing themselves, which have been accorded to other communities. These opportunities have been consistently denied to them, and it passes our comprehension how the Government of India would feel disappointed at the failure of a half-hearted attempt, which was still further hedged round by hundred and one other limitations.......... Although we do regret as much as Government do the paucity of recruits, we think the blame rests with Government themselves and not with the people. If Government mean seriously, they should lose no time in removing the galling restrictions imposed on Indians." [In the next issue the paper writes:—"If the Government of India are anxious to obtain the man-power, pious resolutions expressing disappointment at the failure of faulty measures will not certainly assist. The anomalies of the

Indian Army Act will have to be removed first and the Indian Act placed on the same level as the English Act, before Indians with any sense of self-respect can be expected to submit themselves to the Indian Act. We shall only refer here to one provision of this Act in order to show how the offer is grievously unsatisfactory. The Indian Army Act, which is considered to be a model one by the Government of India and its champions in the Anglo-Indian Press, provides for flogging the men for certain offences. A provision of this nature is enough to scare away from the Army the respectable elements of the Indian population. Is there any counter-balancing advantage? 'Ask not for advantage.' Such is one of the commandments to Indians. As a certain Captain Guest is reported to have said in the House of Commons, white troops will do all the soldiering and the niggers—the gallant captain said 'coloured men'—will do the work of coolies behind the fighting lines. That is, we believe, another of the great reasons why Indians should volunteer to serve. Whatever the principle of the present Act, the provisions or the rules made under it are such as are not at all conducive to enlist the sympathies of respectable men in the land. The object of the present resolution seems to be to discredit Indians in the eyes of other peoples by presenting to them an exaggerated and one-sided picture. If the advisers of the Government of India wish to persist in such an attitude, we feel no responsible patriots would be justified in advising young men to join the Defence Force as volunteers" The same paper writes in its next issue:—"It is painful to see the Government of India and the Anglo-Indian papers abusing the imperfect analogy between the British Territorials and the Indian Defence Force. We are told in a tone of scolding that the British Territorials did not complain about the terms but did their duty and that Indian youths ought to have done the same thing. Now, we know that the Territorials did not complain about the pay, but the reason was that there was no racial discrimination to be complained of. Had, for instance, the English Territorials been paid only one-third of what the Scotch or Irish regulars were paid, or again, had the English Territorials been denied eligibility to commissions in an *English* army, serving in *England* and had they seen that these commissions were however open to the Irish or the Scotch or the naturalised Germans, we do not know how far they would have refrained from complaints about the humiliating discriminations.......... If the Government of India and the Anglo-Indian world generally be unwilling at present to give the opportunities which Indians ask for, they are welcome to act upon their convictions, based upon their prejudices and self-interest. But we could wish that they refrained from talking humbug. The injustice which they are doing will not, we may assure them, be much relieved by false analogies and crocodile tears."]

Gujarāti (12), 27th May, Eng. cols.

***4.** "We confess we cannot congratulate the Government of India on either the contents or the general tenour of the Resolution they have issued with reference to the failure of the Indian people to enrol themselves for service in the Indian Defence Force, and the criticism the conditions of that service have evoked throughout the country.......... Has His Excellency the Viceroy realised how much irritation the unjust and anomalous state of things, under which the sons of the soil have been excluded from the advantages of higher military training in institutions maintained at the expense of the Indian people for the benefit of Europeans and their exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the army, has produced in this country for the last thirty years and more? Does His Excellency's Government really wish to win the good-will and co-operation of the various races in India as the British Government are anxious to secure the active support of the Irish race? ...... Any one, who wishes to appreciate the true significance of the situation in India, has only to compare Mr. Lloyd George's generous attitude and fervid language with the cold phraseology of the Resolution, the desire it shows to rebuke and depreciate the people without understanding the history of the question and their difficulties in undertaking novel duties under disadvantageous circumstances......... His Excellency the Viceroy well knows that even in England and the Colonies the schemes of voluntary enlistment failed and the compulsory system had in consequence to be introduced for securing the required number of recruits. It needs no special gift of imagination to realise that a people who have for more than two generations been unjustly excluded from the benefits of higher military training and prevented from possessing arms even for defensive purposes cannot be expected to enrol themselves for military service with enthusiasm and quietly accept conditions of service that are anything but fair. Besides His Excellency the Viceroy has not borne in mind the fact that if the leaders of public opinion have not realised their full responsibilities, neither has His Excellency nor the heads of provincial administrations. ...... Whilst the latter and their subordinate officials have thoroughly officialised the movement for raising the Indian War Loan with commendable motives, they have studiously kept themselves aloof from the companion movement for making the Defence of India Act a success. Why have they ardently supported the first measure and deliberately fought shy of the second? .... Surely it would not have been derogatory to the dignity of the Viceroy to have presided at a public meeting and done everything to induce Indians to enlist themselves in large numbers. His Excellency has done nothing of the kind and thinks it justifiable and fair to take the leaders of public opinion to task for not having fully realised their responsibilities in this matter.......... From one's seat of exalted authority and position it is, it seems, as easy to rebuke others with an air of superiority as to forget one's own duties and responsibilities towards those who are made the victims of undeserved rebuke. There is one notable passage in the Resolution which requires to be specially considered, because it is calculated to mislead not only the Indian and Anglo-Indian but also the British public. 'The leaders of Indian opinion' are told that the pay of the Territorial force in England is the same as that of the regular army and that men of means and position do not think it derogatory to join the ranks both of the Territorials and of the new army and to serve as private soldiers shoulder to shoulder with those of other classes. They are further informed that the 'men of position and means asked no questions as to pay or other conditions, they put forward no *pretensions* or demands.' This, however, does not represent the whole truth. In the first place, the conditions of military service in England and India for British troops are much more satisfactory than those for the Indian army. Whilst it is a matter of notoriety that the British soldier in India is more costly than any other soldier in the world, the Indian soldier has not been adequately paid and his surroundings are anything but cheerful. Moreover, the Indian Government in making the comparison has lost sight of the crucial fact that a British recruit or soldier suffers under no racial disabilities whatsoever and no one will venture to tell him that military schools and colleges maintained by the British taxpayer are not available for him but for the people of Timbuktoo only. Such a scandal is impossible in Great Britain or in any self-governing and self-respecting country in the world. What is the frame of mind, what are the hopes and aspirations with which a British recruit enters upon a military career, whether of short-lived or long-lived duration, and what blank disappointment is there before an Indian recruit? If the respective conditions of service are to be compared, let there be a fair, honest and straightforward comparison from all standpoints. The implication conveyed in the above comparison that the demands of the Indians are mere *pretensions* is needlessly offensive and altogether baseless. The claims of the educated classes to higher military training and to equality of treatment with Europeans in all other respects are not mere *pretensions* but solid, substantial and unassailable claims of His Majesty's loyal Indian subjects and they cannot be allowed to be belittled or ridiculed in the style of Curzonic insolence and aggressiveness.......... The resolution with its rebuke to the Indian leaders and its reference to Indian 'pretensions and aspirations' is, we hope, not meant as a reply to the programme of reforms that has been put forward by the Congress.......... The 'leaders of public opinion' who have been unjustly taken to task cannot and ought not to sit silent in view of the attitude taken up in the resolution and of the grave situation created by it."

Indian Social Reformer
(2), 27th May.

*5. "The Government of India have issued a resolution expressing keen disappointment at the small number of Indians who have applied to be enrolled in the Indian Defence Force, and appealing to Indian leaders to use their influence to get the prescribed number of

6,000 men enrolled within the four months which yet remain. We cordially support the appeal. We wish that the Government of India had stopped at that, and not attempted to make out a case against Indian leaders of having aroused expectations which have not been realised. It was nearly a month after the enactment of the law that the regulations were published, and when the regulations were published the Colleges, from which a considerable proportion of recruits were expected, had closed for the summer vacation, and the students had dispersed to their homes in the districts. We have also to recognise that, though the Government of India and the heads of the Provincial Governments, notably His Excellency Lord Willingdon, have been anxious to see the experiment succeed, there was not the same anxiety exhibited by some officers who, unforunately, are more immediately in contact with the classes concerned; and that not a little of the meagre response hitherto made is due to the cold water which they have thrown on the project. There can be no doubt that the enthusiasm first aroused by His Excellency the Viceroy's announcement that Indians were to be enrolled in the Indian Defence Force was considerably mitigated when the Commander-in-Chief introduced his Bill, and it became clear that the disabilities under which Indians have been smarting all these years were to be reproduced in the new Force. Even before the Bill was published there were rumours that the position of Indian in the new Force will be no better than in the regular Army.......... The non-official Indian members of the Council implored Government to enlarge the scope of the Bill so as to remove some of these disabilities, but were rebuked by the Commander-in-Chief for presuming to talk of matters of which they knew nothing. The event shows that His Excellency, to whose authority on military strategy we should bow, had totally miscalculated Indian feeling in respect of the provisions of the Bill. The Government of India in their resolution recognise that the defects of the measure are to some extent responsible for the poor response to their proposals, but they do not seem to be able to understand why they should have come in the way of the success of their well-meant scheme. Their great argument is that when Englishmen have evinced no reluctance to join the Territorials on the same terms as men of the Regular Army it is inconceivable why Indians should not feel similarly. The answer is obvious and it is strange that the Government of India should require to be told what it is. The English Army is a microcosm of the English people. From top to bottom it is manned by Englishmen who understand the ways of the men under them and are understood by them. May we suggest that if the British Army were officered exclusively by Indians, it is just possible that there might not be the same readiness for Englishmen to flock to its standards? We are told that the present emergency is not suitable for raising the question of the admission of Indians to commissioned ranks. With great respect, we do not see the force of the argument. When you create a new army, you cannot but think of new ways of officering it. The officers are part of the army, and the question of recruiting men is closely intertwined with the question of their admission to the higher ranks.......... The Government of India's present resolution has been put to a use to which we are sure that Government never intended that it should be put. We are sure that the only object His Excellency's Government had in mind in framing this resolution was to rouse our leaders to increased activity. They had not the least idea that it would be used principally as a means of discrediting Indian public men."

Kesari (92), 22nd May; *Sandesh* (100), 23rd and 26th May.

6. The public leaders tried their best and advised young men to join the Indian Defence Force. But they could not hide it from them at the same time that the conditions of service were not satisfactory and that they were rather calculated to damp the enthusiasm of young men. Government officials did not give the required information in time and they did not supply the forms. It was proposed by some respectable people to raise a Bombay University Corps, but they were not allowed to do so. People thought somehow that Government did not show the same amount of zeal and interest in recruiting as they did in floating the war loan. Both the war loan and the number of recruits are not to be valued at their exact figure but they are to be prized as an index of the devotion of India to England.

It is not strange that some feel it a mystery that Government should offer tempting concessions in the matter of the war loan and that they should place impediments and show indifference in the matter of recruiting. Government have made an innuendo in their resolution that the loyalty and desire for military service of Indians are only formal, but we think that people have these qualities but that Government have not created the atmosphere that would rouse the requisite enthusiasm in the people to take up actual work. People do not like the present administration and do not feel that it is their own Government wholly. Government have themselves admitted almost that the conditions of service are unsatisfactory. Government say that the question of commissions cannot be discussed at the present time. But they themselves are responsible for delaying the question so long. People in England may have come forth to work as privates but they are politically free, and they can bring in the Government or turn it out, and they were consulted through their representatives before the war. They will again be consulted after the war. They are the fountain-head of all power. Which of these things have Indians got that they should feel any enthusiasm to enter the military service on any conditions? If Government are willing to give us an assurance of *swarájya*, educated *bhádra log* will be ready to do military service without any pay, or rather they would even pay something to do so. Formerly when the *saranjam* system was in force in the Mahárásthtra though everyone was not the ruler on the *gadi*, he felt that the *gadi* was his. The present rule is not considered to be *swarájya*. If instead of the old *saranjam*, *swarájya* is given, soldiers would be forthcoming from the houses that supplied them in former times. But our Government want, on the plea of loyalty, to get things done by the people without any proper remuneration. It is necessary to place some food even before the poor cow when it is to be milked; then what of the Mahárásthtra that is nurtured in glorious historical traditions, that has enjoyed *swarájya* and that to-day cherishes a burning aspiration for *swarájya*? Why should Government hope to mesmerise it only by the barren plea of loyalty? To put the fact of the poor response to the call of military service in official language, "this matter is separataly under consideration and it is engaging the earnest and sympathetic consideration of the people". [The *Sandesh* says:—It is not that Indians do not join because they are offered poor pay. It is not a question of pay but a question of principle. They have a natural right to expect the same pay and prospects as the Europeans enjoy. We do not know about other provinces, but in our province Lokamanya Tilak has outdone the officials in supporting recruiting. He has asked people to join unconditionally and freely. The fact is that the martial spirit of the people beyond the military castes has been killed during the last two generations. It may be difficult, but it is not impossible to raise the number of men required. Government do not utilise the services of Mr. Tilak in inducing the people to join and they do not take the public leaders into confidence. Why should not Government appoint a committee of Messrs. Tilak, Jinnah, Baptista and others to get recruits? In another issue the same paper remarks:—Government are trying to blame the people for the poor result, but people confidently hold that Government is responsible for it. Those who wanted to volunteer but could not make out the law on the subject did not know where to get the information and could not get the forms. A few forms could be had with great difficulty after the students had gone home for the summer vacation.]

Indu Prakásh (35), 24th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 22nd May.

7. Voluntarism was not a success even in England where the war was raging before the very eyes of the people. The shoals of applications before the Exemption Tribunals in India also tell the same tale. In the face of this apathy of Englishmen towards the Defence Force it is not very surprising that the disarmed and ignorant population of India should not feel very enthusiastic over the struggles in far off countries. Besides, a young man trained to arms would particularly attract the attention of the C. I. D. and might also be viewed with distrust by Government. It is natural, therefore, that our young men should keep aloof from military service. They also fight shy of the Defence Force as the remuneration is not sufficient

to attract even a labourer who earns a rupee a day. To be plain there must be a clear understanding between the rulers and the ruled. It is the basic principle of present-day politics that the people's voice should predominate in the administration of a country. People must be ruled in their own interests. The idea that people exist for the king has been banished from the world. We believe there will be a more satisfactory response to the call of Government to enlist in the Defence Force if they will give at least honorary commissions to capable men and prescribe a more liberal scale of pay for privates. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—While admitting that our young men should have given a better response to the call of Government, we are bound to point out that the policy of Government is not as liberal as it is shown to be. Compared to the zeal displayed by Government in collecting subscriptions to the War Loan they are practically indifferent about getting recruits for the Defence Force. Do they suppose that Indians will feel encouraged by their telling them that they are admitted to the Defence Force although there was no need for the step? We believe that the policy hitherto adopted by Government is apt to create an impression that Government are not very particular about Indians joining military service.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 20th and 24th; 25th and 23rd May (Eng. cols.).

8. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* deplores the poor enlistment in the Defence of India Force and ascribes it partly to the apathy of officials and partly to the ignorance of the general public. It is of opinion that the publication of a scheme of political reforms as suggested by the Maharaja of Bikanir will appeal to the imagination of the people and secure enlistment in the Defence Force in such large numbers as will strike terror in the heart of the enemy. [In its issue of 24th May the paper asks Government officials from Governors downwards to convene public meetings for enlistment in the Defence Force and to remove all the difficulties in the way of enlistment by consulting popular leaders and enlisting their co-operation. In its issue of 25th May the paper, while commenting upon the Government of India's Resolution on the subject of the poor response to the call for Indian recruits for the Indian Defence Force, remarks:—"We recommend the Government Resolution to the careful study of all patriotic sons of India. It is an important State document; it is free from bitterness, it is restrained and, therefore, it is all the more effective. Let the reader recall all the demands made at the Congress and Moslem League at Lucknow as well as in the memorandum of the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Is it to be expected that those 'demands' will be ever complied with if there is such a rooted reluctance on our part to undertake the first duty of every nation—the defence of the country? No matter how hard or unacceptable the conditions, the real work that only 6,000 of us are called upon to do is to be prepared to undertake the defence of the country for a short time.......... There is just one other contingency which we must point out to the public with all the emphasis we can command, and that is *the likelihood of a limited conscription for 6,000 or more men.* What has been done in the case of Europeans will certainly be done in that of Indians and the Goverement will not hesitate should the need arise. But we shall be shamed in the eyes of the whole world and all our boasted patriotism will be a bye-word and a mockery, for now and for ever it will be flung in our faces that out of the millions that call this ancient country their Motherland not 6,000 would come forward voluntarily to defend her in her need." In its issue of the 23rd May, however, the paper writes:—"The conditions of service in the Defence Force are, no doubt, not such as to fill Indian youths with an irrepressible desire to join the ranks of the army. But among the crores of Indian manhood, surely there are 6,000 men to step forward to the call of duty regardless of nice calculations of pay, and prestige, and prospect.......... Nor is it just to assume that the leaders of public opinion in this country have failed to realise their full responsibilities in this matter. Both the Indian leaders and the press, while they could not altogether refrain from criticising the scheme—and it will be conceded that it provokingly

invites criticism—did not grudge to give it their cordial support; and we have in most responsible quarters seen appeals made to the young men to join the ranks, in scorn of consequence. If the appeal has fallen flat, and the young men have not responded as they should, we do not think the leaders and the press are to blame. The real reason of the fiasco appears to us to be that the project has for one reason or another failed altogether to strike the imagination of the Indian youth. In the first place, the proposal came too late and haltingly......... We do not think that the proposal for an Indian unit in the Defence of India Force came at just the right psychological moment. Nor did it come in such a form as to rouse any particular enthusiasm. Apart from the disabilities impressed, and its unattractiveness from a political point of view, the scale on which it was conceived was anything but calculated to strike the imagination. The Government of India complain that the response has not been 'worthy of the name and aspirations of India'. But can it be said that raising a force of 6,000 Indians out of the teeming millions of India, is a proposition 'worthy of the name and aspirations' of India? It hardly looked as if Government were serious about the military value of Indian volunteer units. It looked like offering a plum to a naughty child clamouring for something much more important.......... Next, we do not think sufficient efforts have been made to advertise the scheme. Look at the attempts made to popularise the war loan! Every conceivable effort is made to captivate the popular imagination; and the response has been correspondingly gratifying. High Government officials have worked hard to get subscriptions for the loan. We are not aware of government officials generally having gone out of their way to encourage voluntary enlistment of Indians.......... The tone of the Government Resolution is by no means complimentary. But on the whole, we think it was a wise step to have told the public the plain truth in round terms."]

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 27th May, Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár* (27), 27th May, Eng. cols.

*9. "The Government of India deplore the numerous criticisms passed against the regulations regarding the Force, and seem to suggest that the poor response to the appeal for enlistment is due to all that criticism. This is hardly doing justice to the spirit in which criticism has been offered. Whatever the deficiencies of the measure, the Indian Press and the Indian leaders alike have been exhorting Indians not to think of their rights at the present moment, but only of the splendid opportunity afforded them of displaying their manhood to the world and serving the cause of their country and the Empire. Indians will be the first to admit that hitherto at least the Force has proved a pathetic failure.......... The call has come, the wish of the Indians has been granted. It rests with the Indians to fulfil the vision of Indian patriots despite all historic handicaps. On them rests the future military prestige of India. Let not a single Anglo-Indian say that India has been found wanting in the spirit of self sacrifice. It is not yet too late to retrieve the failure of the past two months." [The *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"One per million of the population is the ratio, they say, to which the enlistment works up so far. Nothing certainly can be more disappointing. We devoutly wish that the few months that are now left of the scheme will witness a wholesome spurt in recruiting.... ..... To those who ascribe the cause of the failure of the scheme to a tacit protest on the part of Indians against the disability described, we must frankly and honestly say that we cannot participate in their opinion. Soldiering makes no immediate appeal to classes which have long been debarred the use of arms. And critics who are apt to indulge in jokes and jeers must take note of the fact that the past military policy of Government has a good deal to do with the poor response which the scheme has met with in this country. The spirit of voluntary service which has been left undeveloped so far cannot be raised 'to order' in a day.......... The leaders of public opinion owe it to the country to spare it from any degrading humiliation; and we trust that they will leave no stone unturned to get for Government the number of men they need. Since writing the above, we must in all conscience draw the attention of our readers to the remarkable complaint vouched for and advanced by two correspondents in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 26th instant. According to them the 'Hopeless failure' of recruitment under the Indian Defence Force Act is due firstly to the inherent defects in the Act and secondly to the unsympathetic attitude of the officials in its administration and that 'Our public leaders' are in no way responsible for the same."]

Hindusthán (16), 21st May.

10. The failure of the Defence Force movement is due to other causes than the criticism of the Press about the pay and the prospects of promotion. The Defence Force Act was hailed with delight throughout India and young men were eagar to avail themselves of the privilege of bearing arms. But the rules issued under the Act damped the enthusiasm of the people and their hopes of getting commissioned posts were frustrated. Besides, officials and heads of educational institutions discouraged young men from joining the force. We have not forgotten the words used by the Principal of the Engineering College, Poona, in the matter of enlistment. The Principal of the Wilson College forbade his students from attending the recruiting meeting which was presided over by Mr. Tilak and some of the students residing in the hostel were fined for attending the meeting. No special facilities were given to school and College students to join the force, as requested. Had College students secured some facilities before the summar vacation many young men would have joined the force. People are not prepared to accept the rules under the Defence Force Act. Government should cease to look with suspicion and distrust upon the peopls and take them into their confidence to ensure the success of their scheme. However, we would appeal to young men to respond to the call to duty issued by Government and would ask them to come forward in large numbers in the service of their country.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 23rd May; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 19th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 21st May; *Shri Venkateshwar* (72), 22nd May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (50), 22nd May; *Political Bhomiyo* (65), 25th May; *Indian Loyalist* (18), 24th May.

11. The *Bombay Samáchár* thanks Government for issuing the Resolution relating to the Indian Defence Act and for pointing out the disappointing response which has been made to the opportunity afforded to the people for enrolling themselves in the Indian Defence Force. It believes the Resolution will rouse the people from their lethargy and convince them of the ill effects their poor response to the opportunity offered to them will produce and how in consequence of it Indians will be considered incapable of managing their own affairs. It appeals to young men to disregard all considerations of remuneration and prospects of promotion and to enlist in the Force. It endorses Mr. Sastri's opinion that the failure of the Defence Force movement would be a terrible blow to the national movement and that Indians would have to repent for it all their lives. [The *Sánj Vartamán* asks popular leaders to concentrate their energies on making the Defence Force scheme a success and thus save India from the stigma that would be cast upon it if the movement ended in failure. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of opinion that the poor response to the movement is largely due to the insufficient remuneration and the distinctions observed between the European and Indian sections of the Force. It asks popular leaders to issue a manifesto so that the Government Resolution may not go unchallenged and create a wrong impression about educated India in other parts of the world. The *Shri Venkateshwar* ascribes the failure of the Defence Force scheme partly to the nature of the rules under the Act and partly to the indifference of the people. It asks Government to attend to the difficulties of the people and appeals to young men to do their duty to the country by enlisting in the Force. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* ascribes the poor response to the Defence Force Act to the poverty of the people who cannot afford to give up their ordinary avocations to serve in the Force at a very great sacrifice. It asks rich men to institute a fund to enable those who would join the Force to make adequate provision for the support of their families. The *Political Bhomiyo* is of opinion that the failure of the scheme has proved the falsity of the boast of the political agitators who want Home Rule and *swarajya* and has shown them up in their true colours. It appeals to young men to respond to the appeal issued by Government. The *Indian Loyalist* also strongly urges upon young men the necessity of enlisting in the Defence Force.]

The Government of India should explain why confidential war work cannot be entrusted to Indian clerks.

**Indian Social Reformer* (2), 27th May; *Message* (5), 26th May.

12. "The proceedings before the several Exemption Tribunals, now sitting to dispose of applications from European British subjects to be exempted partially or wholly from compulsory military training, furnish informing reading. On the 23rd instant the Simla Tribunal disposed of, among others, a number of applications from the Military Secretary to the Viceroy for exemption of members on the Viceregal staff. One of these concerned an official, said to be a tour clerk, doing confidential war work. The report states that 'Captain Verney, the Tribunal was informed, had considered the alternative of emplying an Indian, but decided that the duties could not be entrusted to Indians in view of the confidential nature of the work.' We take this passage from the report in the *Bombay Cronicle*. The *Times of India's* report does not contain it. We take it that the *Times* omits the passage because it disapproves of such a flagrant declaration of Viceregal distrust of Indians. It is certainly astonishing that, in the whole establishment of the Government of India, a single Indian could not be found trustworthy enough to be employed as the Viceroy's tour clerk. Successive Finance Members of the Government of India have warmly testified to the absolute secrecy maintained about their proposals of taxation, and we recall particularly Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's tribute in connection with the duty on silver which he imposed. We find it difficult to believe that the Military Secretary would have taken it upon himself to urge this most offensive plea, and yet it goes against all that we have learnt to believe of His Excellency that he would have sanctioned it. Nowadays we hear much of psychology, and it is an elementary psychological law that confidence begets confidence. We hope an explanation of the incident will be soon forthcoming." [The *Message* writes:—" In spite of all the sweet phrases about Indo-British relations, we have never flattered ourselves with the idea that the officials in India look upon Indians with any degree of confidence or trust. Indians may be admitted to Executive Councils, to the Council of the Secretary of State and Empire War Councils and War Cabinets. But Indians, forsooth, cannot be trusted to be confidential clerks! And yet Indians hold a good many 'confidential' posts. Does the Military Secretary, in the plenitude of his superlative wisdom, believe that only the tour clerkship on his establishment could not be filled by an Indian? "]

Government should issue orders to stop the activities of officials in connection with the War Loan.

Mahrátta (4), 27th May.

***13.** "The War Loan is being 'collected' with a zeal which is praiseworthy, but the methods employed are not always above censure and condemnation. Some days ago we reproduced a letter from a village in Gujarat which first appeared in the *Chrcnicle*. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 23rd instant has brought to the notice of the public the injustice that is being done in Bengal by the War Loan zealots. The *Patrika* rightly points out that if the loan cannot be pushed without many a ryot suffering cruelties at the hands of the subordinate officials of Government it would be well to stop pushing the Loan. The Finance Minister did not expect to have more than 15 crores from his war loan scheme. That limit has long been overpassed. We do think that the officials all over India should now be asked to stop their war loan activities altogether. Voluntary subscriptions would still be coming in from those who can afford them. We cannot hope that even formal orders of Government requiring officials to abstain from using force or irregular pressure will go far to stop the abuse of authority in this war loan collection business. The ryots and even moneyed men in the mofussil are afraid of the 'men on the spot'. They will tell you in private what 'pressure' they were subjected to—but will never consent to publishing their grievances over their signatures. It is a disappointing state of affairs. But there it is. They will *curse* the officials who tyrannise over them and will appeal to Heaven with folded hands to *look to* the Government which keeps such officials in its service! But beyond this they will not go! Will the curses and the appeals go in vain? Government owe it to the suffering ryots—on whose labour they live and thrive—that they should use all possible means to save them from the tyrannies of their underlings. And is it not a duty of the leaders of every district that they should establish a Vigilance Committee with members in every Taluka to collect authentic information of official *zulum* and to act upon it? A strong Vigilance Committee well advertised even in the nooks and corners of the district is likely to put courage into the villagers, and to 'save' the officials from sinning. A spirit of resistance to tyranny must be cultivated. Disorganised villagers with their little internecine feuds cannot combine to expose the tyrannies of the official zealot. Their disorganisation and their feuds must somehow be put an end to. Every effort that the district leaders will make to compose village feuds and to organise Mutual Help Societies in the villages will serve to raise the *character* of the villager. The Mutual Help Societies should work in co-operation with the District Vigilance Committee. They may have many well-defined objects as parts of their constitution, but one of these should invariably be the *exposure of official zulum*."

What should be done and what avoided to ensure the complete success of the War Loan.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 20th May.

14. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* regards the steady flow of subscriptions to the Indian War Loan as an unmistakable proof of the increasing enthusiasm of the different War Loan Committees and of the growing sense of duty and loyalty on the part of the people. It remarks that the rate at which subscriptions have come in latterly, as compared to the rate at the beginning, proves that the loan movement only requires time to spread itself in a satisfactory manner among the uneducated masses of this vast country. In view of the enthusiastic response the people have only of late commenced to make in the matter of the War Loan and also in view of the fact that sufficient efforts have not yet been made in the Native States and British territory outside big towns, the paper entertains the belief that the time now left for closing the subscriptions to the Loan is not long enough to give the public an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty in its fullest measure. It, accordingly, hopes that the authorities will think over the necessity of extending the period for accepting applications for War Loan subscriptions. [Elsewhere the paper publishes a letter over the signature of "A Villager" in course of which the writer, after expressing his gratification at rich men and big commercial firms subscribing extensively to the War Loan, refers in a somewhat dissatisfied tone to the alleged practice of making poor menials and clerks employed in public offices in British India and the Native States subscribe to the Loan. He also refers to the compulsion alleged to have been brought to bear upon poor cultivators in some of the Native States to subscribe to the Loan though they find it difficult barely to maintain themselves in the present successive bad seasons. The writer further inquires how the poor and uneducated cultivating classes can subscribe to the War Loan when a majority of them have never seen even a currency note in all their lives. He condemns the alleged practice of compulsion above referred to and suggests that it should be soon stopped.]

Suggestion that Government should formulate for the benefits of Government servants a scheme similar to the one adopted by the Bombay Municipality for assisting its employees to contribute to the War Loan.

Hindi Punch (15), 20th May, Eng. cols.

15. Approving of the scheme of the Bombay Municipality for reserving Rs. 3 lakhs for helping its employés to contribute to the war loan, the money advanced to them being recoverable in easy instalments spread over a period of 3 years, the *Hindi Punch* remarks:—"Will the Bombay Government take a leaf out of this municipal arrangement? I am told they have formulated a scheme for assisting Government servants to invest in the loan and have kept the period of the instalments within narrow limits—a very narrow-minded policy which will hardly be found successful. They should formulate a more generous scheme, so that a Government servant of moderate means and a large family, with all his willingness to assist Government in the present war, may not be forced to keep himself back because a goodly portion of his monthly salary would be cut off owing to the short period in which he would have to return the money taken from Government for the loan."

Appreciation of Her Excellency Lady Willingdon's efforts on behalf of wounded and disabled soldiers.

Islámic Mail (3), 20th May, Eng. edition.

16. After dwelling upon Her Excellency Lady Willingdon's philanthropic efforts and her services in connection with the War Relief Fund, the War Hospitals and the War Loan, the *Islámic Mail* remarks:—"Lady Willingdon has now taken the first steps towards providing a livelihood for disabled soldiers and the Willingdon Technical School which was opened by the Governor on Wednesday last, is perhaps the first school of its kind in India.......... We had a talk with some of them and they appeared to be extremely happy and hopeful. 'The work we learn here' said one of them 'will fully requite us for our bodily loss'. Every one appeared to be grateful to Her Excellency for her personal attention and solicitude for their welfare. We hope it will be taken up by other provinces in India where the disabled soldiers are flocking in large numbers. The best thing would be to give plots of ground to them for cultivation as most of them belong to the agricultural class."

The fullest information should be given about the labourers sent out of India for war purposes.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 24th May, Eng. cols.

17. "Is there any reason why information should not be regularly published about the number of labourers being sent out of India on account of the war? There need not be any censorship of such information. What is the total number of labourers sent to Mesopotamia? What is the total number of convicts sent to the same country from India? What is the nature of the work on which they are employed and what are the terms on which they have been taken away from the prisons? Then there are 50,000 labourers to be sent to France. How many have been sent so far and how many from each Province? Have they all reached France safely? What are their wages? All this information could be easily given in an official *communiqué* published from time to time. The employment of Indian labour out of India is a matter of vital interest to the country and the fullest information on this subject should be made available to the public."

Comments on the present situation in Russia.

Gujaráti (12), 20th May.

18. What are we to understand about Russia? Why have the chief Ministers of the Provisional Government resigned? Why has the Commander of the Army and Naval Forces resigned? In his resignation he has stated as his reason for resigning that the control exercised by the Provisional Government over the forces is unstable! We cannot make anything out of this. Is it to be understood that the Provisional Government cannot enforce its orders on the army and the navy? It is said that the army interprets freedom to mean that the war should be conducted in accordance with its wishes! This means that in Russia there is nothing like discipline and power of control. Perhaps the Russian Commanders have gone to Petrograd to consider the situation. The Foreign Minister who took a prominent part in bringing about the revolution and in the organisation of the Provisional Government has also resigned! How can the war be prosecuted and victory achieved when Ministers resign one after another at such a critical juncture? In the absence of definite news people are led to believe that something serious must be in the air. We are not surprised at the resignations of ministers. They may be due to rivalry in the revolutionary party. In Russia the rivalry between the King and the people has come to an end, but now there will be rivalry between the various parties. The revolution has been effected but difficulty has now arisen in the matter of knowing the public opinion through the constitutional Assembly. The Proclamations declare that the war will be vigorously prosecuted and no separate peace will be concluded. But where is the guarantee for putting these intentions in practice? Anybody may come in power in a democracy and we cannot say for certain what may happen at any time.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 21st May; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 25th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 23rd May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (50), 24th May.

19. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while inclined to the belief that the internal condition of Russia is not very satisfactory on the whole and is such as to give rise to anxious speculations as to the ultimate attitude the Provisional Government will take with respect to the war, hopes that the loan raised by the United States for Russia and the help given to it in other directions by America will tend to stimulate the enthusiasm of those who want to prosecute the war and to weaken the strength of the peace party. It is of opinion that America must not have offered help to Russia without making sure that Russia will not conclude a separate peace with Germany. [The manifesto issued by the Foreign Minister in Russia leads the *Sánj Vartamán* to the opinion that in spite of difference of opinion and internal quarrels Russia will not conclude a separate peace. It believes the manifesto will tend to allay the general fears with respect to the attitude of Russia towards the war. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* declares that the situation in Russia is very grave and expresses fear that the great influence wielded by socialists in that country might lead to its making a separate peace with Germany. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes in a similar strain.]

Comments on the Government decision to have fortnightly sailings of mail steamers between England and India.

Sind Observer (9), 15th May.

20. Commenting upon the decision of the Government of India to have fortnightly sailings of mail steamers between England and India, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"This decision has been arrived at rather late in the day, and we cannot understand why in order to reduce the quantity of mails to be carried action has not been taken to exclude bulky parcels of magazines and other unnecessary literature and articles. The question of shortage of tonnage must be met by drastic measures, and it is up to India to make some sacrifice to assist the Empire in facing a situation the solution of which is of prime national importance. We cannot see the need for maintaining a service of great liners between India and England *viá* the Mediterranean for the convenience of the few passengers who now make the voyage. No ladies, with very few exceptions, are permitted to travel, and we think the time has arrived to restrict the sailings of passenger vessels to a minimum. Men should be obliged to take their chance in transports not utilised for the conveyance of troops. In this way the Shipping Controller would be able to take over several hundred tons of shipping to assist in wiping out the Germans."

Comments on Lord Pentland's recent speech in the Madras Legislative Council.

Mahrátta (4), 27th May.

*21. "Lord Pentland has thrown a veritable bomb into our midst. The speech which he made in winding up the business of the Madras Legislative Council on the 24th instant warned all concerned to take note of His Excellency's desire that 'in the interests of progress as well as of order all thoughts of the early grant of responsible government should be put entirely out of mind'. His Excellency closed his harangue with the following words:—'On behalf of my Government I call upon all who hear me or read these words for their support in any action which the Government may be forced to take to discourage these unwise and dangerous methods, and the extravagant aims which they are designed to further.' So we are asked to expect a compaign of repression in Madras. Does Lord Chelmsford side with Lord Pentland? Lord Pentland declared that the Home Rule agitation was initiated and persisted in 'against all advice and warning'. He repeated the platitude that this was 'a most unsuitable time' for such an agitation. He stated his high opinion that Home Rule 'if it means nothing less than at a very early date the placing of the executive Government in all its departments under the direct and full control of Legislative Councils containing a large majority of elected members' was not 'within the range of practical politics.' The expressions 'early' and 'very early' do not convey any definite idea. What does Lord Pentland mean by them? Again does he understand by his 'Home Rule' or 'Responsible Government' the reforms embodied in the Congress-League scheme? As he must know, these Reforms fall far short of real 'Home Rule' or 'Responsible Government'. He must also be aware that only the Congress-League Reforms are demanded by the Home Rule 'agitators' at an 'early' or 'very early' date, *i. e.*, after the termination of the war. When the Irish Home Rule question is sought to be solved *immediately*, is it 'unwise' and 'dangerous' for Indians to ask for an humble instalment of Home Rule *after the close of hostilities?* May it be that Lord Pentland is sure of the support of the Government of India in his new policy? If His Excellency the Viceroy is on the side of Lord Pentland, India will have some exciting days to pass through. Repression has a place in the Divine Scheme of political development. Russia bears eloquent testimony to this fact. Nothing will frighten true patriots. Let what may, come, *Freedom must triumph.* As Lord Pentland said, 'the British Empire stands or falls on self-government!' Let the officials of the Empire beware, therefore, how they 'discourage' our self-government propaganda. *The Empire shall fall, if India is not allowed to stand on her own feet at an early date.*"

Comments on orders passed by the Madras and Central Provinces Governments prohibiting students from taking part in politics.

Hindusthán (16), 19th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 21st May.

22. In continuation of its remarks on the order of the Madras Government prohibiting high school and college students from taking part in political meetings and discussions of an objectionable character, noticed in paragraph 7 of Weekly Report No. 20 of 1917, the *Hindusthán* observes that the publication of such hasty and improper orders by Provincial Governments are calculated to diminish the faith which the public have in them. It alludes to similar orders passed by the Central Provinces Government and, referring to the correspondence between the Inspector of Schools and Head Masters in those Provinces in that connection, observes:—One more duty has been added to the existing duties of the Head Masters. They have now to detect offenders. They have secretly to follow students taking part in political movements and catch them by the ear. Other teachers have to help the Head Masters in the discharge of this duty. We do not understand whether we should pity these teachers or congratulate them. An increase should be made in their pay if that has not been done already. Hereafter they will act both as teachers and detectives. The additional pay to be drawn by them should be defrayed by the Criminal Investigation Department. [The paper here refers to the active encouragement given by teachers in England to the students to take interest in political matters and, remarking that these same English people adopt a different policy on arriving in India either through the effects of the salt air of the ocean they have to cross or through intoxication of power, proceeds thus:—]Educational institutions in this country will be conducted in accordance with popular wishes only when other institutions (also) come to be governed by the people of India enjoying *swarájya.* The whole of the expenditure incidental to education comes from the pockets of the people and yet they have no right to determine their educational policy. Does this not constitute one more argument in favour of *swarájya?* The Central Provinces Inspector has declared that those parents who did not approve of the policy governing the working of schools (under the control of Government) were at liberty to remove their children from those schools. It should not be forgotten that such a position has been taken in opposition to the united opinion of the public. Such a reply is not creditable and is destructive of public independence. It is necessary for the public to raise a serious protest against such an attitude on the part of the authorities. The latter set no value on public opinion. We hope that efforts to place such restrictions upon Indian citizens will be stopped in future. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regards the order of the Madras Government as somewhat extraordinary. About the order as affecting school boys it has nothing to say, but it cannot approve of the action of the Madras Government in prohibiting undergraduates from attending political meetings where they can learn many useful things. The paper expresses the hope that the Government of India will deem it fit to make the Madras Government soon withdraw it.]

Hindusthán (16), 20th May, Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti Punch* (14), 20th May, Eng. cols.

23. "All the Provincial Governments in this country have periodical attacks of hallucination under whose effects they all indulge in strange and unstatesmanlike policy to the detriment of the progress and development of India. The latest victim of these attacks is, it seems, the Madras Government which, according to *The South of India Observer*, has issued a circular in connection with the students and politics. The circular for its utter lack of statesmanship and for its amazing shortsightedness, is a unique example of its kind. .... Mr. Joseph Baptista has well said in his letter to the *Bombay Chronicle* that all attempts at artificial restraints on the political tendencies of students are futile. They must be led, not driven or enchained. All views will receive a fair hearing from them. But to gag them is to attempt the impossible. The wave of patriotism is more irresistible than the waves of the sea." [The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—"It is surprising and painful to note that the Madras Government has thought itself called upon to issue an order prohibiting the students to participate in political meetings and movements. The reason stated in the order is that in the interests of educational advance it is unwholesome for the students to involve themselves in such discussion. Such a reason can be put forth only by ignoring the chief end of education. .... The knowledge of everything which is intended to be forbidden to them will come to them through the public libraries and the conversation of their parents and friends. So instead of making such fruitless attempts to keep the students away from politics, the Government will, with advantage to itself and to the country, guide them with a sympathetic spirit. We hope that the Madras Government will, before long, see its way to withdraw the order by taking a broad and generous view of the matter as His Excellency Lord Willingdon did in case of the Government servants by clearly expressing in the Legislative Council that there was no objection under the Government Servants Conduct Rules for the Government servants simply attending political meetings."]

Kesari (92), 22nd May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 24th May.

24. Political education is given to the students in all free countries and we are surprised that quite the contrary policy is followed in India. It appears that Government intend to train us for political work without giving us political education! Who will not laugh at the Government policy that turns topsy turvy the doctrine that fitness cannot be had without training? Government say that they will give us *swarájya* when we are fit. At the same time they enjoin that we should become fit without any training! If training is not needed for political fitness, if on the contrary such training is forbidden, then why should the question of fitness be brought in while granting *swarájya*? But our Madras Government want to make the students fit without such training, and when they are fit they are to be given certificates of fitness for *swarájya*! An extraordinary experiment indeed! [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—The Madras Government have introduced the tutorial system in colleges. The system itself is good, but coming as it does soon after the recent order prohibiting students from participation in politics, we are not glad at its introduction as there are reasons to be suspicious about the intentions of the Madras Government. If there is to be an attempt to suppress patriotic feelings and political aspirations, it will fail in its object or rather it will be a new source of ill-feeling between students and teachers. No doubt there is the need of controlling the waywardness of students, but the work should be undertaken only by those who fully sympathise with the students, and European teachers generally are unfit for the work. We have grave doubts as to how far the system would be successful in Government colleges which are largely staffed by European professors.]

Indian Social Reformer (2), 27th May.

***25.** "In his speech bringing the proceedings of the meeting of the Madras Legislative Council held last week to a close, His Excellency Lord Pentland referred to the extraordinary order recently issued by his Government prohibiting students from attending political meetings. We are bound to say that His Excellency's explanation makes the action of his Government even more unaccountable than it seemed without it. We have no doubt that the object of his Government in issuing these orders is just what he said it was in his speech. At the same time, we cannot help thinking that it is most strange that the Government of Madras could not understand that the actual effect of their orders is likely to be something altogether different from what they intended it to be. Where such a vital question as the future of students is concerned, plain speaking is a duty which cannot be evaded. Our deliberate view is that the effect of these orders of the Madras Government is likely to promote in the Southern Presidency a situation similar to that which is baffling the best brains of Bengal. To cut off Indian students from the influence of responsible Indian leaders is to drive them directly into the path of perdition."

Comments on the Home Rule League Conference held at Násik.
Kesari (92), 22nd May.

26. The Nasik officials tried their utmost to prevent the meeting of the Home Rule League Conference in Násik which gave an enthusiastic impetus to the League to carry on its work throughout the new year. But fortunately they were not successful in their game. The Police officials, though they had no authority to do so, demanded the right of entry for their reporters and they began to threaten that they would obstruct the meeting in some way or other if their request was not acceded to. The conductors of the Conference know full well that the Police demand is illegal. They are ready to fight legally and win their case, if there was scope for an open inquiry. But a struggle between the Police and the popular party is at the beginning at least like the conflict between an earthen pot and a brass vessel. The Police are able to-day to restrict the freedom of any individual by using their powers. And what is more strange, they have become so brazen-faced as not to feel any shame even if the law courts hold them guilty. Now every word of the proceedings of the Conference must be before Government and they themselves will realise what a mistake they are committing in raising a false alarm about the League, and we hope that they will change their policy of distrust towards that body. We hope similarly that the Congress officials will abandon their suspicious attitude after reading the reports of the Home Rule League. It is never possible for Government to feel happy over the work of the League. If at all, they will feel sorry. We have nothing to do with Government and we need not care for them beyond convincing them that everything is plain and above board with us. The relations between the Congress and the League are of quite a different nature and the League feels confident that it will convince even those who are in the sulks that it is but doing the work of the Congress indirectly.

Comparison between the Irish and Indian question.
Indu Prakásh (35), 23rd May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 26th May.

27. The *Indu Prakásh* suggests that Government should entrust the several political parties in India with the task of drawing up a scheme of self-government for India just as Great Britain has called upon the Irish leaders to frame a constitution for Ireland. It says that Government should finally decide this question if all the parties come to a unanimous decision and are also able to satisfy the representatives of Government. The time for taking some such step, it declares, is fast approaching if it has not already come. In the opinion of the paper there will be no danger of this body framing hasty legislation as it will have the co-operation of British representatives. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes :—It is unnecessary to dilate upon the moral of Lord Curzon's admission that Great Britain would not have conferred Home Rule on Ireland if she had not been compelled to do so by force of circumstances. The moral is that no one should expect rulers to confer any rights upon the people unless they are forced to do so. This moral cannot be very encouraging to India which relies on constitutional agitation only, while Ireland had recourse to lawful as well as unlawful means in gaining her object. We are naturally a law-abiding people and will adopt none but lawful methods. We must, however, bear in mind that we shall not get *swarajya* unless we compel our rulers to give it to us by adopting all legitimate means in our power.]

If the ignorance of the masses has not kept the people in Russia or elsewhere from self-government, it should not in India also.

Kesari (92), 22nd May.

28. Many autocratic Englishmen like Lord Sydenham have lately got into the habit of raising a cry that Indians are unfit for *Swarájya* as they are uneducated and that it is useless to grant *Swarájya* unless the people are fit. But the Russian revolution has given them a good slap in the face. The masses of Russia are more uneducated and superstitious than those of India, and yet there was no dearth of educated Russians ready to acquire and carry on *Swarájya.* The reins of administration are in the hands of the educated in every country and they are always capable of running the administration. That nation which has a sufficient number of educated men to conduct the administration must be considered fit for *Swarájya.* England itself did not suspend the work of obtaining *Swarájya* till every cook in the country became a second Lloyd George; and in fact no nation has ever said it would be unfit till it reached this pitch of efficiency. Then why should India alone be given this advice? After the Crimean war the Russian educated classes abolished serfdom. The Duma was established after the Russo-Japanese war. The Tsar was dethroned and democratic government established during the present war. On no occasion did the leaders find the unfitness of uneducated Russians an impediment in the way. Many self-seeking people will advance henceforward, as they have done till now, this argument of unfitness, but like the skilful leaders of Russia our people also should understand their covert purpose.

How Muhammadans would suffer at the hands of the Hindus if India were granted *swarájya* at the present juncture.

Political Bhomiyo (65), 25th May.

29. The *Political Bhomiyo* publishes a contribution from an anonymous Muhammadan writer in which the latter, without entering into the question whether the arguments advanced in favour of *swarájya* for India are weighty or not, raises the question whether its grant will prove to be of any benefit to the Muhammadans. He goes on to argue that the Moslems being immeasurably more backward than the Hindus in the matter of education, if *swarájya* were granted to India just now the higher posts in the administration of the country would, almost in their entirety, go to the Hindus and consequently in the grant of such a form of government the Muhammadans would secure only a mirage. The writer believes that the condition of Muhammadans would be worse than what it is now if *swarájya* were granted to India at the present juncture and supports that view by asking to what lengths the Hindus would not go after obtaining *swarájya* when even now they publicly call them *yavanas, mlechhas,* butchers and barbarians and do not fail to condemn their holy religion, Islam, as the *mlechha Dharma.* The writer proceeds thus:—Will the Muhammadans be able to enjoy the same measure of liberty that they now enjoy after India has been granted *swarájya*? Will the Hindus who, at the time they drink water, do not allow the Muhammadans to sit on the same carpet on which they are sitting, permit the latter to make at the Bakr-id festival, the sacrifices enjoined by their religion? Will these same Hindus, who apply to the Muhammadans the epithets "Musalla" and Bándá (circumcised) and look at them with an eye of contempt, allow them to go along the roads which run close to their temples after obtaining *swarájya*?

Protest against the alleged misapplication of the King Edward Memorial Fund at Násik.

Young India (10), 23rd May.

30. "The people of Násik seem to have a real cause of grievance against the arbitrary manner in which funds raised from the public are disposed of. About the year 1912, in the tide of a general movement which was abroad to suitably commemorate the late King Edward VII, the people of Násik town and district decided to raise a fund and utilise it for constructing hospital wards, as they deemed it a suitable memorial to His Majesty, whose efforts in the direction of peace and human relief are so well-known. Excepting important headquarter towns, subscriptions were collected on a scientific basis of revenue assessments and about Rs. 45,000 was realised in all. Subsequently, the then Collector summoned a special meeting of the subscribers, to which only the approved pattern of people seem to have been invited, and got it to resolve that about Rs. 30,000 should be utilised to provide the town of Násik with a bureaucratic club, to bear the revered name of His late Majesty. Out of the residue, about ten to fifteen thousand rupees was devoted to providing some hospital wards at Násik. We do not want to say here anything about the club itself except that it is the most exclusive and officialised institution, a small appanage of the Collector's charge. It is thus easily seen how far the district authorities were justified in diverting the funds to a purpose which was never contemplated in the original objects and which is not agreeable to the donors and subscribers of the fund.......... This is not the only case of abusing public funds; and of them (others ?) by and by. We would suggest to the subscribers that it is open to them to go to the High Court for an injunction."

Adverse comments on the proposed grant of *Jágirs* in the Punjab as a reward for loyalty.

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 20th May.

31. The question naturally arises as to why it is found necessary to reward loyalty in the Punjab by conferring *jagirs* although the practice does not obtain in any other country in the world. The reason advanced by Sir Michael O'Dwyer that people in England understand their civic duties and are ever ready to perform them without expecting any remuneration, whereas our sense of duty has to be sharpened by the bait of a pecuniary reward, does not appear to be satisfactory. We do not consider our loyalty to be a commercial commodity and are not prepared, therefore, to accept Sir Michael's estimate of our character. The policy adopted by the Punjab Government will only yield spurious loyalty. Flattery of Government officials sometimes passes for loyalty, and this sort of loyalty will be very much in evidence everywhere. If Government begin to grant *jagirs* on the recommendation of subordinate officials honest men will keep in the background and only the sycophants will benefit. It is most undesirable from the point of view of Government themselves that such loyalty should prevail everywhere.

Comments on a case of dacoity and rape in Bengal.

Hindusthán (16), 21st May.

32. Commenting upon a case of rape and dacoity by armed hooligans that is being tried by the Deputy Magistrate of Hooghli, the *Hindusthán* writes :—Loyal and peace-loving people are subjected to such miserable treatment owing to the British Government having disarmed their subjects. The dacoits, however, procure arms by some means or other and freely molest peace-loving citizens. Since Government have not been able to protect the citizens from the depredations of armed dacoits in Bengal for years past the people have come to lose faith in the power of Government to protect them in every respect. Under the circumstances Government would do well to allow the people to carry arms for self-protection.

Defence of the Pathans against the allegation that they are usurers and brothel-keepers.

Islámic Mail (3), 20th May, Eng. edition.

33. "We have not come across a grosser libel than the one which has appeared in the *Chronicle* under the heading 'The Pathan terror,' and we desire to draw the particular attention of the authorities concerned to it. If it is criminal to bring into contempt any class of His Majesty's loyal subjects then our contemporary is guilty of it. It is only the valiant editor of the *Chronicle* who can stigmatise a noble race as brothel-keepers and usurers. No decent person would indulge in such a hazardous generalisation. Does it stand to reason to condemn the whole Pathan community because one of them figured in an ugly case in the criminal courts ?......... Pathans are a God-fearing and law-abiding people who pursue honest trades and earn their bread in approved ways......... They are mostly labourers who pass their days in the docks or mills and their nights in their rooms. They have been seldom seen in undesirable quarters which are the haunts of Purdesis. A few men who come from Pishin do money lending, but not many of them, and no Pathan keeps brothels. Those who have figured in courts are not Pathans but yaghistanis who are a set of lawless people living close to the Frontier and many of them are Hindus. Ever since Inspector Obaidulla Khan has come to Bombay these Punjabis have been brought to

[illegible] and there are few complaints. The people in Bombay know [illegible] better than these journalists and they have very seldom had [illegible]."

Proposed public movement in favour of the extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 25th May; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 27th May, Eng. cols.

34. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* hopes that the suggestion made by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy for calling public meetings in order to request the higher authorities to extend the term of Lord Willingdon's office as Governor of Bombay will receive support from the general public. It remarks that Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon, and particularly the latter, have won the hearts of the people by their sympathetic attitude and have made sanitary and other movements successful by personally participating in them. It, however, declares that, unfortunately, His Excellency has not thus far accomplished anything noteworthy in the direction of political and economic reforms. The paper attributes this to His Excellency's anxiety not to take in hand any controversial matters during the continuance of the war. It entertains strong hopes that His Excellency will follow the example of the Home Government who have been making bold and revolutionary changes and have continued to sanction increased expenditure on education and in other matters affecting the economic and moral well-being of the people in spite of the present staggering war expenditure, and take in hand without delay reforms the tackling of which he has postponed at present. The paper maintains that the people wish for the extension of His Excellency's Governorship, feeling confident that all these reforms will be carried out during the extended period of his *régime*. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, in its English columns, fully endorses Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's suggestion for a public movement in favour of the extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office.]

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sástri's address at the Bombay Provincial Conference at Násiks.

Gujaráti (12), 20th May.

35. The *Gujaráti* regards the presidential address delivered by the Honourable Mr. Sastri at the recent session of the 17th Bombay Provincial Conference as a pronouncement fit to be read and pondered over not only by the people of this Presidency but by the whole of the Indian public. In its opinion the address is an effective rejoinder to those officials who try to throw cold water on the political activities of the people. Referring in an appreciative manner to Mr. Sastri's remarks in favour of the grant of Self-government to India, the paper observes:—When revolutionary changes are taking place everywhere on the earth, should India remain confined in a pit? No. India does not desire for good administration or perfect administration. She wants her own administration. [Here the paper refers to Mr. Sastri's remarks to the effect that no one in India intended to subvert by force the authority established in the country and that there was no cause for believing that the protagonists of any such revolutionary change in India would, if successful, receive a congratulatory message from the British Premier and the House of Commons, and proceeds:—] Such congratulations can be given by England to Russia alone! Some historians maintain that the glory and greatness of empires in the past were hollow because in those times slavery prevailed. Those old republics were not imbued with any love for liberty because hundreds of thousands of men lived as slaves! The British Empire is founded on the basis of equality and personal liberty. There is no slavery in it and yet a big nation forming an important portion of the Empire has been kept confined within political bounds. Only those can be said to possess true love for liberty who give to others liberty of the kind enjoyed by themselves. In India it is urged that the people should maintain silence because their affairs are being considered in England! What sort of love for liberty is this? The grant of self-government to the Poles in Russia will be regarded as a piece of political self-interest, but what self-interest is there in the grant of self-government by America to the people of the Philippines? The *Times of India* urges people not to compare the Indians with the people of the Philippines

on the ground that civilisation in India is centuries old! Does it then mean that India is unfit (for self-government) because her civilisation is centuries old while the Filipinos are fit because their civilisation is of a shorter duration? India should at once be granted independence of the kind enjoyed by the Colonies if the Empire is to be built on the foundations of true love for liberty.

Comments on Sir Robert Borden's statement regarding reciprocity in admitting Indians into Canada.

Indu Prakásh (35), 22nd May, Eng. cols.

36. "All-India will unreservedly welcome the declaration made by Sir Robert Borden in the Canadian House of Commons 'that as a result of the fairness and moderateness of India's representations the Government have decided that the regulations regarding the immigration of Indians into Canada should be on the same basis as Indian regulations on Canadians'. This can only mean reciprocity on equal terms and will meet with universal approval throughout the country. It was Lord Hardinge who had suggested reciprocity as a means of the solution of the Indo-Colonial problem, a suggestion which was heartily supported by Indian public opinion on condition that the reciprocity should be on equal terms. Sir Robert Borden's statement, referred to above, favours that idea and we hope it will materialise at an early date in the form of a legislative enactment."

Comments on the judgment of the Acting Third Presidency Magistrate in the defamation case of Anantaram *vs.* Patwardhan.

Young India (10), 23rd May.

37. "We doubt whether any magisterial judgment delivered in our city police courts has ever caused greater astonishment to the public than that delivered in the case in which Mr. Anantram Vaikantram prosecuted Inspector Patwardhan, C. I. D., for defamation. It appears to us that such a decision opens up a fresh avenue of danger to the public, in addition to that already involved in the very large powers enjoyed by the officers of this Department. Apart from this it seems very clear, as has been pointed out in the admirable criticism of the judgment which appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* that the acquittal was based on a wholly erroneous interpretation of the law. However, as the case will no doubt be the subject of further proceedings in the High Court, we have no desire to enter into any detailed criticism of the judgment. We have only one thing more to say at present. In the course of his judgment the Magistrate said he had no hesitation in saying that the complainant was a person who should be 'shunned by all respectable people.' To utter such a ban of ex-communication on even the most hardened criminal would be wrong; it is an outrage when it is uttered in regard to a man who has been convicted of no crime, and is based on such weak and uncorroborated evidence as was offered against the complainant in this case. It appears to us as an abuse of magisterial license to have incorporated such a remark in a judgment. It is all the more deplorable since it comes from a gentleman who professes the religion of Christ."

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 27th May, Eng. cols.

*38. "An efficient administration of justice requires a free and independent Bar, and we welcome with unfeigned delight the rare but noble courage displayed by two barristers and three pleaders in openly criticising in the columns of the *Chronicle* the surprising and inexplicable 'somersault', of the learned Acting Third Presidency Magistrate, Mr. Athavle, in his judgment in that now famous case of the ill-starred busy-body Mr. Anantram Vaikuntram. Surprises and sudden developments are exceedingly interesting and well-placed in a novel drama or cinema film, but are most pernicious in the sober atmosphere of our courts of justice......... It will be an evil day for India when Magistrates display more rhetoric than reason in their work. Consistently with their dignity they ought strictly to observe a dignified and impartial attitude during the trial of a case, lest the relation of their attitude to their 'considered judgment' remind one of a lapse from the sublime to the ridiculous."

Comments on the Bombay Pilgrim Committee's Report for 1916.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 22nd May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 22nd May.

39. Commenting upon the Bombay Pilgrim Committee's Report for 1916, the *Bombay Samáchár*, in view of the finding of the Committee to the effect that insanitary conditions in railway trains and a few hours' stay in overcrowded trains are factors which may directly influence the health of the pilgrims, expresses a hope that Government will take steps to ask the Railways to put a stop to overcrowding in railway trains. It expresses satisfaction with the improvement recently made in the matter of storing eatables at the Railway stalls in fly-proof boxes. The paper considers the proposal for building six waiting rooms as inadequate for the needs of the pilgrims and suggests that some arrangement may be made to erect temporary structures to meet the requirements of the passengers during the pilgrim season. It endorses the suggestion of the Committee for erecting water closets on the flush system in all pilgrim centres whose population approximates or exceeds 20,000 and hopes that Government will take steps to carry out the suggestion. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* believes that the steps Government are now taking for safeguarding the interests of the pilgrims will put an end at an early date to the ever increasing complaints about the hardships to which the pilgrims are subjected.]

The Commissioner in Sind and the principalship of the D. J. Sind College, Karáchi.

New Times (New), 10th May.

40. Referring to the decision of the Sind College Board not to accept the Government offer of the services of Mr. Hampden, an English and Logic man, in the place of the late Principal Farrel, who was a History and Economics man, an anonymous correspondent in the *New Times* writes:—"On this meeting the President of the Board, Mr. Lawrence, the Commissioner-in-Sind, was not present. He has been trying to go behind this decision of the Board, by addressing a letter to each of the absentee members of the Board, therein expressing his personal disapproval of this decision and inviting the addressees to give their personal opinions on the point, and in the end of the letter, he throws in a threatening suggestion to the members that even if they did not agree with him as president of the Board, he, as Commissioner-in-Sind, would ask the Government of Bombay not to accept the decision of the Board, as the University Commission which visited the College last, recommended that the College needed one more in English and Logic and as Mr. Hampden was a man in these subjects, the College Board should accept him. Mr. Editor, I ask you, is it fair to the Board and to the public, that a high official like Mr. Lawrence, the Commissioner-in-Sind, should flout the opinion of the Board and that also in this unconstitutionl way of working? I might also state that Mr. Lawrence forgets that the Commission's report was about the days when Mr. Farrel was alive and they recommended an extra man in English and Logic taking it as a fact that Mr. Farrel was there as a man in History. Now that Mr. Farrel's place is to be filled in, it is simply absurd to argue that his place should be filled in by a man in English and Logic, when the need for a History man is much greater than for a man in English and Logic as the commission recommended."

Are Muhammadans in Sind really less fit for Government service than the Hindus?

Sindh Moslem (New), 12th May.

41. In the course of a lengthy article the *Sindh Moslem* strongly contests the position that Muhammadans are less qualified for Government service than Hindus and that they get into Government service only through favour and remarks:—"For every mediocre Muhammadan or Christian there are 50 Hindus of the kind in service and the service had been so packed with the Hindus that all the Europeans in Sind will not be able to sift any point if Hindus do not wish it or oppose it. For instance let us take the case of a district. The Dafterdar, Huzur Deputy Collector, Head Clerk, Head Munshi, Sheristedar, Mukhtyarkar, Taluka Head Munshi, District Deputy Collector and his staff are all Hindus. Now who—European or Indian—would be able to get any correct opinion about anything or anybody from these channels? If it is about a Hindu question or person it is bound to be favourable and if it is about a Muhammadan or Christian or Jew it is bound to be damning.......... The Hindus can never talk of supersessions whereas every other class in service has reason to most emphatically complain of *most cruel* supersessions. There are five treasuries in Sind and four of them are managed by Hindus. These four Huzur Deputy Collectors have neither experience nor qualifications nor are they senior or in any way better than others.......... Go to any of these four treasuries on any business and go straight to the treasury officer, you cannot get your work done until the treasury officer consults about a dozen clerks, without whom he is perfectly helpless and he is a veritable curse. If Collector or other European officer did work in this fashion the British Administration might have had to shut up long ago and yet these ways among Hindus are allowed to continue simply because every other class is oppressed and no one can raise even a whisper about the inefficiency and general unfitness of the Hindus."

Complaint about inordinate delay in the publication of the report of the Sind Land Settlement Committee.

New Times (New), 15th May.

42. "We cannot understand the inordinate delay made in the publication of the report of the Sind Land Settlement Committee appointed as long ago as July 1915. The Committee finished taking evidence in the beginning of October 1915 but took about a year in submitting its report to Government. Thereafter, although the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri has been interpellating Government at almost every session of the Bombay Legislative Council, the only reply vouchsafed to him is that the report is under consideration. It is reported that the recommendations of the Committee are very disappointing, the period of settlement being extended from 10 to 15 years as the ordinary rule. That Government should take one year to consider a brief report which promises the people so little is, to say the least, irritating, particularly when we know that if Government so chooses it could be more expeditious.......... The Public Services Commission was a large mountain in labour and we know the mouse it brought forth. The Industrial Commission, now in the middle of its peripatetic investigation, will, we apprehend, be another mountain in a similar predicament. People will have reason to class the Sind Settlement Committee with these two commissions, unless its recommendations and the Government orders thereon are published at an early date."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the attitude of Government towards the Poona Municipality.

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 22nd May.

43. Government have threatened the Poona Municipality with drastic measures giving it a year within which to mend its ways. We wonder whether His Excellency Lord Willingdon and his Councillors suppose that by suppressing the larger Municipalities on flimsy pretexts they can get an excuse for stifling popular demands for more extended local self-government. The Honourable Mr. Curtis is in charge of the portfolio of Municipalities. Those who are acquainted with the career and temper of this gentleman are well aware that he is a prince of bureaucrats favouring a policy of utter repression. He is against the Poonaites and we understand he has vowed to suppress the Poona Municipality. There is a rumour that Government intend appointing a commission to inquire into the condition of our roads and the expenditure incurred on them during the last three years. The Superintending Engineer, Mr. Framji, and Mr. Mandy, the well-known friend of the Poona Municipality, are to be members of this commission! Mr. Mandy's appointment is tantamount to inviting an accused to be his own judge. There was considerable agitation some time ago that Mr. Mandy had spoilt the city roads while he was in charge of the drainage work. To appoint him to inquire into the condition of the same roads is to give him an opportunity to throw the blame on the Municipality which rightly attaches to himself. If any inquiry is needed at all it is about Mr. Mandy's work in connection with the drainage.

A Committee should be appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Poona City Municipality.

Jám-e-Jamshed (19), 24th May.

44. Referring to the resolution published by Government in connection with the administration of the Poona City Municipality, containing statements pointing to the grave financial condition of the Municipality, to its long-standing failure to increase its income and to various other defects connected with its affairs, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* thinks that the fact that such a condition of things should exist at a place which for a portion of

[illegible] year forms the seat of the Local Government is a startling revelation with respect to Local Self-Government. It refers to the Committee appointed by the citizens of Bandra some time ago to make an inquiry and report on the Municipal mismanagement of that place which led to a gradual improvement of the affairs of that Municipality and suggests that Government should likewise appoint a mixed Committee of officials and non-officials of an independent frame of mind and enjoying the confidence of the public to inquire into the administration of the Poona Municipality. The paper believes that such action is likely to prove most effective in throwing the proper light upon the affairs of the said Municipality and in facilitating the taking of steps necessary to bring about a removal of the present mismanagement in its administration.

Comments on orders alleged to have been issued to Local Boards and Municipalities in Sind to have their printing work done at the Government Press, Karáchi.

Sind Patrika (44), 12th May, Eng. cols.

45. Referring to the orders alleged to have been issued to Local Boards and Municipalities in Sind not to get printing work done at private presses but to have it done at the Government Press, Karáchi, the *Sind Patrika* remarks:—"The matter may look trivial but it involves a great principle. If the Municipalities are not allowed a free hand in petty matters as these, and if they are not allowed to look to their own convenience, etc., themselves, we do not know what is the meaning of this blessed local self-government? Or whether these Municipalities are considered as children, and unable to use their discretion wisely and well, so that the loving authorities are exhibiting over-anxiety of directing them to the right way and the right place. Thus we are at a loss to understand whether we are moving backward or forward? Will some Honourable Member kindly take up this matter?"

NATIVE STATES.

His Highness the Nizam should be permitted to prefix the words His Majesty to his name.

Muslim Herald (118), 25th May.

46. *Apropos* of the birthday celebrations of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad when he bestowed titles and gifts on Sir Far-e-doon Jung and others, the *Muslim Herald* suggests that the style and designation of His Majesty may be permitted to be used by the Nizam whose premier position among the Chiefs in India fully entitles him to the proposed appellation.

Comments on measure taken by Her Highness the Begum of Bhopál to check the drink evil in her State.

Islámic Mail (116), Urdu edition, 21st May.

47. The *Islámic Mail* reports that Her Highness the Begum of Bhopál has laid down that any Muhammadan subject of the Bhopál State who drinks wine will be punished according to the State Laws. The paper commends Her Highness' Notification, and ascribes it to a desire to make her subjects virtuous in every respect. It congratulates the subjects of the Bhopál State on their having such a ruler as the Begum and it draws the attention of the rulers of other Muhammadan States, particularly that of the Nizam, to Her Highness' order with a view to their issuing a similar edict in their own States.

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 31st May 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 22 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 2nd June 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Arms Act: People should be allowed to carry arms in order to protect themselves against anarchist outrages 1

British Rule:

- A review of the work and qualifications of Muhammadan leaders . 3
- Anarchy is not the necessary concomitant of a love of independence . 2
- Comments on a public speech at Karáchi in which the English in India are alleged to have been compared to robbers 4
- Comments on His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech in the Madras Legislative Council . . . . 7—12
- Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Bikáner's utterances in England 6
- Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's statement regarding the representation of India on future Imperial Conferences 5
- Comments on the circular issued by the Madras Government prohibiting students from attending political meetings . . . . . 13 & 14
- The Bureaucracy is purposely misrepresentating the *swarájya* movement 15
- The Irish and Indian problems compared 16

Haj: Muhammadans should not go on the — this year . . . . . 17 & 18

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay: Proposed public movement in favour of the extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office . . . . 19—21

Home Rule League: Criticism of the work done by the — . . . . 22 & 23

Indians in the Colonies: How "reciprocity" between India and the Dominions should be interpreted . . . . 24 & 25

Madras Legislative Council: Comments on the regulation passed in the — requiring members to obtain the sanction of Government before bringing in the Council a motion for permission to introduce a Bill . 26

Police: Nuisance of rabid dogs at Surat 27

Provincial Conference: Comments on the action of certain Muhammadans in first agreeing to join the Reception Committee of the Násik — and then withdrawing their names 28

Public Services Commission: The Bombay Government should invite the opinions of public bodies on the report of the — 29

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Sind:

Alleged evils of the Hindu domination of Government service in— . 30
Alleged official highhandedness in — regarding the selection of the Principal of the D. J. — College 31
Appeal to Government to grant a special allowance to low-paid employés in — to compensate them for the abnormal rise in prices caused by the war 32

War:

Adverse comments on the raising of the Indian Labour Corps for — service in France and elsewhere 46
Comments on Government Resolution on the failure of the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force scheme . . . . . . 39—45
Comments on the alleged armistice between Russia and Germany . 36
Comments on the alleged new Russian policy of "No indemnities and no annexations" 37
Comments on the alleged removal by British Officers of the sacred thread of Jat recruits in the Rohtak District 34
Comments on the letter written by the Collector in the United Provinces on the subject of contribution to the — Loan . . . . 47 & 48
How Mesopotamia and German East Africa are necessary for the safety and expansion of India 33
India and the Imperial Conference 38
Indian Press representatives in Mesopotamia 35

EDUCATION—

Alleged repression of "National" schools by the Government . . . 49

NATIVE STATES—

Complaint about robberies and armed dacoities in Káthiáwár. Alleged need of repealing the Arms Act 50

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

People should be allowed to carry arms in order to protect themselves against anarchist outrages.

Kalpataru and Anand-vritta (90), 27th May.

1. Commenting on the Armenian Street tragedy in Calcutta in which a gang of ruffians raided a jeweller's shop and after murdering the owner's two sons made away with valuable property, the *Kalpataru* remarks:—The dacoits carry modern arms of precision and are emboldened by the knowledge that their victims are unarmed. They do not hesitate, therefore, to attack and kill people even in broad day-light and in thickly populated areas. We request Government, therefore, to stop the experiment of protecting the lives and property of people through the police and to allow them to carry arms in self-defence. It is poor consolation to bring the offenders to justice after they have already murdered people.

Anarchy is not the necessary concomitant of a love of independence.

Indu Prakásh (35), 29th May.

2. Thoughtful Englishmen are puzzled to see that Indians are disaffected in spite of the many blessings of British rule. According to a retired Civilian anarchy owes its origin and spread to want of religious instruction. We do not think that religious instruction alone can allay our thirst for more political rights. The knowledge that Englishmen have absolutely no sympathy with our religion, philosophy and political ambitions fosters discontent among the educated classes. Some officials behave very badly towards young educated Indians who shake off their usual servile manners and claim equality with Europeans. This causes intense anger. But this anger also is not the cause of anarchy. Just as there are thieves, etc., in all societies, so also are there anarchists. It is not that an educated man never turns out a thief. It must not be thought that religious education will put a check on political aspirations. We are now fully awake and will attain full political manhood in giving social, economic and religious freedom to every individual in the community. But all this will happen when the English people fully understand it. The services of the C. I. D. are not necessary to ascertain our ambitions; they can be known by actual communion. Moreover, is not friendship with the educated on a footing of equality to be preferred to the flattery of sycophants?

A review of the work and qualifications of Muhammadan leaders.

Islámic Mail (3), 27th May.

3. "A prominent gentleman writes us from Poona to ask what our own leaders are doing in discharge of their public duties. .... Sir Fazulbhoy is champion of education and never tires of harping upon the subject. But what he has done practically to help that cause is unknown to us. His proposed school at Poona is still in the embryo and apparently he thinks that having made a donation he has finished his responsibilty. Then there is Sir Ibrahim, another grand leader whose carriage was unhorsed and dragged by enthusiastic youths at Agra. He advocated the cause of education with great fervour and pointed it out as the stepping stone for self-government, so dear to us all. But evidently he reached the zenith of his ambition on that occasion and has taken no practical part to foster his favourite theme. His name appears again in connection with the Moslem League Committee which is to fight for Home Rule. But we wonder how he is going to win it when he has done nothing to prepare people (educationally) for it. It is to be regretted that his praiseworthy efforts to wrest a college from the Government on the strength of Sir Yusuf Soudagar's donation proved futile.......... Mr. Jinnah has got all for which a candidate for leadership works. By joining the Opposition he has earned a named and fame for himself. He was given the honour to sit at the head of the council of the League in Lucknow and he is going in company with all the men of India to England as accredited representative of the Moselm Community. What more is there for him to work for?......... After these great captains of the unfortunate ship upon which the community is drifting to unknown waters, come the smaller fry-members of the local council and other luminaries who are desirous of

shining on the political firmament with the lustre of leadership,—men like Moulana Yusuf Sobani, Sirdar Suleman Mitha, Kazi Kabiruddin and a host of other grandees with or without the prefix of 'honourable'. Some of them are very well meaning men, fired with a genuine desire to earn fame by serving the community. For instance Sirdar Suleman Mitha will give place to no one in his zeal and devotion to the cause of the community. He is straight and sincere. Some of them are energetic men, capable of doing much good; but unfortunately they are themselves unfamiliar with the thing which they are expected give their shoulder to. They have all the attributes of great men *minus* education. Even those who have secured the title of 'honourable' either through official favour or through their own efforts at election, are sadly lacking in education. Nowhere in the whole of India is the Muhammadan cause entrusted to the keeping of men like the Mussalman members of the Bombay Council. They have had no university career, no academical qualifications, no training for public life, no culture, no education, and yet they are there to fight the battles of the community against the ablest and best public men that modern education and culture have produced in this Presidency. They have not received as much education as an ordinary office clerk, yet they are there to give advice and guidance to distinguished statesmen, members of Executive Council, and Secretaries to Government. We have never been able to fathom the principles which governs their appointment, or to solve the problem how they help the deliberations of the learned Council. If they were there as ornamental figureheads, to decorate the gilded council, then why fasten them upon the heads of Mussalmans who need strenuous workers? There are honorary captains and honorary Magistrates; why not have honorary members of Council to satisfy their vanity? They have their weight in public—the weight of their gold, but nothing more. *Punch* would not have been able to conceive all the jokes that are spun in the public about their capacity for work in the Council and their fitness for representing the great community which prides upon its political importance. We often hear complaints that the Moslem community does not receive quite as much attention at the hands of officials as the rival communities, and we must say the complaint is not quite groundless. But could it be otherwise? Could those statemen who come to govern us be held to blame by judging of the Moslem community by the quality of its leaders? Is it a wonder that the authorities look down upon a community whose best men are nothing better than the most ignorant Britisher?......... They come across such people as we have just described and think all Muhammadans are alike......... Are the present Moslem leaders any way better than Sir Syed Ahmed, Mohsinulmulk and others of the same galaxy who served the community with their heart and soul? Were not the most distinguished leaders of to-day such as Messrs. Rasul, Mazharul Haq, Jinnah, &c., regarded as out-castes in those days? Let us produce leaders of that type, men of character and intelligence and our salvation would be achieved. The Muhammadans are uneducated but they are a cultured people. They are highly impressionable and whatever impression is cast upon their hearts they treasure it up as a sacred thing. With conscientious, intelligent and sincere lead they can still rise up and dispel the fog of suspicion and mistrust that surrounds them. But unfortunately wealth and intellect seldom go hand in hand, and our Government have not yet risen above the aristocratic atmosphere of India to worship intellect and not Mammon. But we need not despair. Things are changing and their angle of vision may change."

Comments on a public speech at Karáchi in which the English in India are alleged to have been compared to robbers.

Sind Observer (9), 18th and 22nd May.

4. Referring to the views expressed by the Honourable Mr. Sastri in the course of his presidential address at the Nasik Provincial Conference to the effect that action of Government in giving publicity to American opinion of the benefits of British Rule in India was unnecessary, because few realise and understand the full measure of those benefits better than the educated classes in India, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"Let us refer to a recent speech at a public meeting in the

Khalikdina Hall. The speaker was Mr. Nihalchand U. Vasvani. He told the audience that the English in India are like robbers who have taken possession of the property of persons legally entitled to it, and he dilated on the poverty and illiteracy of the people under British rule. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, who presided at that meeting, observed at the conclusion of the speech that he concurred in all Mr. Nihalchand had said. Is this an appreciation of British rule? Both Mr. Nihalchand and Mr. Jamshed Mehta are educated Indians and little stars in the petty political firmament of Sind. Have they realised the 'full measure' which Mr. Sastri refers to? They spoke to educated Indians, many of them students. Were they impressing on the audience the benefits of British rule when they described the English as robbers? Is a robber regarded as a benefactor by the persons he despoils? According to Mr. Nihalchand and Mr. Mehta, they, the audience before them, and all Indians have been robbed by the British. This is the proposition in plain English." [In the next issue the paper writes:—"We publish in another column a lengthy communication which we have received from Mr. Nihalchand U. Vaswani who is apparently very indignant at our reference to him in an article on British Rule on Friday last. It is a pity Mr. Vaswani did not consider it necessary to quote the very words he used in his simile of one's house being forced upon by strangers and taken possession by them. It would have enabled the public to decide if the word robbery or robbers was used, as he claims, in a restricted sense. From what he does say in his letter, however, it is clear that he admits having told his audience that the English in India are like robbers, and that he described the English as robbers, which is what we said.......... Persons who have not heard the beautiful things Mr. Vaswani has said about British Rule and who are not aware of his loyalty to the British Crown listening to his lecture in the Khalikdina Hall must have taken away a very wrong impression of British rule, and when one considers that the audience were mostly students, the unwisdom of his language becomes more evident." Elsewhere the paper publishes a lengthy communication from Mr. Vaswani, in the course of which he observes:—"I have nowhere called the English 'robbers'. If I had done so, how could it possibly be reconciled to the sentiments expressed in the extracts given above? Robbers are to be driven away absolutely, whereas I have welcomed the stay of the British in this country. I have only sought to prove how Home Rule is our birth-right and for this I have given the simile of one's house being forced upon by strangers and taken possession of by them. I have sought to show that we are the owners of our country as an individual can be the owner of his house. The word 'robbery' has been used in this restricted sense and nothing beyond it, and I mean no offence by it. The word should be taken with reference to the context and not by itself."]

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's statement regarding the representation of India on future Imperial Conferences.

Young India (10), 30th May.

5. "According to a statement made by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons, the altered status of India is comprised in her admission to the Imperial War Conference. India is to be represented 'at the annual session of the Imperial Cabinet by *a nominee of the Indian Government* besides the Secretary of State'. Mr. Chamberlain emphasised, as he has been doing all this time, that this decision marked an advance, certainly not 'immense' as he says, in the position of India in the Empire. Further also, the Indian representatives are in future to be Indians except in *peculiar* circumtances, Mr. Chamberlian alone knowing what they are. If, however, this is all the alteration in India's status, India has no reason to be proud of it. The change, as we remarked on a past occation, signifies no more than the change from Tweedledum to Tweedledee. Speaking for the educated opinion of the country we beg to point out that this change alone will never satisfy the people of this country. On the other hand, such declarations as these from high places have a tendency to sap the confidence of the people in the promises and pledges of their rulers. Mr. Chamberlain may have other substantial changes in view and the Government of India may be considering very seriously indeed the Memoranndum of the famous Nineteen. But all this does not certainly go

far to reassure the public mind that either the India Office or the bureaucracy-ridden Government of India mean well by the people at the close of the war. Everywhere there are signs of pessimism, and unless a definite and unequivocal pronouncement is made as to British policy in this country during and after the war, we are very much afraid that disjointed statements like these will merely sour public feeling."

Comments on His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's utterances in England.

Sind Advocate (7), 17th May; *New Times* (New), 16th May.

6. Referring to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's doings in England the *Sind Advocate* remarks:—" The kindness and consideration with which he was treated seems to have carried him off his legs. At the Imperial Conference Dinner he said that India was not yet fit for Home Rule, and again latterly when Mr. Wells, an alien, gave expressions to the view that India must get *swaraj*, the Maharaja went out of his way to contradict Mr. Wells and to declare that Mr. Well's view was not that of the Indian people. Though the Maharaja is Indian born, he has been surpassed by an alien as regards sympathetic understanding of Indian aspiration and claims. Let the Maharaja by all means rejoice in the precedence which was given him at the Buckingham Palace Dinner over even the Prime Minister and the Secretary of the Colonies; it is characteristic that while the Maharaja would keep British Indians down he wants more power for native chiefs by all means. And yet it is notorious that native chiefs are less enlightened as a class than the British Indian political leaders and even many of their followers." [Elsewhere the paper adds: " While the utterances of the Maharaja have hitherto been unfortunate, in his letter to the London *Times* he has to a certain extent set himself right before public by supporting the Indian political aspirations—in short, that of *swaraj*."] The *New Times* writes:—" The conduct of the Maharaja has been so peculiar, and the number of honours which have been heaped upon him have been so numerous, that an uneasy suspicion crosses our mind whether he is not being made, by the astute and clever politicians of Whitehall, to serve the same purpose which Mr. Hughes served during his famous visit to England on behalf of Australia. The Maharaja of Bikanir was never known in India for his enlightenment or progressive views and it comes to us somewhat as a surprise to hear the Maharaja speaking volubly on liberty, civilisation and the rights of humanity. It seems to us that the British Government trots out the Maharaja whenever it is in a difficulty with regard to any measure English or Indian.......... In matters affecting India in the Imperial War Conference the Maharaja acted as docility personified, and signed away the dearest rights of India without getting anything substantial in return. After the innumerable sacrifes made by India, one would have thought that it would get something more than the reciprocity which even Lord Hardinge thought to be insufficient for removing Indian grievances. The last use to which the Maharaja seems to have been put by the Secretary of State is in connection with the reforms which, it is feared, the *Times* and the British Government propose to rush through, without giving the Congress and Moslem League deputations an opportunity to lay the real views of India before the British people.......... The Maharaja endorses the suggestion of the *Times* that an authoritative declaration on British policy in India should be made and suggests that the advances to be made should be conceived with breadth and generosity. We would welcome this declaration if we but knew what is meant by the Maharaja's breadth and generosity. If our ideas of them are to be derived from our experience of them in the past, we would do well to do without them."

Comments on His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech in the Madras Legislative Council.

Young India (10), 30th May.

7. " Will England allow it to be said of her hour of trial and tribulation that she invited the gallant sons of India to shed their blood in defence of her flag on alien fields, in defence of the freedom of Belgium, Servia and Poland and in return denied it to their revered Motherland? It is impossible to think, as Lord Curzon said in reference to Ireland, that England will fail to do for those who are living under the rule of an alien bureaucracy

within the Empire what she has succeeded in doing for others. Can it be said of her that she regards Belgium, Servia and Poland worthy of freedom and justice and denies it to Ireland or India? These are questions to which a definite answer has yet to be framed. Meanwhile, it fills us and all those who are interested in the higher destiny of the Empire with deep sorrow to behold men, who ought to know better of their duties and responsibilities, spurning with contempt the innumerable opportunities for cementing still more closely the ties that bind this country to the Empire. Surely we do not flatter ourselves with false hopes; but we do earnestly believe that a less inglorious destiny than false prophets like Lord Pentland have been able to conceive, awaits India at the close of the war. India cannot and will not remain content to be tied to the apron-strings of the bureaucracy. The time for it even as a continued possibility has gone by. And unless British statesmanship has become bankrupt, which we are glad to note from Lord Curzon's speech it is not yet, we hope to achieve, if not full and immediate Self-government, at least a large and substantial measure of it to start with with a view to the attainment of complete autonomy on the basis outlined in General Smuts' most recent speech within a definite time.......... This is not the time for soft words or pious sentimentalisms, for people in high positions to proclaim their general sympathy with Indian aspirations as a distant ideal, to be attained 'step by step'.......... 'To ignore facts is,' even as Lord Pentland thought, 'to deceive ourselves. To ignore warnings from such sources is to court disappointment and humiliation.' We had sincerely hoped that His Excellency the Governor of Madras had applied this inexorable truth in the case of his own Government. It seems to us from His Excellency's profoundly narrow, ill-tempered and ill-tuned speech that his Government has not only ignored the hard facts but also their plain, unmistakable warnings.......... It has been written as an outcome of this war that all differences of superiority or inferiority arising from caste, colour, creed or nationality shall be obliterated and once more man shall be deemed equal in the eyes of God and man. Such is the writing on the wall. Will Lord Pentland shut his eyes to it, as the ostrich is said to bury its head in the sand in the belief of eluding pursuit? It is no doubt hard for those who have been accustomed to the exercise of absolute power, to look in the face the stern reality of facts. But is not harsher still the denouement? Hitherto His Excellency Lord Willingdon had alone been conspicuous by the sermon he read to political agitators; now, His Excellency Lord Pentland aspires to share even more largely in the glory by his invective against those who are demanding Home Rule for India........... 'Throughout the whole British Empire,' said he, 'the utmost efforts and the best brains are focussed upon the immediate tasks of the war, and it is futile to expect men in high office or leaders of public opinion anywhere to concentrate their attention at such a time upon the subject of Indian Government.'' Indeed! The same was said of Ireland until not very many months ago. 'The immediate task' was boomed in the face of the Irish Nationalists, but notwithstanding it, they went into opposition. And now to turn to what Lord Curzon says: 'The settlement of the Irish question emerges as a world-factor of capital importance'; 'when the war was over and we commenced *the task of reconstruction which would not be less difficult and anxious than the conduct of the war itself, who could doubt that a contented Ireland* would be an asset of immeasurable value to the future settlement of the interests of the British Empire?' Substitute India for Ireland and we obtain the key to the solution of the problem. Truly has Mr. Philip Snowden remarked in *New India*:—'India has a special interest in the Irish Home Rule question.' In both the cases, old antagonisms remain 'more embittered than ever'. But if the Irish question has come to be regarded as an urgent war question, it is because other forces have been at work, which have stilled the bureaucratic opposition. The only difference in this respect between the two countries is that those forces operating in favour of Ireland are absent in the case of India, and this disadvantage is further strengthened by distance, ignorance and interested misrepresentation that all is well with India. Lord Pentland, like Lord Willingdon, says that the Home Rule movement is an 'untimely and ill-judged departure,' far more likely to shake the confidence of its friends in the fitness of Indians for Self-government. We quite endorse these remarks. If

Indian Home Rulers had conducted themselves on the lines of Irish Home Rulers, clamant and aggressive, their case had a chance of being heard at Westminster......... Lord Pentland is quite right when he says that an agitation conducted so feebly is far more likely to shake the confidence of our friends in our fitness for Self-government. We hope Home Rulers will realise the meainng of this valuable advice, valuable because it is prompted by the long experience of Lord Pentland in English public life, and conduct their agitation in such a way as to secure the confidence of all true friends of India."

Sunday Tatler (new), 27th May.

8. "We welcome Lord Pentland's remarkable speech of remonstrance and warning. If we may say so without disrespect, we have not latterly come across a more straightforward and statesmanlike utterance than that in which the Governor of the Southern Presidency exposes (1) the utter impracticability of the demand for Home Rule for India, that is, at once handing over the administration to elective Legislative Councils, and (2) the gravely objectionable methods of agitation and criticism indulged in by the Home Rule party. .... The net result is that the Home Rulers not only cherish utterly impracticable ideals of government in the near future, but they are also doing their level best to render government in the present impossible. That is the charge the Home Rulers must meet. If they cannot meet the charge in sober mood, but only indulge in fresh vituperation, they must take the consequences, and Lord Pentland has very plainly indicated their nature."

Praja Mitra and Parsi (25), 31st May and 2nd June, Eng. cols.

9. "We may feel disposed to give credit to Lord Pentland for the candour that he claims, but we are afraid we cannot give him much credit for tact.......... We ourselves have not much sympathy with the Home Rule movement in all its aspects; nor do we approve of all the methods pursued and persisted in by some of its most notorious advocates and exponents. But Lord Pentland has in terms far exceeded a castigation of these objectionable aspects and methods of agitation. He has not taken care to exclude from his sweeping and wholesale condemnation the perfectly loyal and legitimate propaganda of moderate and highly accredited public bodies, like the National Congress. The effect of his outburst, therefore, is calculated to be most unfortunate and mischievous......... Nor was it more wise in its prognostications upon the future of the Indian political situation. .... A provincial Governor, to whom these aspirations are not addressed, has no call to express an opinion on this point......... Where is the harm if the people are left to dream their dreams? Of course, Lord Pentland's motive is to spare the people a violent disillusionment. But is it so very certain that all the dreams of India are impracticable? Does Lord Pentland know? Does anybody know? Why then create unnecessary bitterness and heart-burning at this stage, by speaking in terms of uncompromising pessimism? .... On the whole, we do not think any candid friend of England or India can congratulate Lord Pentland on his singularly ill-timed and tactless speech. Its only effect can be to make people grow violent and acrimonious in their agitation. Nor are threats of repressive measures the best method of putting down undesirable agitation. The best means of dealing with it, next to sympathetic consideration, is to ignore it and say nothing." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"We tremble to think what would have happened had Lord Pentland been appointed Governor of Bengal five years ago.......... Let us sincerely hope that Lord Pentland will be well advised and will not drive Madras to the same state that Lord Curzon drove Bengal."]

Message (5), 29th May.

10. "We congratulate His Excellency Lord Pentland upon having practically realised that the question of Home Rule has reached the region of practical politics. It must be remembered that, though His Excellency speaks of the question as outside practical politics, he would not have delivered a political sermon to the Legislative Council, taking the question of Home Rule as his text, had he really thought in his innermost heart that the question was coun-

tenanced by no influential or responsible public opinion, or that it was a mere chimera bound to hover for long outside the sacred regions of practical politics.......... His Excellency tells us that this is not the time to discuss questions of political reforms for India. Strangely enough, on the same day as that on which the papers reported His Excellency's speech, preaching the above truth among others, we read on another side of the same papers that the British Cabinet seriously proposed to consider the revolutionary question of the reform of the House of Lords. Again, in another column of the papers of the same date we read that Sir Edward Carson said that, in spite of the war, he spent six hours daily on the consideration of the Irish question and that it was foolish to expect that, while all the rest of the world was undergoing revolutionary changes, the United Kingdom alone should be the exception. His Excellency assumes that, if some steps be taken by him to discourage the Home Rule propaganda, his Council would support him. The assertion practically means a threat to the Home Rulers. Such veiled threats may conceivably lead, or rather mislead, some youthful spirits into acts of violence which the Home Rulers no less than the Government deprecate. But whether they contribute to such ill results or not, they cannot make the many body of Home Rulers swerve a whit from the right path, dictated to them by enlightened loyalty and patriotism.......... His Excellency's chief objection against discussion of Home Rule proposals is that it is one-sided. We admit that the discussion is *publicly* carried on by one side only, but the right remedy is for the other party to leave its present attitude and participate in the discussion. If the latter chooses to avoid publicity and prefers sending confidential despatches, or conferring privately with Round Table knights *re* Imperial reconstruction—if the other party, we say, prefers these methods to those of public discussion, it is welcome to follow them. But then they should not complain that the discussion is one-sided. Mr. Lloyd George and his Cabinet do not shirk the consideration of the Irish question and then make it a grievance that all discussion is only one-sided. Such tactics are repugnant to the British sense of fair play, but somehow or other the British traditions of fair play, liberty and other estimable virtues are not conspicuous in India as they are elsewhere."

Bombay Samáchár (53), 30th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 26th May.

11. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its satisfaction with the explanation given, in the course of his Council speech, by Lord Penland for his recent orders in the matter of students and politics and believes it will convince the people of Madras that the orders were issued with a good motive. It believes, however, that it is open to question whether the students will be really benefited by refraining from politics. Discussing Lord Pentland's views about Home Rule it expresses the opinion that those persons who at the present critical time place unattainable ideals before the Indian people do harm to India and to the cause espoused by the Congress. It expresses a hope that the persons referred to will take the advice of Lord Pentland to heart and refrain from misleading the public and that the public will take care to see that the cause of the Congress does not suffer by its affairs being placed in the hands of such persons. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—Lord Pentland's pronouncement will be received with disappointment throughout India and we are afraid it will tend to throw cold water on the enthusiasm of Indians for co-operating with Government in the prosecution of the war. We wish Lord Pentland had postponed giving vent to his feelings till the close of the war. Lord Pentland is quite in the wrong if he is under the impression that the demands made by the nineteen non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council are of an impracticable nature. These demands reflect the opinion of educated India and are supported by the Moslem League and the Congress. Official bureaucrats being short-sighted, we never expected them to accept the reasonableness of these demands; but we have hopes that the British public will give careful consideration to them. Now that Lord Pentland has officially announced his opinion, the question naturally arises as to whether he has been authorised by the Viceroy or the Secretary of State to do so. If the Secretary of State has authorised Lord Pentland to express his opinion in the manner he has done, the necessity of sending a deputation to England to enlighten public opinion on Indian questions in that country becomes very imperative. Great changes have been expected in the opinions of British Politicians and it is a matter for regret that our rulers should still continue to cling to the old orthodox views. We do not think they render any service to the Empire by their present policy.]

Hindusthán (16), 26th and 30th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 28th May.

12. Lord Pentland has declared war on the Home Rule movement in India. At a time when Russia and Poland have received Home Rule and Ireland is on the way to it Lord Pentland wants Indians to keep quiet and to refrain from participating in political movements and threatens them with repression if they do not act according to his wishes. Lord Pentland indirectly charges those who take part in political movements with disloyalty. We wonder who has authorised Lord Pentland to announce the policy foreshadowed in his speech. Is he on his own responsibility going to put down the Home Rule movement? If the higher authorities disapprove of Lord Pentland's views they should make a declaration to that effect to allay public doubts. We do not think Lord Pentland has any right to say that India will not get *Swarájya.* Suffice it to say that Lord Pentland has taken a very indiscreet and ill-advised step in making the speech. [In a subsequent issue the paper expresses hope that Lord Pentland will be reprimanded for his indiscretion in making the objectionable speech. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is afraid that the speech will stimulate political agitation and give rise to discontent and that it will tend to strengthen the hands of the Extremist party and to weaken the influence of the Moderates.]

Comments on the circular issued by the Madras Government prohibiting students from attending political meetings.

Indu Prakásh (35), 28th May; *Subodh Patrika* (38), 27th May.

13. Commenting on the Circular of the Madras Government prohibiting students from attending political meetings the *Indu Prakásh* writes:—Government object to students taking part in political meetings. They have no objection, however, to their participating in religious or social gatherings where Indian customs and religious beliefs are freely ridiculed. It is evident, therefore, that Government desire the students to keep aloof from a movement that might possibly clash with their authority and are in no way concerned with the formation of their character. They should be impartial and either rule that students can take part in political meetings or that they should have nothing to do with any meeting whatsoever. Generally, nowadays all speeches are reported in newspapers which all students read. Where is the harm then to hear a speech which is reproduced in a newspaper? Again, are teachers and parents expected to perform the functions of the C. I. D. and report to the authorities the names of students who attended political meetings? Man always wants to do what he is specially told not to do. It is human nature. Public opinion is gaining in strength and the days of autocratic rule are numbered. If Government will take the people into their confidence the question of students taking part in politics will automatically be solved. [The *Subodh Patrika* remarks:—The students have come under the displeasure of the Madras Government, who intend giving them a lesson in loyalty by means of a circular. To prohibit students from attending meetings is to stunt their political growth. Students read newspapers and are acquainted with current topics. Hence to refuse them permission to attend political meetings is to specially attract their attention to politics. What good can the young graduates do to their country who know nothing about the views of well-known popular leaders such as the Honourable Mr. Shastri, the late Mr. Gokhale and others?]

Gujrát Mitra (13), 27th May.

14. The *Gujrát Mitra* remarks that the order recently issued by the Madras Government prohibiting students attending High Schools and Colleges from attending political meetings will not be regarded as a step commendable on the part of Government. It feels surprised that when students in

Europe are given a regular training in politics in India attempts are being made to keep them aloof from that sort of training which they can acquire in this country only by attending political meetings. The paper expresses surprise that Government should have never placed any restrictions upon the students going to liquor shops or visiting objectionable shows, but that their attendance at political meetings should horrify Government. It holds the opinion that the circular of the Madras Government instead of producing any good effect upon students will produce harm by exciting their curiosity about political matters and making them acquire an imperfect knowledge about them in a secret manner.

The Bureaucracy is purposely misrepresenting the *swardjya* movement.
Kalpataru and *Anand-vritta* (90), 27th May.

15. There is nothing wrong in our constitutional agitation for self-government. The success of this movement, however, will ultimately impose a check on the autocratic powers of the bureaucracy. The officials, accustomed to exercise unrestricted authority, are not likely to brook any such check. They misrepresent, therefore, the *swardjya* movement as seditious.

The Irish and Indian problems compared.
Gujarati (12), 27th May; *Sánj Vartmán* (28), 29th May.

16. After passing in review the recent history of the Irish problem, the *Gujarati* refers to the proposed convention, representative of all shades of Irish life, which is going to be formed to formulate proposals for a new constitution for Ireland, and remarks:—It is to be seen in what manner the convention solves the whole question. England has freed herself (from all responsibility) by placing the whole burden of the matter upon the Irish Nationalists and the Ulstermen. The Indians, however, have to learn a lesson from this. All the Indian communities should firmly and with one voice make a demand for the grant to India of internal autonomy on the basis of that prevailing in the Colonies. It is also necessary to show that this demand has emanated from the very hearts of the people. Until it is shown that this demand is the result of anxious solicitude on the part of the people and that they are anxious to have it conceded at any cost the agitation is not likely to produce any effect upon England. Just as Ireland is asked to determine for herself what sort of Home Rule should be given to her, it has been settled to convene a conference composed of (the representatives of) the House of Lords and the House of Commons to determine the position of the House of Lords in the political constitution of the country. It is strange that while British statesmen are not afraid to tackle this one more controversial question during the period of the war the authorities in India are afraid to act likewise. After the war many questions will require consideration and they will evoke sharp criticism. It is not wrong to dispose of big questions now instead of discussing them on that occasion. If the Government of India look at Indian matters from this standpoint and if the demands now being made by the Indians are dealt with in consultation with the leaders of the people, their action will be greatly welcomed and the sacrifices which the Indians have made in the war, directly and indirectly, will not have been made in vain. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—While a world of change has come over the views held in the past by the bitterest opponents of the grant of Home Rule to Ireland, rulers in this country, far from granting anything like *swardjya*, crush the just and legitimate aspirations of the people by characterising even their reasonable demands for reforms in the administration of the country as 'catastrophic', 'rash' and 'impracticable'. But that need not disappoint the people. Ireland has borne many such disappointments and there are still men who would cause her disappointment; but when persons like Lord Curzon and Sir Edward Carson have to bow down before the force of the public wish and the voice of the people, a day will come for India when statesmen like Lord Pentland and Lord Sydenham will see their mistakes, and if they will look at things in a catholic spirit they will recognise the necessity of gratifying the legitimate hopes of the Indian people. Putting despondency aside, we should persist in laying before the authorities and the

British public our demands for our sacred rights in a constitutional manner, and, just as the Irish people have, for decades, borne criticism, sarcasm and rebuke, we should also make ourselves thick-skinned and be prepared for all such opposition.

Muhammadans should not go on the *Haj* this year.

Akhbár-e-Islam (50), 31st May.

17. Dwelling upon the perils of the seas due to enemy submarines and referring to the unsafe situation in Arabia brought about by the outbreak of hostilities in the Hedjaz, the *Akhbár-e-Islam* persuades those Muhammadans who are thinking of performing the *Haj* this year to give up that idea. It appeals to the members of the different Haj Committees established in the mofussil and of other Moslem associations to follow the advice of the Bombay Haj Committee and by means of resolutions passed at meetings, handbills, etc., urge Muhammadans to postpone going on the pilgrimage this year. The paper maintains that it is the duty of all Muhammadans intending to perform the *Haj* to follow the advice and suggestions made to them by the members of the various Haj Committees who are all Muhammadans. It remarks that even the Holy Koran does not enjoin upon the followers of Islam the performance of the *Haj* at the risk of their person and property and that, therefore, those who will postpone their intention to perform the *Haj* will be only following a course which is righteous in the eyes of the Almighty.

Islámic Mail (3), 27th May.

18. "It is highly improbable that the shipping companies will be able to find steamers for the Pilgrim traffic to Jeddah. Every big and small vessel is in the service of Government and such is their demand for military purposes that we do not think Government can spare them even if they so desired. Intending pilgrims should postpone their departure till favourable times are restored and the Haj Committee in Bombay recently passed a resolution to that effect.......... Our kind Government did their best to maintain the Haj traffic so far as they could. They maintained it during all the trying times of the war and even at some expense to themselves. If they cannot provide ships for it, it is because it is absolutely impossible to do so. Our people will, therefore, be well advised to put off the Hadj for the next season."

Proposed public movement in favour of the extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 29th May.

19. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the people of the Bombay city as well as the Presidency should take up Sir Jamsetjee's suggestion advocating a public movement in favour of the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office. It believes that such a request on the part of the public will not fail to receive sympathetic attention from His Majesty and the Secretary of State for India. It dwells on His Excellency's policy of taking public leaders into his confidence by inviting them as his guests at the Government House and on his sympathy for the aspirations of the people. It attributes the absence of any substantial practical benefits resulting from his sympathetic policy to the existence of the war. The paper, however, observes that the public entertain the hope that during the few remaining months of his Governorship His Excellency will follow the traditions of the Liberal Party to which he belongs and will guide the local Legislative Council in such a manner that it would deal sympathetically with the Bills which are going to be brought before that assembly in connection with the subjects of local self-government and primary education.

Hindusthán (16), 1st June.

20. The *Hindusthán* writes generally in strong terms about the movements advocating the extension of the terms of office of retiring Governors and Viceroys, which, it thinks, have now-a-days become too common in this country. It remarks that this mad craze for demanding these extensions should stop soon. It cannot understand what special reason Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy had to set on foot the movement for the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office. In view of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty being extended only for six months and in view of the term of Lord Carmichael's Governorship not being extended at all in spite of the Bengal public having agitated for it, the paper does not hope that His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office will be extended in pursuance of the present movement. It further maintains that the prayers for the extension of Lords Hardinge and Carmichael's terms of office were justifiable, for they had made many endeavours for promoting the welfare of India and helping the Indians in the direction of realising their aspirations, while, it adds, the general public do not endorse or have any sympathy with the present movement in favour of the extension of Lord Willingdon's term. The paper then goes on to remark:—We cannot remember any liberal act thus far having been done during Lord Willingdon's *régime*. The present times may be difficult and extraordinary, but we believe that in such or even slightly worse times a ruler who has got the good of the subjects at heart can do much. We must declare that Lord Willingdon has not done anything of this kind. Whatever Lord Willingdon has done he has done under the strong pressure of the public opinion that was brought to bear upon him in the local Legislative Council. Of course the members of his Executive Council should be held partly responsible for that, but a large portion of our criticism must fall to Lord Willingdon's share, he being the head of the local Government. [The paper in conclusion remarks that serious and important movements which have for their object the extension of the terms of office of Governors and Viceroys should not be set on foot merely for the sake of flattery or for other trifling reasons without there being any concurrence in them on the part of the public or any sound reasons to support them.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 28th May, Eng. cols.

21. "The appeal made to the public of the Bombay Presidency to demand an extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office as Governor of Bombay deserves cordial support; and we have no doubt it will receive that support from all public bodies and the people generally.......... With regard to Lord Willingdon there is no doubt that the desire to keep him among us longer is both general and genuine. And the people would be glad and grateful if His Majesty's Government can make that concession to popular wish. There is no question as to the immense personal popularity of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon. They have both worked hard for the people of Bombay and also for war relief. It is true that His Excellency's term of office is not marked by any outstanding measure of liberal statesmanship; and he has been occasionally led into somewhat unpopular situations. But there is no doubt that on the whole His Excellency has governed the province with tact and sympathy.......... His term of office has been one of unusual difficulty; and we believe that along with the late Viceroy, he too deserves some measure of credit for the loyal and gratifying response of India to the Empire's call for war service. In easier times probably His Excellency would have seen his way to initiate a more liberal and courageous policy of progress and practical reform. Whatever the shortcomings of his administration, he has not distrusted the people's chosen leaders, and has not been distrusted by them.......... We cannot be too sure in these days that a successor endowed with such qualities can be easily found. Nor can the place be easily supplied of His Excellency's peerless lady, to whose credit there stand in our midst scores of monuments of true womanly sympathy and practical philanthropy."

Criticism of the work done by the Home Rule League.

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 31st May.

22. We trust we shall not be accused of willfully minimising the value of the work of the Home Rule League during the past year. We would only invite attention to the actual amount of work done because that alone will justify the existence of this body. The extent of its membership or the amount of subscription it has been able to collect is no criterion of its necessity or desirability. There is no special merit in becoming a member of the Home Rule League as the idea of that body is the same as that of the National Congress. Indeed all educated and thoughtful men are advocates of self-government. The League need not, therefore, congratulate itself on

the extent of its membership. The speeches made by the Home Rulers were generally poor; their tracts are worse. We would have had nothing to say if the supporters of this movement had the courage to disregard the displeasure of Government in the pursuit of their ideals. But men who are easily cowed down by the police have no right even to talk of establishing a rival institution to the Congress. We are frankly of opinion that the amount of work hitherto done by the body, which aims at obtaining *Swardjya* within two or three years is quite insignificant. Mr. Tilak had the temerity to say that the National Congress would not have passed the resolution on *Swardjya* if the League had not been in existence. His courage in declaring that the Home Rule torch which he lighted at Belgaum is giving light to the whole of India is simply admirable! As a matter of fact the National Congress even before Mr. Tilak and his followers were readmitted into its fold, had drawn up a scheme for self-government in co-operation with the Moslem League. There is no antagonism between ourselves and the Home Rule League. We would welcome all assistance from whatever source it comes. We loyally abide by the decision of the Congress to co-operate with all bodies that strive to obtain *swardjya*. But we cannot honestly say that the behaviour and mentality of the promoters of the League are such as to prove the necessity for any such institution.

Kesari (92), 29th May; *Hindusthán* (16), 31st May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 29th May; *Prakásh* (99), 30th May; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (74), 29th May; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 30th May; *Sandesh* (100), 31st May.

23. An index of the spread of any movement is the attention bestowed upon it by Government officials. Judged according to this standard it must be said that the *swardjya* movement has attained great progress. A few days ago Lord Willingdon condemned it indirectly and mildly, but he was not heeded much by the *swardjya* party. They went on working ceaselessly and the Honourable Mr. Sastri delivered a Home Rule speech such as would rarely be made even by the strongest Home Ruler. Evidently Lord Morley's advice of rallying the Moderates has not been very successful in Bombay. Lord Pentland delivered a violent speech at the close of the Madras Legislative Council that reminds us of the harsh speech made by Sir George Clarke in 1908 before wholesale repression was resorted to in our Presidency. But the Madras Home Rulers do not seem to be flurried in any way as repression needs must follow the national movement. Every part of India has to jump through the circle of fire of repression. It is the turn of Madras now to do so. Mrs. Besant has won the position of a political *guru* in Madras and her loyalty is unquestionable. She has spoken so strongly and so often against anarchy that she has incurred the displeasure of anarchists. The only fault Lord Pentland could find with her was that by her agitation public opinion is turned against the officials in all departments! The Madras Government harassed the *New India* relying on similar weak grounds, and on the same tottering grounds the Madras Government wants, it appers, to harass the Home Rule movement. We cannot but feel despondent when we see the effect of war on politics in Europe and in India. The Russian revolution was effected in the very midst of the tumult of war, and in England also the question of Ireland is being solved now. These difficult political problems are undertaken in order that war may end soon. But as soon as the question of political reform is started in India we are asked to observe silence because war is going on. The contentment of Ireland helps in the prosecution of the war; does not the contentment of India act as a help too? The help rendered byIndia has some value, but the contentment of India has none. Even Sinn Feinners are admitted into the Irish Convention. But Government in India are not willing to consult any one however high placed and responsible he may be. Either they have no arguments on their side, or they must be so proud and drunk with the intoxication of power that they feel it below their dignity to consult anybody. Lord Pentland thinks that the agitation for Home Rule should be stopped so that the people may not be disappointed. What solicitude for the welfare of the people! People will become more discontented if the agitation is stopped. Lord Pentland says that we are quite innocent of practical wisdom in making a demand for Home Rule. But what reform is there that has not been dubbed impracticable by the officials? Poor officials in India! As their eyes have been covered by the two opaque blinkers of lust of power and an exaggerated notion of their wisdom they can see only straight in front of them, like horses harnessed to a carriage. They cannot look about and see the world. Though Indians also have been yoked to the administration, their eyes have not been covered with blinkers. They see about them the land of independence where grows the green grass of happiness of national rule. They also see other people roaming about freely therein. Therefore though the reins of law are still in their mouths, they cannot help trying to go towards that land! It lies with God to reward them with success or not. [The *Hindusthán* reproduces the article in Gujarati. The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—We can infer from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's and Lord Pentland's speeches that Provincial officials will try all possible means to stop the *swarájya* movement. We have not the least doubt that the attempt will be unsuccessful. Indian leaders do not want to create any ill-feeling between Government and the people but if high officials oppose the movement in this manner it might produce ill-feeling between the two. We cannot but say that the attempt of Lord Pentland to throw the responsibility on the leaders in this eventuality, is improper and unworthy. People are determined not to step beyond constitutional means and they need not care for the growling of Government. The *Prakásh* echoes the *Kesari's* sentiments. The *Karnátak Vaibhav* remarks:—The Home Rule movement now being carried on vigorously has become an eyesore to Lord Pentland and he is very angry because day by day it is becoming more successful. Days are gone by when speeches of the type of Lord Pentand's produced any effect on the people. All parties and creeds in India are in love with *Swarájya* and Indians will not be satisfied unless at least a big instalment of *Swarájya* in the shape of reforms suggested by the *Nineteen* is given, if not full *Swarájya*. The *Indu Prakásh* says that Lord Pentland has dishonoured by his speech the Morley-Minto reforms and the Indian members elected under them and Parliament that sanctioned them and asks:—'Is there no one to call Lord Pentland to account? Some officials may be angry because their powers are being diminished. But what cause is there for noblemen, who come here for five years to conduct an impartial administration, to be angry? Educated classes are the leaders of the nation and opposition to them will not be beneficial to the British Government. If England wants contentment in her Empire and if it is her duty to fulfil pledges, how can she perform this duty by opposing the educated classes? England will lose nothing: on the contrary she will gain the glory of uplifting a nation from the mire of dependence and of purifying it. Why should it oppose the educated classes in a way that will diminish this glory? How long can this opposition last? Then why persist in this insulting opposition? The *Sandesh* says that Lord Pentland has charged the Indian members with irresponsibility and unpracticalness and yet he asks for their sympathy and co-operation. The truculent way of first calling a man a fool to his face and then asking for his help becomes only the ruling class. The Honourable Mr. K. T. Rangasawami Iyengar has already protested agaist the speech of Lord Pentland as an insult to the members of Council. We hope the other Honourable members from Madras will not quietly submit but protest in writing against Lord Pentland's speech.]

How "reciprocity" between India and the Dominions should be interpreted.
Message (5), 30th May.

24. "The news is published by the Government of India that Canada has extended the period during which artisans and labourers from India would be debarred from landing in that Colony. Now, how does this act fit in with the cabled attitude of overseas representatives at the Imperial Conference in regard to the treatment of Indians in their several countries? We were told that the Indian representatives came to an understanding with those of the Colonies on the basis of 'reciprocity.' We can understand that the exclusion of Indian artisans and labourers from the Colonies may not conflict with the readiness of the Colonials to have reciprocal treatment in the matter, for they may be quite willing to allow the Indian Government to exclude,

Canadian artisans or labourers, for the simple reason that they do not anticipate any emigration of 'artisans and labourers' from Canada to India .... We wonder, however, if such an interpretation of 'reciprocity' was thought of by the Indian representatives in the Imperial conference, when they made an understanding with the Colonies on the matter. For ourselves, we think that if the Canadian Government persists in excluding certain honest Indians from Canada, India should reciprocate by insisting on a form of reciprocal treatment, which will open the eyes of the Canadian Government to the unadvisability of its action.......... If Canada for 'economic reasons' thinks it impossible to admit Indian atisans and labourers, the proper thing for India is *not* to declare a similar bar on Canadian artisans and labourers immigrating into India, for there are none such, but to declare the Indian Civil Service and the Indian trade debarred to Canadians in India. This bar, it must be understood, will not be justified on racial grounds, but on economic grounds. India wants her money for her own people, just as Canadians want their land and industries for their own use, and if Canadians can rightly exclude Indian artisans and labourers, Indians may well exclude Canadians from deriving advantages in India, which are detrimental to the interests of Indians. Such an understanding would be real reciprocity."

25. It appears that the principle of reciprocity can be adopted by us regarding colonials only if more restrictive conditions are imposed upon us than on the Japanese. It is not clear how Canada would be affected if Canadian labourers are refused admission into India. Even now they do not come to India. We do not think Indians will be satisfied if the demands of Indian representatives are complied with. It appears from the Blue-book that the demands are incomplete. It is but natural in these circumstances that the Colonial representatives should praise the Indian representatives for their moderation.

Dnydn Prakásh (34), 30th May.

26. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses its disapprobation of the regulation passed at one of the recent sittings of the Madras Legislative Council, rendering it necessary for an elected member to obtain the sanction of the Governor before bringing a motion in the Council asking for permission to introduce a Bill in it. It regards this rule as an undesirable encroachment upon the rights of the elected members of the Council because it believes that it will only tend to prevent an Indian member of the Council from bringing before it any Bill which is not likely to prove palatable to Government. The paper remarks that this encroachment is all the more regrettable since it has been followed by an unstatesmanlike speech from His Excellency Lord Pentland wherein he has run down the moderate and constitutional agitation on the part of the Indians for bringing about administrative reforms in their country. It expresses the opinion that if the example of Madras were to be followed by other Provincial Legislative Councils and the Imperial Council, no elected member would be able to bring any bill before these Councils and, consequently, the public could have very little voice in them. It remarks that people will not be surprised if the regulation above referred to will be followed by another placing restrictions upon the right of interpellations at present enjoyed by the members of the Madras Legislative Council. The paper exhorts the people of other presidencies cordially to support the protest raised by the Madras public against the invidious regulation passed by the local Council.

Comments on a regulation passed in the Madras Legislative Council requiring members to obtain the sanction of Government before bringing in the Council a motion for permission to introduce a Bill.

Jám-e-Jamshed (19), 30th May.

27. A correspondent writes to the *Gujarat Mitra* complaining of the ever-increasing nuisance of rabid dogs at Surat and alleging that the measures so far adopted by the authorities to get rid of the evil have failed to achieve any success inasmuch as many people have recently fallen victims to mad dogs. The writer suggests that the lethal chamber be used by the Municipality to

Nuisance of rabid dogs at Surat.

Gujarat Mitra (13), 27th May.

destroy stray dogs and asks the people not to be sentimental in this respect. He concludes by paying a tribute to the good work being done by the Pasteur Institute, Kasauli.

Comments on the action of certain Muhammadans in first agreeing to join the Reception Committee of the Násik Provincial Conference and then withdrawing their names.
New Times (new), 16th May.

28. "It is unfortunate that certain Muhammandan gentlemen, who had agreed to join the Reception Committee (of the Nasik Provincial Conference) withdrew at the last moment. They gave a very curious reason for their withdrawal. They said that 'the Government was doing everything for them, and so they did not want to have anything to do with the Conference' and asked for a refund of their subscriptions. One Muhammadan gentleman said he was a Khan Sahib and so could not join the Reception Committee! We do not wish to read a little sermon to these Muhammadan gentlemen on the value of self-help, nor do we wish to shake their touching faith in the fatherly benevolence of Government by pointing out the state of Muhammadan education in Sind, because it will be taking their objections too seriously. What we are interested in is the frank view taken by one of them that his title of Khan Sahib prevented him from taking part in deliberations intended to serve his country. We wonder if a betrayal of his duty towards his country was one of the express conditions of the grant of the title. Perhaps some of the many Rai Sahibs and Khan Sahibs who are in Sind might throw some light on the matter. If the view taken by the Khan Sahib of his title is untrue, we hope Government will take early steps to counteract such an impression, as it tends to lower the value of Government honours in the eyes of the public."

The Bombay Government should invite the opinions of public bodies on the Report of the Public Services Commission.
Kesari (92), 29th May.

29. The Madras Government have asked the local public bodies and leaders to inform them before the 31st of August 1917 of their opinions on the Report of the Public Services Commission. We need not tell the Bombay Government that the question is a very important one. The point naturally arises as to why they have not yet called for the views of our political bodies and leaders. Is the report among the things that have been shelved aside on account of the war? If not, it is very necessary for our Government to consult our leaders on the question.

Alleged evils of the Hindu domination of Government service in Sind.
Sind Moslim (new), 19th May.

30. After describing the ways in which Hindu subordinates try to bring into trouble Muhammadan and other non-Hindu employes in Government service, the *Sind Moslim* remarks:—"These are some of the methods practised to keep the other creeds and classes out of the Government service. The co-operation among the Hindus is so strong that if an enquiry is held as to the men who are the favourites in each district—possessing best certificates and no merit and getting undue promotions—it will be found that these favourites are connected with the Daftardars and Deputy Collectors or Gazetted officers of other departments in other districts, and this mutual help which has been going on unchecked for years past has been the inefficiency of Government service and ruin to other classes in service. In course of time this co-operation will take firm hold of Sind and nothing short of serious troubles will be the result. In a province where 80 per cent. of the population is Muhammadan and where Zamindars are all Muhammadans the administration should in our opinion not be placed in the hands of persons who are not well disposed towards the Muhammadans. How the Hindus help themselves will be best illustrated by the recent fiasco of the Shikarpur Municipality.........." [Here the paper narrates the incident about the appointment of a Hindu L. C. E. as Chief Officer of this Municipality, and continues:—] "The Hindus have carried their point in broad day light in defiance of the Collector's and Commissioner's wishes and popular opinion in needs (?). Now what can we expect

in Government service where every avenue is checked by the Hindu element and where everything is carried on underhand personal or confidential report. Woeful Sind! How will the Home Rule be managed then?"

Alleged official high-handedness in Sind regarding the selection of the Principal of the D. J. Sind College.

Young India (10), 30th May.

31. "A special meeting of the Dayaram Jethmal Sind College Board, summoned by the Commissioner in Sind, who is president of the Board, for the consideration of the question of appointment of the Principal of the College, came off at Karáchi on 19th instant. As the procedure adopted by certain high officials with regard to this matter has been throughout extraordinary and typically bureaucratic, considerable public interest had been aroused in the special meeting of the 19th.......... A meeting of the Board was regularly called on 10th February 1917 to consider the question and where Mr. Pratt, the Judicial Commissioner, presided......... The Board decided, in terms of a resolution drafted by Mr. Pratt, that it could not accept Mr. Hampton, as he was only 26 years old and of only three years' experience, as he lacked the requisite professorial competence and could only teach Logic and English, subjects for which the College had already adequate staff, and could not teach History and Political Economy, in which subjects the College required additional provision. This resolution of the College Board, passed on 10th February 1917, was curiously enough not forwarded to the Bombay Government by the President of the Board, *i.e.*, the Commissioner in Sind, who subsequently took the very questionable course of writing letters to the absentee members arguing therein against the decision of the Board and inviting them to say if they agreed with him or not and suggesting that he would either ask the Board to reconsider the question or advise the Bombay Government not to accept the decision of the Board. Leading members of the Board, like the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri and Rao Bahadur Bulchand Dayaram, upheld the resolution passed by the Board, although some *jo-hukums* thought it convenient to say that they agreed with him. In the meanwhile, the elections to constitute a new Board for a fresh triennial term were held and by some mysterious process an influential and popular man like Honourable Mr. Bhurgri was not elected by the Thar and Parkar District Local Board as its representative on the College Board, although he was the only candidate in the field at that time. Afterwards an official was proposed in his place by the Collector himself and elected. As soon as the new Board was constituted, the President called the above-mentioned special meeting for 19th May. Notices of the meeting were not issued as usual through the Principal, who is the Secretary of the Board, but by the Collector of Karáchi, who is the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the College, and were served on several members through Collectors and Mamlatdars of the various districts. Some members wrote for the agenda of the meeting or for information about the proposals to be put forward at the special meeting, but very evasive replies were given yielding no information. On the night before the meeting, several official members and other members representing District Local Boards happened to have been invited by the Commissioner to dinner and happened to be on the same side with him when the votes were taken on the resolution the next day. At the meeting the remarkably large number of 22 members attended out of 24, although the average attendance all these years has been only about 10. Several members representing Local Boards, some of them even ignorant of English, who had rarely attended before, somehow were present. The meeting lasted over two hours and there was very heated discussion. Several independent members questioned the most extraordinary procedure adopted for summoning the meeting and not giving notice of the proposals, although specifically asked for previously by some members, but the objections were overruled. They then proposed that the consideration of the question should be deferred until all the papers relating to the question had been circulated, but the resolution was lost. Another resolution moved by them that the previous resolution of the Board rejecting Mr. Hampton, should be adhered

to, was also lost. A third one suggesting that Mr. Anderson of the Indian Educational Service or some other member of the Indian Educational Service teaching History and Political Economy should be appointed, was also lost. But the resolution moved by the Commissioner's supporters that Mr. Hampton be appointed, if Mr. Anderson be not available (although knowing, as Mr. Hesketh, the Educational Inspector told them from personal knowledge, that Mr. Anderson would not be available) was carried by 13 votes against 8. On each resolution the voting was the same, the minority being all elected members, men of education and position, and the majority being seven officials, one retired official nominated on the Board by the Commissioner and five elected by District Local Boards, of whom two were ignorant of English and unable to follow the discussion. The Commissioner will forward to the Bombay Government the last resolution thus carried by a packed majority in the teeth of strenuous opposition from leading men connected with the College for many years, as the opinion of the Board on Government's reference made over three months ago, the resolution of 10th February being thus quietly passed over. The *New Times* of Karāchi in its issue of 19th, has rightly condemned the whole procedure as 'extraordinary'."

Appeal to Government to grant a special allowance to low-paid employés in Sind to compensate them for the abnormal rise in prices caused by the war.

New Times (New), 21st May.

32. Referring to the action taken by the Karachi Port Trust and the Karachi Municipality to compensate their employés for the abnormal rise in prices caused by the war the *New Times* remarks:—"We do not see why the Government which found no difficulty in giving a war allowance to its highly paid Civil Service on the flimsy ground that in war time, the officers would not to be able to get their usual share of temporary posts, allowance, etc., should not follow the example of these bodies. One would have thought that a war allowance was more necessary for the poorly paid clerks than for the highly paid officers. We hope that Government would not find it too late to take up the matter and relieve Government servants all over Sind of an undoubted hardship."

How Mesopotamia and German East Africa are necessary for the safety and expansion of India.

New Times (New), 27th May.

33. "The disappearance of Russia as a menacing power on our North West Frontier has not removed our fears of a European invasion of India and thus eased our military burden. Formerly the question of our land frontiers was merely an issue between Great Britain and Russia. But with the establishment of German influence in Constantinople which has become complete as a result of the war and the advent of Germany in the Persian Gulf, the direction of our foreign policy has been completely changed. The issue is no longer between India and Russia, but is essentially one between India and Germany. As it is, Germany threatens India from two directions. Before the war she was strongly entrenched in Mesopotamia and German East Africa. Happily she has been ousted from this position by the gallantry of our brave troops. A reversion to the *status quo ante bellum* as has been suggested by many pacifists in Germany and England would be nothing short of a disaster for India. Instead of reducing her military expenditure to enable her to carry out certain necessary domestic reforms, she will be compelled to increase it to guard herself against German ambitions. India like Australia cannot afford to tolerate the existence of a European power in positions which might be made the basis of military designs, inimical to her interests. But the need of Mesopotamia and German East Africa to India, can be justified on other grounds than that of mere military necessity. She wants more room under the sun for the surplus population than is afforded to her under the present conditions. The whole world has been occupied by the white races and all its parts including those in the British Empire have shut their doors against us. We are welcomed only as coolies and labourers and that also for limited periods of time......... For our free development we require additional land, and as Sir Harry Johnstone has pointed out, nothing would suit us better than Mesopotamia and German East Africa."

7

Comments on the alleged removal by British officers of the sacred thread of Jat recruits in the Rohtak District.

Hindusthán (16), 31st May.

34. Referring to the alleged action on the part of some British officers of making Jats in the Rohtak District, Punjáb, remove their sacred thread before admitting them into the army, the *Hindusthán* remarks that it cannot comprehend who is responsible for such an unprecedented order. It observes that the matter has been brought to the notice of higher authorities and that if the said order is due to the arbitrariness of one or two officers the whole matter will soon be set right. The paper then goes on to observe that various explanations of the incident have emanated from various quarters, one of them being the belief that the Jats being Arya Samajists, the removal of the sacred thread will make them cease to belong to that communion. It proceeds thus :—Admitting for argument's sake that they will thus cease to be Arya Samajists (we ask) why is such hostility being shown against the Arya Samáj ? It is strange to note that the officials have not yet ceased to entertain apprehensions about that body. They have not come to their senses in spite of the fact that one of their own countrymen, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, has described the Arya Samáj as a "purely religious body" in his book entitled "The Awakening of India". By making the Jats remove their sacred thread they have not only insulted the Arya Samaj, but the whole Arya community. The sacred thread is the religious emblem of the entire Arya race. These officers have broken the pledge about freedom of religion given in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and they deserve to be punished on that account. The general public should not quietly bear such insults, but they should raise their voice for the sake of preserving their religious freedom.

Indian press representatives in Mesopotamia.

Jám-e-Jamshed (19), 2nd June.

35. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* publishes in short an account of the recent interview given by Mr. N. M. Joshi, who had gone to Mesopotamia along with the press deputation as a representative of the Bombay press, and remarks that the hopes built by the public upon the press "mission" sent to Mesopotamia have not been realised. It maintains that the account of the interview with Mr. Joshi is calculated to cause disappointment to the Bombay press. The paper observes that when representatives of the press in India were taken all the way to Mesopotamia at the special invitation of the Government of India, they ought to have been in possession of such news with respect to the war conditions as would gratify the eagerness of the public in the matter of learning the interesting aspects and events of the war. It attributes the absence of this to the limits set by the military authorities upon the liberty of these press representatives.

Comments on the alleged armistice between Russia and Germany.

Praja Mitra and Parsi (25), 28th May, Eng. cols.

36. Under the heading "The Trend of the War", the *Prajá Mitra and Parsi* writes :—"The confusion in Russia, the breakdown of discipline in the Russian army was Germany's opportunity. In the confusion that must have existed in the Russian lines the German troops might have pierced them and advanced towards Petrograd. Why did not the German commanders press the advantage home when they saw the state of things in the Russian lines ? Why did they agree to an armistice and why did the German High Command approve of it ? It does not require much penetration nor any great acumen to understand the object of Germany. She has been trying all along to detach Russia from the Alliance.......... We do not know whether the Russian Provisional Government consulted the Allies before the armistice, or indeed whether the Government had sufficient authority over the Russian army to prevent it from making an armistice on its own account. Whether it is truce or an armistice will depend on the length of the period it has been in existence, and the nature of the negotiations, if any, that may be going on between the German and Russian Governments.......... Of the real position in Russia it is possible that even the Allies have not full knowledge. Any responsible Russian Government, temporary or permanent, would recognise the wisdom of not breaking away

from the Alliance, for a separate peace with Germany means ultimate subservience to the Prussian military caste, and being dragged at the chariot wheels of the German High Command just like Austria. On the other hand, it is quite possible that there may be a general feeling in Russia for peace, which is quite to be expected. If the Provisional Government has to give way to this feeling no one can say what may happen. The ability of that Government to do their duty by the Allies will depend on their strength to resist successfully German overtures and the Russian popular demand. Therefore, the Allies will be well advised if, while hoping for the best, they are fully prepared for the worst." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"It has never been explained how it happens, but it is nevertheless true that bazzar rumours of events happening at a great distance often prove to be correct or to have a substratum of truth. For instance, there are persistent rumours in the Bombay bazaars that separate peace has been concluded between Russia and Germany. This is of course untrue, but at the same time it is true that there is not much fighting on the eastern front in Europe. In fact, there is an armistice at the present moment as stated by Prince Lvoff, the Russian Premier, only a few days ago.......... The remarkable fact is that although the telegram about the armistice was received only a few days ago, the rumour about the peace has been current in the bazaar for several days. Even an armistice, however, is bad news for it will give the Germans breathing time and also time to re-arrange their fronts. It is annouced that the armistice will now cease and fighting will be resumed. The sooner this happens the better for Free Russia must fall in line with the Allies, who are fighting for Freedom. .... The attitude of Russia is of the greatest importance to the Allies, and if she repudiates or disclaims part of the Allies' programme, the situation will become grave indeed. As already stated, there is a temporary cessation of fighting on the eastern front and if the nature of the peace to be made is discussed now the most sinister rumours will get abroad. It is being earnestly hoped everywhere that Russia will fulfil her obligations to the Allies unhesitatingly."

Comments on the alleged new Russian policy of "No indemnities and no annexation".

New Times (new), 19th May.

37. "For the first time in its history the world feels that Russia has changed the spirit as well as the form of its government and that it intends to live on friendly relations with the neighbouring nations and means to devote itself to the arts of peace. In the past Russian designs have been responsible for disturbances and alarms throughout the East and the Balkan, and it was only a happy accident that Russia found herself fighting on the side of justice and liberty. To the Eastern nations, the new Russian policy of 'No indemnities and no annexation' is fraught with enormous significance. To our Muslim brothers it will come as a relief to learn that Turkey and Persia will no longer be exposed to the encroachments of an agressive Russian policy, but will be allowed to work out their destiny in peace. India also, which has suffered in the past from the fear of a Russian invasion, will be free to divert her money from useless military purposes to the solution of the many social, economic and educational problems which await her after the successful end of the war."

India and the Imperial Conference.

Jám-e-Jamshed (19), 28th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 27th May.

38. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* welcomes the recommendation made by the Imperial War Conference for allowing India to be represented at future Imperial Conferences by two persons, one of them being the Secretary of State for India and the other a representative to be nominated by the Indian Government, who would mostly be an Indian. Remarking, however, that this arrangement is not likely to gratify the over-enthusiastic among the Indian politicians, who urge that the Indian representative on the Imperial Conferences should be a person chosen by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, the paper advises the Indians to receive the present recommendation in a spirit of satisfaction. It does not, however, regard as sufficiently satisfactory the recommendation of the Imperial War Conference which urges that the Indian immigrants should be allowed to

enjoy in the Colonies at least the same rights as those enjoyed by the Japanese and observes that instead of thus placing the Indians on the same footing as foreigners they should be allowed the enjoyment of equal rights with other British subjects in all parts of the Empire. The paper approves of the arrangement recommended by the War Conference which would permit India to enact the same restrictive laws with regard to colonial immigration into India as may be in force against Indian immigrants in the Colonies. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its high sense of gratification at the two recommendations of the War Conference with respect to the Indian representatives in future Imperial Conferences and with respect to the rights of the Indian immigrants in the colonies. It regards the news about these recommendations not only as gladdening to India, but as doing her justice and as calculated to increase her prestige. The paper remarks that the Indian public will thank His Majesty's Government as well as the Colonies for such welcome news.]

Comments on Government Resolution on the failure of the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force scheme.

Young India (10), 30th May.

39. "The hasty resolution of the Government of India on the Indian Defence Force has provoked quite a storm of opposition from all quarters. Indians have condemned it root and branch, because it represents in their view a certainly undesirable attempt to hold up the people of this country to the ridicule of those who cannot understand the world of difference contained in the formula: 'what the regular British army is to the British Territorials, the Indian army is to the Indian Volunteer.' The difference between the two is as wide as between the two poles of the earth and we ask what, in the name of commonsense, Government meant by hurrying with the publication of this ill-considered resolution. Government had before it quite four months to see whether people were volunteering in sufficient numbers, and if it had then been found that it was a 'hopeless failure' there was time enough to raise lamentations over it. As it is, the impression has rightly or wrongly gained ground widely that Government had something else in view. We hope a sufficient explanation of the causes leading to this judgment before hearing will soon be forthcoming. Enough has been said on the disadvantages and disabilities. Without repeating them here, we should like to know, why Government itself has not set the example by releasing eligible men in its service. There are many, as we know, who could be conveniently spared for volunteering. Why then has no attempt been made to induce a sufficient number from among the army of clerks and babus and other subordinate officials, to join the force. Long before conscription was resorted to in India, we all know that the European and Eurasian employees of Government were freely encouraged to volunteer, on promise of keeping their berths safe until they come back and holding out other inducements. Something of this nature could have been easily done in regard to Indian employees also. The Universities could have been scoured for eligible men, where business was meant and further, no objection need have been taken to maintain identity and continuity of interest among various units that had offered or were about to offer themselves......... The Home-Rulers being in disfavour at the military headquarters, it is reasonable to think that their offer for one or more H. R. L. Corps should have been declined, although even here there was no such necessity. If the Sinn Feiners and other turbulent elements of the Irish population could be permitted to choose their own corps, why not Indians, even if they be Home-Rulers? .... In this connection the letter which the Secretaries of the Indian Home Rule League, Bombay Branch, have addressed to the press furnishes a sad commentary on the mental attitude of the bureaucracy towards that body. As a political movement the bureaucracy might look down upon it. But if in the face of a common danger and common necessity, the favoured of God —the Orangeman from the North—could embrace the Sinn-Feiner from the South, why should the bureaucracy spurn aside the proffered aid of the Indian Home Rulers? When the Secretaries of the H. R. L. approached the military authorities, they were politely told their assistance was not wanted! In regard to the number also, there is some apparent discrepancy, which has

not been explained. In the Madras Legislative Council, it was stated on the authority of the G. O. C., 9th Division, Secunderabad, that up to and including May 12th, 357 applications had been received from the Southern Presidency alone. Our contemporary the *New India* says that through it 418 applications were submitted. There were other centres also such as Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces and the Punjab. The total number of applications from all these places must have been considerable. It is inconceivable in these circumstances to believe the accuracy of the Government return, unless we are to presume that all those applications received through other bodies such as the Home Rule Leagues or the *New India*, were not even taken into account. The matter has to be further elucidated before we can believe that for the whole of India only 300 applications had been received up to the date of the resolution."

Sunday Tatler (new), 27th May.

40. "The Government called for 6,000 recruits for the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force, which works out, roughly, to two per 50,000 of the population. The actual enrolment totals 300, or one per million of the population! The bare statement of the fact constitutes a damning indictment of the patriotism that talks—and knows not how to act.......... The Empire, in and out of India, has been schooled into the conviction that war measures, whatever their imperfections, must be accepted. The sober mind of India recognises that the only suitable time for considering the general principle applicable to Indian recruitment to a volunteer or territorial force is after the war. The entire system of European volunteering in this country has been revolutionised by the passing of the Indian Defence Force Act, and obviously so, for this is war time. Europeans accepted the revolution, as far as it affected them. For the first time, Indians were given the opportunity, hedged round, it is true, by limitations imposed by the exigencies of the war, to voluntarily undertake a work of self-sacrifice which has been compulsorily imposed upon Europeans. Why are Indians sulking? They are sulking because they have not yet learned the true quality of discipline, of self-sacrifice. Government and citizenship are to them mere abstractions—words, words, words! They have not yet found leaders who have acquired the right to lead except by the pursuit of the most flagrant demagogy.......... The note of controversy,—the note of challenge,—the note of ultimatum was predominant throughout; and the note, with all the familiar variations, was struck on 'the conditions of service'!......... Mr. B. G. Tilak publicly declared that if Indians did not enlist in the Home Defence Force, he would abandon the Home Rule propaganda. He wouldn't of course.......... The attempt to import political prejudice into the matter was childish. Indeed, it was apparent from the first that the Indian Defence Force was to be regarded as the forerunner of political concessions eventuating in the grant of Home Rule. Meanwhile, the rules framed under the Indian Defence Force Act were used as a scourge against the bureaucracy. The leaders were astute enough to foresee that the recruitment would not come up to the mark, and hence the frenzied attacks on the bureaucracy for the 'humiliations' it had inflicted upon the manhood of India!......... The moral of the story is altogether damaging to the character and reputations of the leaders. Either the leaders do not give honest lead, or they have no following."

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 27th May; *Gujaráti Punch* (14), 27th May, Eng. cols.

41. Commenting upon the Government Resolution on the subject of the poor response made by Indians in the matter of enlistment in the Indian Defence Force, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"While admitting that Indians deserve to be blamed for the poor response to the opportunities given to them, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the policy pursued by our rules for years past has served to act as a deterrent to the Indian people. It is political reforms given in a liberal spirit that will tend to infuse enthusiasm in the drooping hearts of the Indian people. Government should take steps to induce employers to give 50 per cent. of their salaries to their employees during the time they serve in the Indian Defence Force. Had England also introduced conscription as suggested by Lord Roberts Germany would not have dared to display that arrogance towards England which it has shown by waging war against it. France has earned the praises of the whole world by the manner it has met the attacks of the enemy. France was able to withstand Germany in the manner it has done because it had given compulsory military training to its citizens. Were Indians ever given training for discharging the duties of citizens of the Empire? Were their rights as citizens of the Empire ever acknowledged? On the contrary the martial races were compelled to take to agriculture and trade and every means adopted to break their spirit. The question, therefore, is how far they are to be blamed now." [The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—"We hope that the timely resolution issued by the Government of India will awaken among the people a sense of their duty to their country, and make them alive to their responsibilities......... We have no doubt that if the new measure is made sufficiently attractive by throwing open to Indians the commissions in the army, the response would be, if not quite enthusiastic, at least adequate. We therefore suggest to the Government of India, the advisability of admitting Indians into the privileged class of commissioned officers. So far as the leaders of the people are concerned, we admit they have tried their level best to persuade the youths of the country to enrol themselves in the Defence of India Force; but unfortunately their appeal has not met with the success it deserved and the principal reason of their failure is not the loss of their influence with the people but the want of attractiveness in the conditions governing the new force.......... If Indians do not join in large numbers now, we are afraid that the contention of those who seek to obstruct the path of India's progress will derive strength."]

Praja Bandhu (24), 27th May; *Gujarát Mitra* (13), 27th May; *Hindi Punch* (15), 27th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 29th May.

42. The *Praja Bandhu* is of opinion that the poor response to the Indian Defence Act was mainly due to the indifference of Government. In support of its statement it cites the case of the proposed Bombay University Corps to which Government withheld their sanction and for the reconsideration of which a deputation recently waited upon His Excellency the Governor. It asks Government to make some provision for the families of the volunteers and to actively encourage enlistment if they are serious about ensuring the success of the scheme. [The *Gujarát Mitra* exhorts popular leaders to use their influence to secure adequate enlistment in the Defence Force with a view to saving India from the stigma that would otherwise be attached if the scheme proved a failure. It expresses surprise why Government officials should not have convened public meetings for enlistment in the Defence Force as they did in the case of the War Loan. The *Hindi Punch* considers it a shame that India should not be able to raise a Defence Force of 6,000 men. It appeals to the people to rouse themselves and to help to raise the required force and thus save India from disgrace. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* asks Government to open the commissioned ranks to the Indians and to give to the Indian members of the Defence Force remuneration on the same scale as is sanctioned for Europeans.]

Gujarati (12), 27th May.

43. The *Gujarati* in its vernacular columns reiterates the views on the Government Resolution on the question of enlistment in the Indian Defence Force expressed by it in its English columns (*vide* paragraph 4 of the Weekly Report No. 21 of 1917) and lays special stress on the fact that educated Indians are not eligible for Commissions on a footing of equality with Europeans. It asserts that the Resolution has been deliberately issued with the object of escaping the blame the Home Government might have thrown upon the Government of India for not taking steps to secure adequate enlistment of Indians in the Defence Force, and of hoodwinking certain critics in Parliament who hold the Government of India responsible for not adequately utilising the man-power of India. It concludes:—Instead of thus publicly casting blame upon the Indians, Government should have gathered together the leaders of the people and found a way out of the difficulty. Should Government, however, be of opinion that the fitness of Indians for *swarajya* is to be determined by the success or failure of the scheme, let them make an announcement to that effect.

Kesari (92), 29th May; *Prakásh* (99), 30th May; *Shetkari* (37), 27th May; *Shubhodaya* (New), 25th May; *Karnátak Vritt* (75), 29th May; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (74), 29th May; *Chandrodaya* (30), 28th May.

44. Details are to hand now regarding the resolution issued by Government to put the people to shame, that go to show that the officials themselves have to hang down their heads in shame for the mistakes committed by them. They took a month to issue the regulations and then forms were not available. The number of recruits required could not raise any enthusiasm. Government did not take as much interest in recruiting as they did in raising the war loan and they were distrustful of the public leaders like Tilak Mrs. Besant and Pal. All these things led to the popular belief that Government were not so much interested in recruiting. People were already discouraged as they did not get commissions, even a sufficient number of forms were not supplied and the help of the public leaders even where offered was refused. Is it not a perverted view then to turn against the people because recruits in sufficient numbers cannot be had? The figures quoted by Government are also mistaken as Madras and Calcutta have already received 457 offers. We have heard something in this connection. Some have received no replies as yet though two months have elapsed since their application. Many students are helpless because the University has not given any concessions. We hope the officials will consider all these things and admit their former mistakes and announce that they would follow a liberal policy in future in order that the people may be contented. [The *Prakásh* says:—The lowering of the age limit to 30 is responsible for the small number of recruts. The suspicious attitude of Government also may have been responsible for the result. The time is not yet lost if Government would give up their suspicions and not blame needlessly the people. The *Shetkari* says:—We are of opinion that people should join unconditionally without any consideration of self-respect, etc. The letter of the Secretaries of the Bombay Home Rule League shows how the enthusiasm of the people was damped by the contempt and indifference exhibited by responsible officials. It is not surprising that Government were disappointed in these circumstances. What can the people do when every preparation had been made for such disappointment? The *Shubhodaya* says:—Can it be said we are not loyal? We are mad after loyalty. Can it be said that we are indifferent? We ourselves carried on the agitation for volunteering. Are we cowards? The battle-fields are our witnesses. Government may ask us then: Where is your army? But they themselves know the answer. Our respectable, daring and educated young men want honour, position and concessions in the army. Government say that they should not be troubled in these times and they call upon us to join the Force. If the Defence of India Force has been created as a temporary measure why have not commissions been given to us for the time being? Our young men are not fighting so much for power as for the military training they would acquire as officers. We shall not at all feel any enthusiasm for the war if the feeling that this is our country and that we are responsible for its defence is not born in our hearts. If we had *swarájya* like Canada there would have been no need for Lord Chelmsford to awaken us to the necessity of the defence of our country. We do not insist upon *swarájya* being given to us before we fight. But we want a declaration that *swarájya* would be granted to us if not to-day at least to-morrow. It does not cost anything. But still we advise the people to join. Duty should be performed first before we can aspire after anything. The *Karnátak Vritt* remarks:—The difference between the Indian and European is maintained in every department but still we have not shunned Government service. What is it but cowardice that makes us unwilling to join the Force? We hope the opportunity of getting military training offered would not be lost by our people. The *Karnátak Vaibhav* holds that unsatisfactory conditions and the indifference of Government are responsible for the poor result, but it advises young men to join uncondi-

tionally. The *Chandrodaya* argues that the military spirit cannot be had all in a day. It requests Government to repeal the Arms Act and give military education to the people and also to declare that special rights on the lines of *Swarájya* would be given to the people.]

Phœnix (6), 26th May; *Rást Goftár* (27), 27th May.

45. In the course of a lengthy article on the Government Resolution on the poor response made to the call for recruits for the Indian Defence Force, the *Phœnix* remarks:—"Excessive talk and captious criticism seem to be the besetting sin of a considerable number of our politicians. Can they lay their hands upon their hearts and honestly assert that they have done all that could be done in the matter of recruitment of our young men to the Indian Defence Force? The conditions of the service involve a sacrifice on the part of those who go in for it. Here is an occasion for proving that we are prepared to make sacrifices. What is now wanted is that a supreme effort should be made to make the enrolment of Indians in the Defence Force a great success. We may disapprove of the tone of the Government of India Resolution, but we should in no way lose sight of the stubborn fact that we have failed to make an adequate response to this clarion-call for home defence. .... However that may be, let us now close in and work hard at making the recruitment of Indians to the Defence Force a great success.......... It is no use sulking over the unfavourable conditions of the service. It is no use fretting over the rebuke which the Government of India have rightly or wrongly administered to the leaders of Indian opinion. It is of paramount importance to the cause of India that we should work with might and main for getting an overwhelming number of recruits for the Indian Defence Force which bids fair to be the future Citizen Army of India." [The *Rást Goftár* writes:—We are one with the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* in saying that the poor result is due to Government not having issued more liberal rules under the Defence of India Force Act. Be it is it may, attempts should be made to enable India to discharge its duty towards the Empire at the present critical juncture with due deference to the explanation given by Government in the matter of reconsidering the question of commissions, etc., after the war. We are constrained to say that in framing the rules Government have not looked to the interests of the Indian people as they ought to have done. Besides they have not taken any steps in consonance with the higher status accorded to India in the Imperial Conference. We are surprised at the attitude of indifference assumed by the Government of India towards Indian affairs. In order to ensure the success of the Indian Defence Force Government should take steps to provide for the families of those who come forward to enlist themselves. Elsewhere in humorous paragraphs contributed by "Peabody", the paper writes in a jeering tone about the popular leaders who are ever ready to criticise Government but who have not been able to secure adequate enlistment to the Defence Force.]

Adverse comments on the raising of Indian Labour Corps for war service in France and elsewhere.

New Times (new), 19th May.

46. "The policy of the Whites doing the fighting and the Blacks doing the digging in this war which was theoretically stated by Captain Guest in the House of Commons was such an insult to the manhood of India that few Indians believed that it would be carried out in this country. Nevertheless it has been practically put into effect by raising large numbers of Indian coolies from the United Provinces, Assam and Burma for war service in Europe and Mesopotamia on the one hand, and confining the Indian Section of the Defence Force to the small number of 6,000 on the other. If Government had shown one hundredth of the enthusiasm and energy which it has shown in raising these labour units in encouraging Indian recruits to the Defence Force it would have under its orders lacs and lacs of young Indians ready to sacrifice their lives for the Empire. The terms on which our offers to help the Empire are accepted are so humiliating that foreigners who do not know the deeply spiritual view point of India wonder why she should persist in continuing her offers. The most objectionable feature of these labour corps is that the status of the labourers

will not be an inch better for their serving the cause of the Empire in war. They will not be allowed to live and labour in the country which they go to defend, but will be repatriated as soon as the war is over. They will be carefully prevented from competing with the European workmen by a strict military discipline which will perhaps lead to worse abuses than those resulting from the Indentured Labour system against which we have complained. They will go as coolies and return as coolies. We do not know the rules governing the working conditions of the recruits, but the system appears to be the old Indenture system in an official and warlike disguise."

Comments on the letter written by a Collector in the United Provinces in the matter of the War Loan.

Sánj Vartamán (28), 1st June.

47. Commenting upon the letter on the subject of contribution to the War Loan, addressed by Mr. L. M. Stubbs, I.C.S., Magistrate and Collector of Bijnor (United Provinces) to a number of Vaishya gentlemen of that district, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—This short tempered European officer has read a homily to the people for having fallen short of his expectations in their War Loan contributions and he goes the length of calling them timid, stupid and avaricious! The letter shows such lack of the sense of responsibility in the writer as to make people think that he is fit to be an inmate of the lunatic asylum. The letter furnishes an example of the undue pressure exercised by District officials, against the instructions of the Government of India, in the matter of contributions to the War Loan. We hope Government will not be backward in taking such officers to task.

Kesari (92), 29th May; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 30th May; *Loka Bandhu* (76), 27th May; *Raj Hansa* (77), 27th May.

48. Many complaints have repeatedly been lodged with various provincial Governments that though officials do not actually force the people, they press them in various ways and extract from them amounts for the war loan beyond their means and against their will. The Bengal Government have re-issued their circular prohibiting officials from forcing the people to subscribe to the war loan. This reiteration only shows that the officials must have ignored the former orders of Government. We can explain the conduct of the officials in benefiting Government by ways deemed undesirable by Government only on the ground that they are ultra-loyal and ultra-selfish. What wonder if the people feel that the officials do not feel the restraining power of the order sufficiently inasmuch as they set it aside. The Bengal Government haved admitted by issuing this circular that the officials have used some unjust means. But the Bombay Government have not given any explanation though they have been informed by the *Bombay Chronicle* and by ourselves of the improper things resorted to in this connection. The silence of the Bombay Government has caused the people to distrust and despair, and the officials to feel triumphant. We request the Bombay Government to win the confidence of the people by issuing orders that would take severely to task the overzealous officials, after full enquiry. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—Officials may take the assistance of volunteers in raising the War Loan, but it is very harmful if the *rayats* are allowed to be under the impression that they are being forced to pay. We do not think it possible that the higher officials want to force the *rayats* to pay and it is necessary to take prompt measures if the lower officials misuse their powers ever so little in the matter. If the Bombay Government have not already taken precautions, they should strictly warn the officials against committing any oppression in the matter of subscriptions. The Finance Minister expected only 15 crores and now the Loan has amounted upto 25 crores. As there is such a satisfactory progress it is necessary to see that nobody is forced to pay. India would be benefited in proportion as it pays more to the War Loan, but it is equally desirable to see that wrong measures are not taken to swell it. The *Loka Bandhu* writes:—How much can be had by troubling those who have no means to pay? If there is oppression, it is possible that even those who want to pay, may not pay. Those who collect the War Loan should only advise the people. If other Governments also like the Bengal Government issue a circular and publish it in every village that people will not in any way be forced to pay to the War Loan, money would be collected of its own accord. We think the officials need not go about and worry themselves. The *Raj Hansa* also writes in the same strain.]

EDUCATION.

Alleged repression of "National" Schools by the Government.

Message (5), 31st May.

49. A. S. Rao writes in the *Message*:—"The Madras Government do not alone come forth as the guardian-angels of students. The Central Provinces Administration also think it their duty to do so, and we hear that Managers of Schools are to keep a watch on the students. Commenting on this the *New India* of 18th May, in its editorial entitled 'School Boys and Politics in Central Provinces', has thrown a hint to the effect that National Schools and Colleges should be widely opened. The suggestion is an excellent one and ought to be taken up and put into practice. But we are afraid, the venture might meet with the same fate as that of others in the past, as the authorities, who are bent upon excluding the student population from every healthy influence necessary, nay indispensable, for their growth, would, under the powers vested in them, thwart these noble attempts. This apprehension is not a play of imagination let loose, but is founded on experience dearly purchased. We have only to go back to the dark period following the 'Partition of Bengal'. National Schools came into being in Bengal, Central Provinces and Maharashtra. But the authorities would not view with a good eye these institutions and tried to make short work of them as opportunity arose.......... Similar was the case with the National Institution of Talegaon, I mean the Samartha Vidyalaya, conducted by self-sacrificing patriots on purely national lines. No arguments prevailed with the powers that be. They would not stand to reason. They suspected the Institution to be a nursery of seditionists and bomb-throwers. They would not stop here. They issued a mandate that no other school—Government or a private one recognised by the Universities—shall admit a student who may have been studying in the Samartha Vidyalaya, of Talegaon. I know the case of such a student who had been studying in the 'Samartha Vidyalaya' who was debarred from being admitted into any other school. This unfortunate student sought admission into a local Night School, some three or four years back, but could not be admitted because of the seal of boycott the Government had put upon the inmates of that institution.......... But did the Government ever take the trouble of enquiring what the aims and objects of the institutions were or on what lines was the training conducted? The Samartha Vidyalaya had issued a pamphlet embodying all the information about the institution. Yet perversity knows no bounds nor stands to argument.......... Such, I hope, should not be the fate of the new ventures that may be the outcome of the Government policy. It is patent to those who have kept their eyes open and observe what is going on at present that the Government has embarked upon a career of repression and one is inclined to suspect that, as days pass by, repression will be on an ascending scale. The situation is really of a more serious nature than one can imagine and a great responsibility lies upon the heads of leaders and parents to steer clear through the critical and troublous times through which we are passing."

NATIVE STATES.

Complaint about robberies and armed dacoities in Káthiáwár. Alleged need of repealing the Arms Act.

Deshi Mitra (57), 31st May.

50. The people living in villages in Kathiawar are of late being made victims of robberies and armed dacoities. It is a pity that Government are not able to check the evil. The people have been disarmed by the Arms Act and so they are not in a position to defend themselves. While on account of the Arms Act the law-abiding citizens cannot keep arms the lawless ruffians procure them by some means or other and harass the poor people and commit outrages upon them with impunity. Government should repeal the Arms Act to enable the people to protect themselves against armed dacoits and to infuse a martial spirit in them.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Governmen .

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 8th June 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 23 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 9th June 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Adverse comments on a recent speech of the Lord Bishop of Bombay. 17
Alleged intellectual and moral enslavement of Indians . . . 7
Alleged lack of a consistent policy on the part of the rulers of India . 8
Alleged malicious attack on Mr. Gandhi by a Bihar planter . . 13 & 14
Alleged unsatisfacory position of India in the Empire and the Colonies. 9
Comments on His Excellency Lord Pentland's last speech in the Madras Legislative Council . . . . 1—5
Comments on Mr. Gandhi's activities among the coolies of the Champaran District, Behar 12
Comments on the steps being taken to grant Home Rule to Ireland . 11
Mr. Lloyd George's and Lord Pentland's views about India's future contrasted 6
Protest against the proposed changes in the criminal law of the Punjáb 16
Reckless agitators err in the good company of Shivaji and Washington. 10
The mistaken educational policy of the Madras Government . . 15

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay:

Comments on the proposed extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office . . . . 29—32
Defence of His Excellency Lord Willingdon against the attack of the *Bengalee* 33
Honours List: Comments on the Birth-day — . . . . . . 35—39
Indians in the Colonies: Indians in South Africa 34
Madras Legislative Council: Comments on the new rule of the — regarding introduction of private Bills 40
Sind: Alleged highhandedness in the selection of the Principal of the D. J. — College (Karáchi) . . . . 41—42

War:

Comments on the Government Press Note on alleged oppression by certain officials in making people subscribe to the—Loan . . 18—21
Comments on the Government Press Note regarding number of applications for enrolment in the Indian Defence Force . . 26

H 85—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War :—*concluded.*

Comments on the Government Resolution on the unsatisfactory recruiting for the Indian Defence Force . . . . . . 23—25
Comments on the letter written by the District Magistrate, Bijnor, to certain Banias in connection with the — Loan 22
Comments on the memorandum of the Indian representatives on the Imperial — Conference regarding Indian emigration to Colonies . 27
Comments on the statement of the Japanese Ambassador in London that the Japanese fleet had guarded the coasts of India . . . 28

EDUCATION—

Comments on the increase of fees in the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad . 43

NATIVE STATES—

Proposed memorial to His Majesty the King-Emperor against certain acts of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda 44

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Pentland's last speech in the Madras Legislative Council.

Mahrātta (4), 3rd June.

1. "He says: 'these orders are intended to do justice to students, to secure to them their rights as students and the *same opportunities as are enjoyed by students in other countries*—rights and opportunities which no wise parent and no true lover of his country will grudge or deny to the rising generation'. By other countries Lord Pentland must be evidently taken to speak of countries which are in advance of India. And what is the fact in these countries? The students there are sons and daughters of *freemen*. The Governments of their lands are not alien and irresponsible, but national and responsible to the people, *i. e.*, to the parents and guardians of students. The educational courses in these countries are laid down by men who have not the slightest temptation to keep from the students such facts of history as are calculated to foster an intense pride in and love of their mother-country, which make one impatient of Other Rule......... These times of acute political feeling are ill-suited to the promulgation of drastic orders which can only add bitterness to acuteness......... His Excellency's idea of the life-work which an Indian student of to-day has to enter upon at the end of his student days, is evidently at variance with the popular idea. We need helpers in our National Home Rule cause. Lord Pentland, as he made clear further on in his speech, wishes us to put entirely out of our mind any idea of responsible Government at an early date. This difference in the *final aims of education* accounts for the difference in the methods of education acceptable to Government on the one hand and to the people on the other. The *character and equipment* that we want to see our students in possession of is 'undesirable' in the eyes of those who differ from us in *final aims*. Hence the preposterous order. Lord Pentland says in ill-concealed wrath that the leaders of the agitation and all who support and sympathise with them, will be directly responsible for any difficulties that may arise out of it. But how could the agitation have been avoided? How can it be stopped even now? The agitation is largely the result of the bureaucratic tyrannies which India is labouring under. Following the style of His Lordship, we may say with truth, that 'against all advice and warning the bureaucracy has chosen to initiate and persist in oppressive and controversial legislation (followed by unsympathetic administration) at a most unsuitable time'."

Gujarāti (12), 3rd June, Eng. cols.

2. "The speech which His Excellency Lord Pentland made in winding up the business of the recent session of the Madras Legislative Council, has been correctly characterized as a challenge and a threat to Indian people carrying on a thoroughly constitutional, peaceful and responsible agitation for the grant of a substantial instalment of reforms on the termination of the war.......... He clearly spoke the mind of Anglo-India, which cannot bring itself to believe that the executive can be allowed to be controlled by the people through their representatives for generations to come.......... Lord Pentland's speech is only a foretaste of the opposition which Indian leaders will have to encounter in their peaceful agitation for the satisfaction of their legitimate aspirations. It shows how the official and Anglo-Indian wind is blowing and demonstrates how the war has not in the slightest degree affected the illiberal and unsympathetic attitude of the official world towards Indian demands.......... It is not a merely innocent coincidence that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Governor of the Madras Presidency have spoken on the question of self-government for India as formulated by the distinguished leaders of Indian opinion, in alarmist and unfriendly hostile terms. There is a profound significance behind it. We doubt if these self-complacent and self-admiring satraps would have spoken in the spirit or the language in which they have addressed their gratuitous homilies to the Indian people and their leaders, if Lord Hardinge had been at the head of the administration in India.......... We feel persuaded to believe

that the currents of the political atmosphere at Simla and Delhi are gradually spreading themselves out in different provinces......... In Bombay Lord Willingdon persuaded himself as early as 1915 that political agitation and political conferences and meetings were not desirable. He repeated his advice in a more emphatic and authoritative manner in his last speech at the Town Hall in connection with the Indian War Loan. The public of this presidency have differed from His Excellency *in toto* in this matter, but so far with his innate good sense and noble impulses His Excellency has not yet allowed himself to give offensive expression to the reactionary views and alarmist sentiments of his two brother satraps in the South and in the North. We do hope His Excellency will do nothing of the kind."

Indian Social Reformer (2), 3rd June; *Phœnix* (6), 2nd June.

3. "We will only say here that Lord Pentland was exceedingly ill-informed in his statement that his Government has the support not only of the educationists but of the general body of public opinion, if by 'educationists' and 'public opinion', His Excellency meant Indian educationists and Indian public opinion. Of course, Englishmen, who form the bulk of the Indian Educational Service, are bound, whatever their private opinion may be, to endorse the action of Government, and they can also foster among their Indian subordinates a sort of public opinion in favour of such action. But if there is any appreciable number of Indians, educationists or public men, who regard the order of the Madras Government as anything but a dangerous and provocative measure, we should be glad to know their names and standing in educational and in public life." [*The Phœnix* remarks :—" We can understand His Excellency looking askance at Mrs. Besant's Home Rule talk. But what has he to say to the moderate scheme of reforms formulated and adopted by the two responsible and accredited bodies of India? Lord Pentland's speech is susceptible of leading us to believe that he is opposed even to the moderate demands adopted by the Congress and the League. We regret that His Excellency should have broken out in language calculated to show him as a sun-dried bureaucrat."]

Bakul (81), 3rd June; *Satya Shodhak* (101), 3rd June; *Prakásh* (99), 6th June; *Shetkari* (37), 3rd June; *Subhodaya* (New), 1st June.

4. The idea of *swarajya* has taken such a deep root in our minds that even a higher official than Lord Pentland would be powerless to eradicate it. We know quite well that our demand for *swarajya* will in all probability be given the go-by after the war. We are also aware what efforts Ireland has had to make to secure *swarajya* although only a narrow channel separates that country from England. British statesmen could not apply compulsory service to Ireland owing to the discontent among the people. Why should not our Government recognize that failure to grant our demands would perhaps engender similar discontent among us? We should not only ignore Lord Pentland's advice to abandon the Home Rule movement, but carry it on with greater vigour. Our demands would have been conceded ere this if it were possible to get anything without agitating for it. Our constitutional agitation for *swarajya* is due to our not getting what we are entitled to. It is useless, therefore, for Lord Pentland to prate about giving us good advice under the guise of outspokenness. [The *Satya Shodhak* writes :—The recent utterances of high officials of Government indicate that they are about to give a quietus to our cherished ambition to obtain *swarajya*. Lord Pentland's disapprobation of this movement is very irritating and has provoked hot discussion everywhere. His Excellency's speech, owing to its violence, will not fail to create much discontent among the people. Our readers can imagine the effects of such venomous utterances of responsible officials at a time when people are offering their all for the successful prosecution of the war and are eagerly awaiting the moment when their desires would be fulfilled. The views expressed by the Provincial Governments show that the Home Rule movement will one day be disposed of under the Defence of India Act. It is a moot point, however, whether the deep seated desire for *swarajya* can be entirely effaced from the minds of the people. The *Prakásh* writes :—Mr. Balfour stands up for popular government. Lord Pentland, a countryman of

his, however, views it with disfavour and is advising people to abandon the ideal of *swarajya*. Perhaps he considers the bureaucratic form of government to be the best! Mr. Balfour's speeches (in America), however, show that responsible British statesmen are against a system of government under which people's money is spent without their consent and obnoxious laws are enacted in the teeth of the opposition of the elected representatives of the people. Why should a body working constitutionally to establish a popular form of government be an eyesore to a Governor who is deputed by these statesmen? Perhaps this is due to the bureaucratic atmosphere of the country. Whatever the reason may be, Lord Pentland's advice is inopportune and stale and is politically unpractical as it conflicts with the expressed views of responsible British statesmen. The *Shetkari* remarks:—Can the officials explain why the argument, that a satisfactory solution of the Irish problem at this time would secure the hearty co-operation of Ireland, should not apply with equal force to India? Lord Pentland's speech fully proves the contention of Mr. Tilak and other Indian leaders that the bureaucracy thwarts our legitimate aspirations. The *Subhodaya* remarks:—Those who can grant us the rights of *swarájya* are in England. What has Lord Pentland to do with them? Lord Pentland cannot either grant us the rights to-day or come in the way if the Imperial Government mean to give them. It is quite absurd to argue that the most intelligent leaders of the public in India pass venomous criticism against officials. Who has told Lord Pentland that our aspirations are but 'Castles in the air'? Is it Mr. Lloyd George? If Parliament has decided that we should not be given rights of *swarájya*, of whom is it afraid that it should not tell us so plainly? When the Governor of Madras is not afraid, is the Prime Minister of England afraid? Of course it is an invention of Lord Pentland himself.]

Gujaráti (12), 3rd June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 3rd June; *Gujaráti Punch* (14), 3rd June.

*5. Commenting upon Lord Pentland's speech the *Gujaráti* writes:—Lord Pentland has needlessly adopted a short-sighted policy at the end of his tenure of office. He has not the power of getting anything effected either at a slow or rapid pace. It is a matter for regret that the Honourable Members of the Legislative Council had as usual no opportunity of making a reply. The falsity of the advice given by Lord Pentland is proved by the sudden political change effected in Russia which is mostly inhabited by ignorant peasants. Lord Pentland's advice will put Indians on their guard and prompt them to persevere in their legitimate political agitation with confidence of success. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—We cannot say how far Lord Pentland was justified in making a speech that has given rise to needless agitation in different parts of the country. Leaders of political opinion in this country so far hoped for some sympathy from official quarters in their agitation for Home Rule; but Lord Pentland has frustrated their hopes and has made a public announcement that repressive measures would be adopted to put down the movement. The policy followed by officials in India offers a strange contrast to that adopted by England towards Ireland. The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—We do not think that there is anything objectionable in the perfectly legitimate movement that the Indians are making for securing Home Rule. It seems strange that Lord Pentland should announce his intention of putting down the movement and at the same time ask public leaders to co-operate with him. Lord Pentland will never get the sympathy of the Indian people in his crusade against Home Rule. Mr. Lloyd George is a great protagonist of democracy and we feel sure that India will not be disappointed if an appeal is made to England to give Home Rule to India.]

Mr. Lloyd George's and Lord Pentland's views about India's future contrasted.

Sánj Vartamán (28), 7th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 8th June.

6. The *Sánj Vartamán* quotes that portion of the speech, delivered by Mr. Lloyd George at the time when the Freedom of the City of London was conferred upon him, wherein the Premier observes that the "loyal myriads" of India "should feel not that they were subject races of the Empire but partner nations" and wherein he deprecated timidity, timorousness and faintheartedness in the time of war, and remarks:—While these words of Mr. Lloyd George create new hopes and enthusiasm in our hearts, the views of narrow-minded and timorous statesmen like Lord Pentland chill them and fill the people with disappointment. Mr. Lloyd George appeals to the British public to settle the questions of Ireland and India with courage and statesmanship instead of getting nervous over them, as Lord Pentland has done. These wise sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister will spread great satisfaction among the Indian people, who will find comfort from the belief that India can rely entirely upon Great Britain as long as statesmen like Mr. Lloyd George are at the helm of the Empire. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also contrasts Mr. Lloyd George's speech with that delivered by Lord Pentland in the Madras Legislative Council and remarks that not only political but also all leading commercial bodies in India should, by way of strengthening the hands of the Premier, hold public meetings to raise a strong protest against the speech of Lord Pentland and pass resolutions urging Government to put into practice without delay the scheme of reforms formulated by the joint committee of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League, as the first instalment of political reforms to be introduced in India.]

Alleged intellectual and moral enslavement of Indians.
Mahrátta (4), 3rd June.

7. "Dr. Page, the United State Ambassador, speaking at a dinner given in honour of the entry of the United State into the war, said :—'Our creed is the simple and immortal creed of democracy, which means Government set up by the governed; for this alone can prevent physical, or intellectual, or moral enslavement'.......... Have not Indians any claim on the sympathy of the Governments and peoples who talk profusely of the creed of democracy and declare in season and out of season that a free Government, 'a Government set up by the governed' alone can prevent physical or intellectual or moral enslavement? The intellectual and moral enslavement of Indians—against which the New Spirit is working energetically—is evidenced in the anti-Home Rule agitation carried on by Indians (!)......... 'Free Government' is the ideal, Dr. Page said, towards which the whole world is now moving along bloody paths. And if the whole world is moving towards the ideal, India may well hope to find many a sympathiser in the world in her march towards this Ideal. Shall her march be 'bloody' in any of its stages? Who can tell?"

Alleged lack of a consistent policy on the part of the rulers of India.
Kesari (92), 5th June.

8. Quite the opposite of what happens in England takes place in India. The ministry itself agitates for *Swarajya* for Ireland, but India cannot digest even the *Swarajya* movement. Sinn Feiners are patted in England, but Mrs. Besant who is following the loyal and constitutional path in India is threatened. Lord Pentland tells us that England does not like sudden revolutions, but England sings the glory of the Russian revolution. Lord Pentland terrifies us, and says that the defamation of the bureaucracy will not be tolerated, when we say that the prevailing system should be abolished. But nothing wrong is smelt in England if Mr. Asquith's Ministry is turned out. We do not know what to make of these two contrasts. Who is the wise man among the English? The energetic minister of England or the plodding Governors in India? But the Governors of India should have at least had a consistent policy. Lord Pentland tells us that no one will attach any importance to the demand for *Swarájya* in these times, while Lord Chelmsford sends a despatch to England asking for concessions! A nice thing it is that the Viceroy may make some demands, but we must not! He says that the concessions should be given after the war; we also say the same thing. Where is then our fault? Why are they so angry if we ask for our rights? We have heard uptil now of black confusion; but this confusion of 'white' officials seems to be quite extraordinary!

Alleged unsatisfactory position of India in the Empire and the Colonies.
New Times (New), 29th May.

9. "If the position of India in the central organisation of the Empire has not improved, it has not become very much better in the self-governing Colonies. Now that the terms of the famous Reciprocity agreement are before us, we confess to a sense of bitter disappointment. They concede nothing which Indians as full members of the Empire have a right to expect and

which is not already conceded to other Asiatic races. Our representatives have betrayed India and it is only after reading the terms of the agreement that we are able to understand Sir Robert Borden's enthusiasm at their 'fairness and moderation'.......... It may be asked why India should go on undertaking additional Imperial responsibilities if her position in the Empire is in no way better than that of any foreign nation, unless Imperial partnership means that India is to bear all the burdens and the Colonies to enjoy all the rights.......... It is nothing short of a cruel mockery to ask India to mete out a similar treatment to Dominion emigrants when we know that the Colonies have no men to spare for labour or settlement under the hot climatic conditions of India. It would be perhaps more to the point if India were allowed to exclude the residents of the offending Dominion from all share in its administrative and commercial life for which the Dominions have such a powerful attraction. But the Colonies have taken care to provide for their interests in this direction by stipulating that full facilities should be granted for the admission of tourists, students and the like (including, of course, merchants and public officers) and for business visits entailing temporary residence, so long as this residence was not for labour purposes or for permanent settlement."

Reckless agitators err in the good company of Shivaji and Washington.
Mahrátta (4), 10th June.

*10. "George Washington would certainly have rejoiced to co-operate with British statesmen in putting down 'Despotism'. But George Washington—the child of Liberty—would have been ashamed of associating with these statesmen in their policy of neglecting India. Washington heartily hated the heel of the despot.......... It must be remembered that Washington was 'a rebel'—when he fought for freedom. He is now wreathed by the British Mission as 'a patriot'. *Values* change with times. The many sons and lovers of India who have been and who will be made to suffer for their devotion to this suffering country, being given the names of reckless 'agitators' and so forth, err in good company. They are humble workers in the field of Liberty, recognising in the British-worshipped Washington, one of their Elder Comrades of the Past. To err in one's own humble way with Washington of America or Shivaji of the Maharashtra—is it not a matter for just pride?"

Comments on the steps being taken to grant Home Rule to Ireland.
Praja Bandhu (24), 3rd June; *Kaira Vartamán* (61), 6th June.

11. The *Praja Bandhu* refers to the proposed convention representative of all classes and interests in Ireland which is going to be formed for formulating a new constitution for Ireland and remarks:—Ireland after many futile attempts is going to be given Home Rule. No one will say that India must necessarily pass through all the difficulties that Ireland has had to encounter in order to be considered fit for Home Rule. Bitter feelings and difficulties would have been almost completely obviated if Ireland had been given Home Rule a little earlier. The legitimate aspirations of a country engendered in peace should be satisfied in a peaceful and amicable manner. The British Empire is gaining fresh experiences day by day and Indians cannot, therefore, be said to entertain impossible hopes if they believe that the experience gained by England in giving Home Rule to South Africa and Ireland will be helpful in placing India on the same footing. [The *Kaira Vartamán* reproduces the above without acknowledgment.]

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's activities among the coolies of the Champaran District, Behar.
Hindusthán (16), 6th June; *Political Bhomiyo* (65), 8th June; *New Times* (new), 25th May.

12. Referring to the telegram published some time ago by the Associated Press, wherein the destruction of a factory by fire in the Champaran District, Behar, was attributed to the excitement said to have been created among the Indian labourers by the presence of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and also referring to Mr. Irwin's letter appearing in the *Pioneer*, wherein the writer has declared to the effect that the jute planters will have to take measures by way of self-defence if Government will not interfere in the matter, the *Hindusthán* remarks that the

planters have been thus making endeavours to drive Mr. Gandhi out of the district, through fear lest Mr. Gandhi's inquiry might lead to the disclosure and removal of the grievances of the oppressed rayats and would prejudically affect their material advancement. The paper observes that even if Mr. Gandhi's presence among the coolies of the Champaran District has produced exitement among them, as alleged, which according to its belief it has not produced, it is really attributable to the oppression and maltreatment to which they were subjected by the planters. It declares that Mr. Gandhi has been actuated to undertake his present inquiry by the sole motive of removing the hardships of the coolies. [The *Political Bhomiyo*, on the other hand, while not endorsing the belief entertained in some quarters that the excitement among the Behar coolies was engineered by Mr. Gandhi, does not view favourably the taking of steps which would tend to create disaffection among the subjects at the present times when peace is very much needed. It accordingly advises Mr. Gandhi to give up taking part in political matters and busy himself with pursuits which have for their object the removal of social evils. The *New Times* writes:—"We publish elsewhere an account of the inquiries of Mr. Gandhi about the conditions of labour on the plantations in Champaran in Behar published by the Hindi paper *Pratap*. The condition of things, if it is true, is shocking beyond description. It recalls the old days of the Company's rule in Bengal when Indian weavers used to do forced labour and be compelled to buy and sell things at prices fixed by the Company's Gumashtas."]

Alleged malicious attack on Mr. Gandhi by a Bihar planter.

Young India (10), 6th June.

13. "The Allahabad journal contains a malicious and vituperative attack on Mr. Gandhi by a certain Mr. Irwin, manager of one of the factories. Mr. Irwin has not hesitated to lay the trouble which was recenty reported at Mr. Gandhi's doors and is so far emboldened as to assume a bullying tone. He declares that 'unless Government can see its way to protecting' the planters by the removal of Mr. Gandhi from the Champaran district, as suggested by him, the planters will 'unavoidably be forced into taking steps necessary for their own protection.' It is all very well for Mr. Irwin to prate as he thinks. But the question is whether the Behar Government will put up with this impertinent factory manager, who has chosen an impudent way of telling the Government what it should or should not do. We know what would be the consequence of a similar declaration, from one of a less favoured race. It would be construed as tantamount to a declaration of war againt His Majesty's Government established by law and the person suitably dealt with according to bureaucracy-made law. But then does not Mr. Irwin belong to a favoured race of indigo planters? He can intimidate Government and prey upon the poor, ignorant ryots of Bihar. There is no higher law than him. Mr. Irwin may well think that his bravado will succeed in the long run, with the Government by his own countrymen. But public opinion in India is now fully enlightened. The recent burning down of a portion of some factory office was, we have reason to believe, part and parcel of a conspiracy on the part of selfish interested planters themselves with a view to discredit Mr. Gandhi and his mission among them. We do not wonder if some of the planters are capable of such wiles."

Mahrátta (4), 10th June.

***14.** "It will have been noticed by our readers that Mr. Irwin's letter closes with a most impudent threat to the authorities of Behar. The white and white-black community of India has been fondled by the Indian authorities beyond all bounds of commonsense not to speak of justice and equity. The result is the overwhelming sense of self-importance which almost every 'whiter' and 'semi-whiter' has developed. In India *which belongs rightfully to the ryots of India*, these people talk as if the ryots had no business to exist except for the welfare of these 'gods'! How long is this state of things to last? When will these gods be dethroned and made to realise that they are no better than any ryot of India? In other werds, when shall we have Home Rule with complete equality of rights for all the citizens of India? Things are becoming absolutely unbearable!"

The mistaken educational policy of the Madras Government.
Subodh Patrika (38), 3rd June.

15. We are of opinion that the Government of Madras never made a greater mistake than in their handling of the student problem. Where was the need for restricting the liberties of the students of Madras as they were not proved to be particularly troublesome? Bengal knows to its cost the evil effects of trying to keep the students under needless and excessive control. We only hope Madras may not have the same bitter experience. The Government of Madras seem ignorant of the established fact that the desired object can be easily attained by trusting the students and treating them kindly, whereas intimidation proves unfruitful.

Protest against the proposed changes in the criminal law of the Punjáb.
Dnyán Prakásh (33), 2nd June.

16. A Bill has been framed by the Punjab Government on the lines of the law of crimes in force in the North-Western Frontier Province. It creates the new offence of abstention from helping in Police investigations. It also throws the burden of proving their innocence on the villagers who will in the first instance be held reponsible if any offence is committed in the village. In many cases the inefficiency of the Police is the cause of the non-detection of crime. Why should the villagers suffer if the Police are not able to do their work? A special responsibility of helping in investigation has been thrown on title holders and Inamdars, which also is against the principles of justice. It is an insult to the Punjáb to rank it along with the backward North-Western Frontier Province, and the Lahore Municipal Council has unanimously protested against the comtemplated legislation. We hope other bodies also will follow the example of the Lahore Municipality. Whatever may be the difficulties of the Punjab Government, they will not be removed by revolutionary changes in the system of dispensing justice.

Adverse comments on a recent speech of the Lord Bishop of Bombay.
Message (5), 6th June.

17. Referring to a speech delivered by the Lord Bishop of Bombay, in which he said that "India cannot truly be called loyal till all the required loan has been subscribed", the *Message* writes:—"The Lord Bishop of Bombay is supposed to be a man of some responsibility. At any rate, he is not one of those irresponsible and irreconcilable people who publicly parade their nonsense from time to time. He presided lately at the prize distribution of a children's school, and after the prizes were given away by Mrs. Palmer, he is reported to have addressed the children in language which is not at all commendatory of His Lordship's wisdom and commonsense."

Comments on the Government Press Note on the alleged oppression by certain officials in making people subscribe to the War Loan.
Young India (10), 6th June.

18. "His Excellency Lord Willingdon's Government has come to the conclusion that the three principal allegations made out by our contemporary are either entirely false or are not borne out by facts. We have no mind to quarrel with the Government in its finding. Even if the allegations fail, as a result of a one-sided inquiry conducted under circumstances which effectually barred the possibilities of independent testimony, the facts elicited by the Talukdari Settlement Officer go to show that there was more than polite persuasion resorted to by the misguided and over-zealous Deputy Manager of the Rampura village. The Government has generously placed its seal of commendation on the conduct of the officer concerned, and we are not at all sorry to leave it at that. We would, however, remind the Government, for future use only, of such a small circumstance as that local officials are not the best persons for undertaking inquiries of this nature. By the very nature of the case, the villagers were precluded from giving evidence freely or impartially, lest by their conduct they should call down upon their own heads the wrath of the mighty. If they could have been assured that they would not be exposed to the mercy of disappointed or prejudiced officials, with whom they have to live in perpetual contact, it appears to us that there was some chance of obtaining more conclusive evidence."

**Mahratta* (4), 10th June; *Kesari* (92), 5th June; *Mantri* (new), 3rd June.

19. "Readers will remember that the letter in the *Chronicle* contained the following observation: 'The leaders of the village dare not expose the Manager because matters like income-tax, land assessment are wholly in his power.' Here in this observation lies the explanation, in our opinion, of the wonderful results of the Government enquiry into the Rampura troubles. If the Deputy Manager is a bug-bear of a formidable kind, the Talukdari Settlement Officer must be an infinitely more formidable bug-bear to the Rampura people......... Will Government publish the original report of the enquiry? Government's report on the report made by the Settlement Officer interspersed with Government inferences is not likely to give any satisfaction to the public. It has been vociferously claimed on behalf of the bureaucrats that they are more in touch and sympathy with the hopes and fears of the ryots and their surroundings than the educated Indians are. The observation of our Government condoning, nay, almost eulogising the official zealot who strongly uses the pressure of 'argument' in the matter of the war loan clearly proves either that *the ryots are a sealed book to the bureaucracy or that the bureaucracy have little sympathy with them in their sufferings caused by 'strong' official pressure*......... Why is Government so keen about pressing money out of even poor ryots?......... 'Here is a marked proof of our noble work in India. We estimated that the war loan subscription would not go beyond Rs. 15 crores,......... This noble figure points to the loyal enthusiasm of the people—and this loyal enthusiasm is the result of peace and order and contentment and prosperity, etc., etc., which we—the much-maligned bureaucracy—have brought to the people of India and preserved for them through times of stress and difficulty'. This is the sort of appeal that the Indian bureaucracy seems tempted to make to the Ministers at Home......... The press note of our local Government condones the use of such pressure and therefore deserves to be strongly condemned......... We are sorry that His Excellency has not found it convenient to discourage the idea of official pressure. He has, on the contrary, given it an indirect sanction in saying that so long as this pressure does not mean threats, intimidation and violence, it is not a matter of which Government can take notice. As we have said above, this attitude supplies a lucid commentary on the professions of bureaucratic affection for the ryots of the country." The *Kesari* says:—The policy unfortunately adopted by Government in the Note will not lessen the high-handedness of officials; if anything, it will gain in strength and the panic of the people will be doubled. People will attach no value to the *ex parte* inquiry conducted by Government officials and the inferences drawn therefrom by Government. If Government really meant what they say in the Press Note in beautiful language that people should not pay beyond their means, they would have conveyed their intentions in unmistakable terms to the officials at the very beginning of the movement, and Government would not have incurred the blame consequent on these ruffianly acts of their officials. The lower officials carry the orders of Government to the utmost limit with the intention of gaining credit and it is unpardonable ignorance if Government plead that they do not know it, and it is an unpardonable crime if Government know it and still permit officials to collect money by using pressure and force. Government say in the Note that the publication of the incident in big headlines would affect the collection of money. Even admitting it, why should not such complaints appear in the Press? Why should the independence of India suffer while striving to make Belgium free? Why should Peter be robbed to pay Paul? Why should Government in the first instance trouble themselves with the collection of money? It depends on the sweet will of the people to subscribe or not. If the rayats are forced they would be scared away and they would be filled with distrust. It is a misfortune that officials do not possess even the necessary intelligence to realise this. Government were never under the delusion that they would be able to raise 150 crores in India. Sir W. Meyer expected at the most 15 crores. Government have taken up the burden of 9 crores per annum and those who do not subscribe to the loan will have to pay in the form of new

taxes, etc., that would be imposed to raise the sum. They would not escape any way. The amount collected by means of pressure can be but very trifling. What wisdom is it to lose honour for such a petty thing? [The *Mantri* says that Government have admitted in a way that pressure has been used in collecting money. Lord Willingdon and the Secretariat folks may not see much in it, but in the villages, it continues, even the request of the officials is regarded as an order by the ignorant. It holds that Government would have done well if they had instructed the officials not to use pressure.]

Indian Social Reformer (2), 10th June; *Rást Goftár* (27), 10th June, Eng. cols.

***20.** "The first comment which occurs to us to make is that, if the tone and tenour of this document is to be taken to represent the general attitude of Government to the Press, the hope of friendly co-operation between the two agencies in the interests of good government must be set aside.......... What is the good of placing such complaints in the hands of Government, if the outcome of it is merely a hasty departmental enquiry, a Press Note full of "seems" and "appears" and the rest of the tribe of tentative expletives of which the English vocabulary is so full, and a gratuitious lecture to the Editor?......... Our second comment is the utter inutility of the present administrative system for any task which depends for its success on the enthusiastic co-operation of the people. The only emotion to which it can appeal is fear.......... We would respectfully suggest to the Governor-in-Council that it is what the people think, and not what His Excellency thinks of the ways of the officials, that really matters......... Then, again, where was the need for framing an estimate of the amount of money which each individual, village, or district *should* loan? Investing in the loan is a purely voluntary matter.......... The Central Provinces' Government have issued a Press Note complaining that mischief-makers are inducing pepole to sell the war loan bonds at a discount. In India, even the operation of economic laws, when it is not to the liking of officials, is put down to the work of mischief-mongers. The inevitable result of forcing people to invest in the war loan beyond their means or against their wishes is to lower its market value. A very prominent citizen and financier of Bombay, who has been working hard to popularise the war loan, was telling us the other day that this was what was happening even in Bombay city. People who invest in the loan under pressure, argumentative or other, naturally take the earliest opportunity to sell under the relentless pressure of economic conditions. We are sorry, therefore, that the Government of Bombay's Press Note seems to regard such pressure as legitimate." [The *Rást Goftár* writes:—"We congratulate the Government of Bombay on their prompt and expeditious inquiry into the allegations which were recently made by the *Bombay Chronicle* against some petty officers of a village in the Ahmedabad District.......... It was a departmental inquiry, pure and simple; and in cases of this character no investigation gives so much satisfaction to the public as that in which the personnel of the inquiry committee is a mixed board of officials and non-officials. But without straining this point and upon examining the findings of the Government Resolution, it appears to us that the inquiry in spite of its departmental character goes to substantiate in a general though not an assertive manner the allegation of the *Chronicle* that pressure of a sort had been used on the villagers.......... Apart, however, from inaccuracies as to details, we find that there is only the barest difference between the allegations in the main of the *Chronicle* and the findings in general of the Government."]

Sánj Vartamán (28), 2nd June; *Hindusthán* (16), 5th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (53), 5th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 4th June; *Indian Loyalist* (18), 7th June.

21. Commenting upon the Press Note issued by the Bombay Government in reply to the allegations appearing in the *Bombay Chronicle* in connection with the collection of subscriptions to the War Loan, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—With due deference to Government we beg to differ from the conclusions arrived at by them. The loan is to be subscribed to voluntarily and it is quite improper that Government officials should use pressure or persuasion in connection with it. A very bad effect is produced on the minds of the ignorant public by the pressure brought to bear upon them by the Executive officers of Government, who exercise such vast powers in the districts and villages. The people have been willingly subscribing crores of rupees to the War Loan and we fail to understand why any pressure should have been used in an insignificant village. We think that the War Loan would not have been such a huge success if persuasion alone had been brought to bear upon the people. [The *Hindusthán* quotes extracts from the Press Note and proceeds to show that Government practically admit the allegations made in the complaints referred to. It then adds :—Government themselves admit that 'the pressure of arguments was strongly used', but do Government know the interpretation put by the people on the strong pressure of arguments used by the officials? In the mofussil the word of an official is law to the people. We would venture to suggest that officials should never resort to such kind of pressure. We wish the Press Note had not given indirect encouragement to the pressure of arguments exercised by officials. Government should have taken care to see that no undue influence had been brought upon the people in the matter of subscribing to the War Loan. They would have done well to appoint an independent committee to inquire into the allegations in question, and we feel sure that the finding of such a committee would have had a better impression upon the public mind. The *Bombay Samáchár* on the other hand expresses gratification that the allegations of pressure in connection with the War Loan have not been able to stand the test of investigation and that the Press Note has been able to show that the notable contribution made by the Bombay Presidency to the Loan is due to its loyal enthusiasm for the British Raj. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thanks Government for the prompt enquiry they instituted in the case and congratulates them on the finding of the enquiry which absolves Government servants from the serious allegations made against them. It believes the enquiry will greatly redound to the credit of Lord Willingdon. The *Indian Loyalist* writes in a similar strain and asks Government to take steps against the persons who published false complaints and thus excited public opinion against Government.]

Comments on the letter written by the District Magistrate, Bijnor, to certain Banias in connection with the War Loan.

Mahrátta (4), 3rd June.

22. Commenting on the letter of Mr. Stubbs, District Magistrate, Bijnor, the *Mahrattá* writes :—"Mr. Stubbs, we believe, cannot claim to be 'alone' in his enthusiasm. The war-loan has muddled the brains of many another official high and low. It is high time to stop this official fanaticism. If the Vaishya community of India had a proper *esprit de corps*, all subscription to the War Loan would stop all over India as a protest against this cold-blooded insult offered to the whole of that community by a district official of no mean standing. We are not sure whether or not Mr. Stubbs is free from Cupidity and Timidity. But we are certain that he is well stuffed with Stupidity and Ingratitude.......... Let us remember that Mr. Stubbs is an M.A. of a British university and has eaten the salt of India since 1898. We have had a sample of the manner of Mr. Wood, the principal of the Thomason Engineering College. Now we have this Mr. Stubbs. Mr. Wood keeps his place, despite the demands of the scandalised public that he should go. Mr. Stubbs—he will also keep his place, for aught we know! And are these merely black sheep in a white flock. Or are they 'types'?"

Comments on the Government Resolution on the unsatisfactory recruiting for the Indian Defence Force.

Kesari (92), 5th June.

23. The *Kesari* returns to the subject of the Indian Defence Force and complains of the figure 300 mentioned in the resolution and argues that if public leaders are encouraged the number of recruits increases and that it is diminished if they are discouraged. Thus, only two recruits have joined from Belgaum, may be because Mr. Khadilkar was not allowed to make a speech on recruiting in Belgaum. It further remarks that no forms could be had at first at Trichinopoly. If more recruits are wanted, it continues, the only way is to encourage the public leaders and censure officials like the Trichinopoly ones. It adds :—There is one more strong reason for the indifference of the people. However great, intelligent and brave a person may be, he will have to remain but a sepoy all his life if he joins the British Army. But if he joins the French forces, there is no objection to his being appointed to high posts. It is published that some Bengalees have already got these posts in the French Army. Babu Dheerendra Nath Sen publishes in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* that Bengalees can find entrance even into the machine gun section of the French Army. It is not surprising if people feel no enthusiasm for joining the British force when they find that instruction in all branches and full rights are given on one side of the latitude near Calcutta and that little education and no rights are afforded on the other side of it. Glory to our Bengalee brothers who are putting the shortsighted policy of the British to shame by joining the army under such discouraging conditions! [In another connection the paper says:—There is nothing more disgraceful than the fact that the British Government is not as liberal towards Indians as the French are in every connection, and that it should only content itself by giving mere expression to high principles.]

New Times (new), 29th May.

24. Mr. Durgadas B. Advani writes as follows in the *New Times* with regard to the Resolution of the Government of India on the poor response to recruitment for the Indian Defence Force:—"With regard to the resolution itself, its tone is hopelessly unsympathetic. Unconsciously perhaps, the Government of India has here disclosed its truly un-Indian character. In self-ruling countries, whenever the people display want of patriotism, of martial spirit or any other desirable national characteristic the Governments of such countries study the causes that have led to the defects, and devise means for remedying them. In such countries the men at the head of the Government are themselves the 'leaders of public opinion'. But in British-ruled India the Government distinguishes itself from such leaders, it stands aside and calls upon them to take up in right earnest a matter which primarily falls within the sphere of its own responsibilities to the nation. Had the Government, however, been content merely with an exhortation on the subject, it might have passed. But its resolution amounts to a virtual condemnation of a country which has been completely damped, by the most iniquitous Arms Act known to the civilized world and by the most partially worked Arms Act, and whose patriotism has been chilled by a system of unnational education.......... If we contrast the apathy displayed by Government in this matter with the energy with which the labour corps are now being raised, and the interest which the official community is showing in the War-Loan, we will find one more convincing proof of the necessity for self-government for India! And it will teach us to become self-reliant, and to take to the work of recruitment with redoubled vigour."

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 3rd June, Eng. cols.

25. "We have been surprised by the startling disclosures made by Mr. D. D. Sathaye and Mr. M. B. Velkar, Joint Honorary Secretaries, The Indian Home Rule League, Bombay Branch.......... The allegations, it need hardly be said, are most serious. If they are true, it only exemplifies the time-honoured device on the part of officials to bring to nothing the finest generosity of statesmen in England.......... It is clear that the idea of having Indians as soldiers is distasteful to our bureaucrats, and they exert their expert ingenuity to nullify the generous intentions of the Government. Be this as it may, it will hardly do even for the Government of India to have credit both ways: of enabling Indians to serve their country, and after allowing its officials to thwart and damp the enthusiasm of the applicants, to read a homily to Indian leaders."

Comments on the Government Press Note regarding number of applications for enrolment in the Indian Defence Force.

Young India (10), 6th June.

26. Commenting on the Press Communique issued by the Bombay Government regarding the number of applications for enrolment in the Indian section of the I. D. F., *Young India* writes:—"In the interests of clearness and accuracy, it is highly desirable that statistics should be secured for the various provinces showing the number of applications, the number passed and the number rejected, as also the principal reasons for such rejection. Information in our possession goes to shows that even in the consideration of applications for enrolment, political reasons have influenced the judgment of local authorities in some places and applications of people with a known proclivity for Home Rule have been passed over as not worthy of consideration!"

Comments on the Memorandum of the Indian representatives on the Imperial Conference regarding Indian emigration to Colonies.

Mahrdtta (4), 10th June.

*27. If membership of the British Empire carries with it no privileges for Indians, which any other Asiatic race does not possess in the Colonies of the Empire, the Indians may as well think of resigning this membership. .... The Indian people have had no representation in the War Conference or in the War Cabinet and are promised none for the future. The Imperial War Cabinet which it decided should hold its sessions every year will have the Secretary of State for India and India Government nominees to represent 'India'. Future Imperial Conferences will give a similar 'representation' to India. These 'favours' are only a mockery. The status of the *Indian people* remains unchanged. It is that which we must work energetically to raise. Our Home Rule agitation is *the only way* to raise it. We must impress it upon the Britishers that the recent *tamasha* of the Imperial War Conference and Cabinet has given us no satisfaction, for the simple reason that it has given *us* nothing, nay more, it has put its seal on a policy of 'Preference' which will be our ruin, unless an early grant of responsible Government makes it possible for us to counteract its effects by inaugurating a 'national' policy, such as may properly fit in with 'Imperial preference'."

Comments on the statement of the Japanese Ambassador in London that the Japanese fleet had guarded the coasts of India.

Gujarâti (12), 3rd June.

28. Commenting upon the speech delivered by the Japanese Ambassador in London before his departure to take part in the Economic Conference at Rome which appeared in the *Times*, dated the 19th April, the *Gujarâti* writes :—The Japanese Consul has told the English people in London that the Japanese fleet has guarded the coasts of India! Why should not India thank the Japanse fleet instead of the British? Is it not strange that a country inhabited by thousands of British subjects under the suzerainty of Britian should be protected by the Japanese fleet? Should such a thing come to pass after a century and a half of British rule? The British people may derive pleasure from the speech of the Japanese Consul, but it will fail to give satisfaction to the Indian peaple.

Comments on the proposed extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office.

Young India (10), 6th June.

29. "Some days ago, the *Times of India* gave publicity to a letter from Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy. In his letter Sir Jamsetjee took upon himself the pleasant duty of giving expression to a feeling 'that an extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office would ensure for the Presidency the continuance of a liberal and sympathetic administration which would deal in a statesmanlike spirit with the many complex problems which will arise after the war.'......... In his letter, Sir Jamsetjee has pleaded that the 'time has not yet come to pronounce a verdict upon the administration that is now drawing to a close', and even when the inevitable time comes for such verdict, he thinks that the greater portion of it has been covered by a period which may be called an 'exceptional' one. We agree with Sir Jamsetjee, for reasons other than those he has given. Lord Willingdon's administration has been 'exceptional' not only for the war but also for the distinct tone of backwardness that he has imparted to the administration. Sir Jamsetjee thinks there are one or two 'outstanding features of Lord Willingdon's tenure of office, 'which have earned for it a *wide popularity* and which deserve to be singled out'. He mentions only one outstanding feature when he says: 'No Governor has personally come in contact with so many and such varied elements of the population entrusted to his charge'. We have no desire to read between the lines of this portion of the letter. But Sir Jamsetjee, perhaps by a happy instinct, glossed over the other 'out-

standing feature' of Lord Willingdon's tenure of office—a feature which affected the public for weal or woe. Sir Jamsetjee has chosen to remain in commendable ignorance of the ill-conceived criminal proceedings launched against Mr. Tilak, the order of prohibition passed against Mrs. Besant, the laconic manner in which the question of free and compulsory education has been dealt with, and last but not least, the unsympathetic spirit of the entire administration, if not of His Excellency himself, towards Local Self-government, to mention only a few which can be set to the credit of Lord Willingdon's 'liberal and sympathetic' administration. Of course, we do not claim to have, as Sir Jamsetjee does, 'intimate relations' with Lord Willingdon. Personally, we have the greatest respect and admiration for His Excellency as a nobleman of amiable parts. As an administrator, however, we must honestly say, that we have never been able to flatter ourselves that in our Governor we have that perfect type of statesmanship which Sir Jamsetjee seems to have discovered somehow. Somebody has once described to us His Excellency as a well meaning but weak-minded autocrat, whose autocracy has been considerably diluted with bureaucratic sympathies.......... Sir Jamsetjee has remarked that such extension would 'ensure for the Presidency the continuance of a liberal and sympathetic administration'. Sir Jamsetjee may be right in this view, he may be wrong—our own opinion is that he is thoroughly wrong in holding such a view. But the question is whether 'the India Office which denied an extension of Lord Hardinge and Lord Carmichael' would give it to Lord Willingdon.......... In the case of Lord Hardinge and Lord Carmichael, things were different. Both had brilliant achievements or deeply pro-Indian sympathies to their credit, whereas Lord Willingdon has neither. At least he has shown no such weakness. But then, has he not an acute tenderness for bureaucratic ways? And these ways being now in high favour at the India Office, we shall not be surprised if Lord Willingdon's tenure of office is extended in the manner suggested. But whether it would be agreeable to the people,—people other than those voiced by Sir Jamsetjee and the Anglo-Indian scribe,—will have to remain an open question and is a matter of perfect unconcern to the 'Great Mogul'. We are, however, emphatically opposed to Sir Jamsetjee's suggesion of holding public meetings in Bombay and other important centres, for advocating the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office. We know, and His Excellency knows too, that there is no such 'general desire', as Sir Jamsetjee alleges, and it would be unfair to force on the mass of timid people a situation, in which they dare not speak their mind openly. We are constrained to write against the proposal in the general interests of the Presidency. The times that lie ahead are full of portent to India and they need a fresh mind, free from the bureaucratic prejudices and sentiments. Himself a Liberal in politics, His Excellency has been unable to give expression to his liberal tendencies and to restrain his bureaucratic counsellors from hastening the administration on the downward course.......... If the next choice falls on a liberal-minded ruler, well and good, and if it falls on a reactionary of Lord Pentland's type, the choice would not certainly be bad. Both extreme liberalism and extreme despotism have their special value in the uplift of the nation. And in the stirring times through which we are passing we cannot afford to rest content with the milk and water liberalism of Lord Willingdon."

Gujaráti (12), 3rd June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 3rd June; *Rást Goftár* (27), 3rd June.

30. The *Gujaráti* expresses its disapprobation at what it calls the new "fashion" of making demands for the extension of the terms of office of Governors and Viceroys. It remarks that few dare to speak against movements set on foot for urging such extensions, because the names of those who do not favour such movements are sure to be included in the list of opponents of Government. It expresses surprise that Governors themselves do not discourage such movements. The paper then goes on to refer to a similar movement recently started for the extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office as Governor and in that connection observes:—Apart from the question as to what mark Lord Willingdon has made during the four years of his *régime* on the administration of the Bombay Presidency, we do not think it proper, from the standpoint of the advisability of the extension of the terms of office of provincial rulers, to support the present movement. It is during the continuance of the war that Lord Chelmsford has been appointed in succession to Lord Hardinge, Lord Ronaldshay has been made to succeed Lord Carmichael and another Governor is going to come in the place of Lord Pentland. It, therefore, cannot be believed that the Home Government will find any difficulty in nominating a successor to Lord Willingdon. It is also doubtful if movements of this kind increase the prestige either of the people of this country or of the Governors concerned in the eyes of the Government of England. The people of England know very well that there are always persons ready to come forward to make such movements in favour of those who are in the possession of ruling authority, but that they do not echo the voice of the public. Public opinion on such matters always remains concealed. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, on the other hand, supports the movement for the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office. It remarks that though some of the views expressed by His Excellency on political matters are opposed to public opinion, their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon have furnished striking proofs of their deep sympathy for the people in all public movements. The paper writes:—On the whole their Excellencies' rule has proved to be very popular. The presence of such a sympathetic ruler and of his consort, who has rightly earned from the public the title of "the Lady of the Golden Heart", is very necessary in the Bombay Presidency during the continuance of the war. The *Rást Goftár* observes that Bombay wants a Governor of the type of Lord Willingdon. It prays that His Majesty's Government will accede to the public demand for the extension of his Governorship.]

Indian Social Reformer (2), 10th June.

***31.** While associating itself with Sir Jamsetji Jejeebhoy's proposal regarding extension of His Excellency's term of office, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The fact is that there can be no greater condemnation of the present system than that it is almost impossible for a Governor of Lord Willindon's almost obtrusively liberal views to give effect to them except in very minor matters. What could he have not done if he had with him and behind him the articulate voice of a representative National Council through which he could have appealed to the people when his policy was attempted to be thwarted or diverted or delayed by the inveterate conservatism of the bureaucracy? It is a most irrational arrangement which provides an English public man of broad and liberal sympathies to govern India and then, delivers him over bound hand and foot to his permanent officials."

Rást Goftar (27), 3rd June, Eng. cols.

32. "We endorse with the greatest pleasure the welcome suggestion of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's for an appeal from the public of the Western Presidency for an extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office as Governor of Bombay........ Lord Willingdon's tenure is drawing fast to a close. But the war is raging still. We cannot, under the circumstances, afford to lose or miss our pilot. It is our humble opinion that His Lordship's presence with us for a longer period is almost dictated by the war itself......... and indeed the matter is rendered more serious still when we come to think of Her Excellency. For Bombay with one voice acclaims her as perhaps the most truly and deservedly popular of gubernatorial consorts—the queenliest of women—who ever graced these shores, and with her genial and gracious presence honoured every public call and social function."

Defence of His Excellency Lord Willingdon againt the attack of the *Bengalee*.

Hindi Punch (15), 3rd June, Eng. cols.

33. "Lord Willindon's career as Governor of Bombay is not without its faults. His Excelleny has committed some mistakes, but nobody can ever accuse him, as the *Bengalee* has done, of having caused 'racial bitterness to run high' and strained 'the relation between the rulers and the ruled'. On the contrary, His Excellency the Governor has during his career tried his best to make the relations between the rulers and the ruled very harmonious and cordial, and has succeeded in the attempt as no other Governor has. There has never been any racial bitterness visible in the Presidency, and the public and the Press acknowledge with gratitude the high ideals or harmony, cordiality and reconciliation His Excellency has always kept before him during the last four years. Not only that His Excellency has always encouraged racial harmony, but he has been ever ready to give his services in private and in public to smooth down all racial animosity whenever any instances have been brought to his knowledge."

Indians in South Africa.
Dnyán Prakásh, (33), 6th June.

34. General Smuts is talking of liberty and equality in London whereas his compatriots do not appear to be imbued with any such lofty ideals. In spite of their numerous disabilities in South Africa Indians were allowed, so far, to become members of municipalities and to vote at municipal elections. An attempt is now being made to deprive them of this right too. Under a draft resolution of the Union Government it is proposed to confine the municipal franchise to European British subjects only. We are often told that our services in the present war have brought about a change in the attitude of the Colonials towards India. Our experience in South Africa, however, does not support this view. It is most depressing that, at a time when the war is entering on a decisive phase, instead of conferring any new rights on Indians an attempt should be made to deprive them of those that they already enjoy. The Natal Municipal Association discussed at length the provisions of this Bill. The debate on that occcasion revealed the extreme intolerance of the Colonials. We often hear that the war has engendered devotion for the Empire in the minds of the Colonials. Are we to suppose this is a proof of that devotion?

Comments on the Birthday Honours List.
Sánj Vartamán (28), 4th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 5th June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (50), 6th June; *Shri Sayáji Vijay* (68), 7th June.

35. Commenting on the Birthday Honours List and remarking that the honours have this time been distributed with a freer hand than hithertofore because the services rendered by various persons during the present war had to be recognised, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—No other change is observable in the present List beyond this liberal distribution of honours. The most prominent feature in these lists, which is not absent in the present one, is that a very large portion of these honours goes to Government servants. It is the wish of the Indian public that those who serve the people should receive recognition from Government just in the same manner that services rendered by Government servants are appreciated. These Honours Lists will continue to appear unsatisfactory in the eyes of the public so long as services rendered to the cause of the people are not freely and liberally appreciated. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses gratification at the honour of Knighthood being conferred upon the Honourable Messrs. Wacha and Rághav Vijyachàryar. It remarks that by conferring the honour upon these two gentlemen His Majesty's Government have effectively removed the sting from Lord Pentland's last speech in the Madras Legislative Council. The paper believes that by honouring them Government have honoured the Indian National Congress and the moderate sections of the Indian public. The *Shri Sayáji Vijay* remarks that the public of the Baroda State will rejoice to note that the honours of Diwan Bahadur and Rao Bahadur have been conferred upon Naib Diwan Ganpatrao Gaekwar and Mr. Ambegaokar respectively. It expresses the hope that, in the future, higher honours and on a more liberal scale will be conferred upon the rulers as well as the able officers and public leaders of this and other Native States of Gujrat and Káthiáwár, who have rendered help to the British Government in the present war.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 10th June, Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár* (27), 10th June, Eng. cols.

***36.** "The Honours List published on the King's Birthday is an unusually fine one in the sense that the recipients of titles are mostly deserving men. Pre-eminent among them stands the name of the redoubtable Mr. Dinshaw Wacha, who will henceforth be known as Sir Dinshaw .... Next to Sir Dinshaw Wacha the most arresting name among the new Knights is undoubtedly that of the Honourable Mr. Justice F. C. O. Beaman. Bombay possesses no more scholarly and intrepid thinker.......... Year after year his name has been passed over with studied care in Honours Lists. But at last the ultra-orthodox and the ultra-conventional notwithstanding, Lord Willingdon's vigilant eye has appreciated his real worth and remedied a long-standing defect. The Knighthoods conferred on the Honourable Mr. Chaubal and Mr. Abbas Ali Baig are a recognition of their work as officials. More interesting to us and the Parsee community is the C. I. E. conferred on our veteran scholar Shamsululma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.......... High titles rarely fall to the lot of men who unostentiously pass their lives in deciphering the mysteries of dead languages. We trust now a new departure is made, and Oriental scholarship will henceforth be duly appreciated." [The *Rást Goftár* also welcoms the honours conferred on Messrs. Wacha, Beaman, Chaubal and Dr. Jivanji J. Modi.]

Indu Prakásh (35), 5th June, Eng. cols.

37. "May we venture to make a suggestion to Government? It is in fact a repetition of the suggestion we have been making every year. It is that eminent Indians, who have been serving the cause of general progress, whether in the field of education or politics, should be included in the Honours List in a greater degree than is the case at present. Never mind if they have been honest, uncompromising critics of Government. By honouring such men, Government would be proving their recognition of the identity of interests between the Government and the Opposition. We use the word Opposition in the sense in which it is understood in British public life. Government recognition in this respect has been extremely tardy."

Young India (10), 6th June.

38. "The bureaucratic fates have at last smiled on Mr. Chaubal of the Bombay Executive Council and he has now become the Hon'ble Sir M. B. Chaubal, K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Those who have carefully followed the proceedings in the Bombay Legislative Council have long anticipated some such honour for him. Sir M. B. Chaubal has, of course, earned his right to distinction by outdoing the bureaucracy in its bureaucratic methods, and our only regret is that his reward was delayed so long."

Message (5), 5th June.

39. "No less among his services is his signing of the Majority Report of the Public Services Commission, to which we have referred in these columns rather frequently. Then, there are his services to the Local Government on various occasions by gallantly undertaking to champion its interests against those of the public. His speech on Mr. Patel's resolution on Free and Compulsory Education last year is still too fresh to be recalled. A towering monument to Mr. Chaubal's illogic, that speech helped to win for the Government a victory at the division and we do not think a mere K. C. I. E. is an adequate compensation. Now that the much coveted title has been conferred on Mr. Chaubal, we humbly recommend that a purse be also voted to him."

Comments on the new rule of the Madras Legislative Council regarding introduction of private Bills.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 3rd June, Eng. cols.

40. "While all the world is progressing, the Madras Government seems bent upon prosecuting a campaign of repression. Apart from the speech of Lord Pentland which has displayed his firm faith in mere repression despite all historical evidence against it, the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council saw yet another nail driven in the spirit of the Morley-Minto Reforms. Hitherto the non-official members possessed the right of moving for leave to introduce a Bill without the sanction of the Governor. Henceforth such sanction is to be necessary, which will enable the Governor—who is more often than not a mere mouthpiece of officials—to nip in the bud even a discussion of the desirability of introducing a bill. Lord Pentland, in spite of the long record of liberalism

behind him, has proved anything but a liberal Governor of Madras. Somehow the generous praises and promises made in England by English statesmen with reference to India do not tally with the repressive policy so wholeheartedly followed in different parts of India. Some sort of reconciliation between English statesmanship and Anglo-Indian distrust is urgently needed. We ourselves are not at all whole-hearted supporters of the Home Rule propaganda, but we cannot be blind to the fact that repression popularises even an unworthy cause at the same time that it causes a breach of harmony between the Government and the governed."

Alleged high-handedness in the selection of the Principal of the D. J. Sind College (Karáchi).

Indu Prakásh (35), 8th June.

41. The *Indu Prakásh* gives from *New India* the details about the meetings of the D. J. Sind College Board, (*Vide* Weekly Report No. 22, paragraph 31) and remarks:—This is one more instance of official high-handedness if the facts mentioned above are true. We trust the matter will be fully sifted at the ensuing meeting of the Legislative Council and the officiousness of the Commissioner publicly brought to the notice of Government.

Sind Moslem (new), 26th May.

42. Commenting upon the resolution of the Sind College Board, requesting Government to lend them the services of Mr. Hampton as principal if Mr. Anderson could not be spared, the *Sind Moslem* remarks:—"We are glad to note that our *suggestion* as well as that of the *Al-haq* for the appointment of a European Principal met with the approval of *all* the Muhammadan members of the board and consequently they voted for the appointment of Mr. Anderson or Mr. Hampton.......... Some of our Hindu contemporaries seem to think that the College is a property of the Hindu community as it bears the name of a Hindu. But they are miserably wrong, as the College is maintained from the Government, Municipal and the Local Board grants, in which the share of the Muhammadan contribution is the greatest. We are indeed grateful to our Muhammadan members who have voted for a European Principal as suggested by us.......... If the Muhammadans do not accept a Hyderabadi Amil for the post, it shows they are alive to the educational needs of our community. In the days of the late Principal Farrel there were about 50 Moslems in the Sind College, while in the days of Professor Shahani they have been not more than 25. Sind Muhammadans left their province for reasons apparent to every thinking mind, and went and joined the Bahauddin College. Sind Muhammadans are not yet ready to rely on the promises of sympathy and support advanced by some sects of our Hindu brethren. At present though the Educational Inspector is a European, yet we have not made satisfactory progress in education which is due to the fact that the Educational Department is chiefly manned by the Hindus. But we are glad our leaders have awakened and now are able to see where the fault really lies."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the increase of fees in the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

Hindusthán (16), 4th June.

43. Referring to the recently announced increase of fees from Rs. 34½ to Rs. 44½ per term at the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, the *Hindusthán* remarks:—When the College came under the control of Government an understanding was arrived at that the College fees should not be enhanced. It will not, therefore, be a matter for wonder if the public will feel somewhat aggrieved to note that that promise has been broken within four years. We will not be surprised if, as a result of the present increase of fees, some poor students of Gujarát will have to do without higher education. We feel regret mingled with surprise to see that efforts are being made to decrease the scope of education instead of increasing its spread. We still wish that the now increased fees may be reduced to what they were before and a new obstacle thus placed in the path of poor students removed.

NATIVE STATES.

Proposed memorial to His Majesty the King Emperor against certain acts of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda.

Gujarâti (12), 10th June, Eng. cols.

*44. Nanubhai B. Desai writes in the *Gujarâti*:—"His Highness the Gaekwar has already exercised the Divine right of kings in appointing a Shankaracharya against the usage of the past and the will of the public concerned. His Highness is going, as it appears, may God forbid it, to pass the draft Bill for carrying out certain caste-reforms, which in my opinion aims at nothing but the demolition of the caste system, handed down from generation to generation from times immemorial, into a law, with the assistance of the same instrument, *viz.*, this Divine right of kings. If His Highness is pleased to use that right, crushing public opinion, why should not the British subjects concerned send in a memorial through His Excellency the Viceroy to His Majesty the King Emperor of India to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question?"

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 15th June 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 24 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 16th June 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged terrorism practised by military units stationed at Dadar (Bombay) 20
Comments on the Bombay Government's Circular regarding students and politics . . . . 1—5
Comments on the Burma Government's Press Note regarding the death of Chandi Charan Nag 19
Comments on the committee appointed by the Behar Government to investigate into the relations between the indigo planters and their employees . . . . 13—16
Comparison between the political situations in Ireland and India . . 11
How intolerant rulers like Lord Pentland and Mr. Hailey, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, are likely to do harm 6
How the future of German East Africa and Central Africa will affect India 21
Proposed "National" education scheme of Mrs. Besant 12
To obey a law that ceases to appeal to the conscience of a citizen is immoral 8
The ethics of repression 7
The Home Rule Leagues do not ask for anything more than the demands of the National Congress . . . . 9 & 10
Treatment of Indians in Burma . . . . 17 & 18
Excise: Increasing the duty on liquor is no check on drunkenness . . 31
Hajis: Advisability of postponing the Haj this year 34
Honours List: Comments on the Birthday — . . . . 32 & 33
Indian Press: Comments on the policy of the alleged officially patronised *Sunday Tatler* 30
Public Works Department: Dangerous condition of the Mahábleshwar-Váthár road 35
Sind: Alleged rudeness of a European to Indians at Hyderabad (—) . 36

War:

Comments on the abdication of King Constantine of Greece . . . 29
Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding pressure in connection with the — Loan . . . . . . 22—24
Comments on the impressions of Mr. N. M. Joshi, one of the press representatives sent by Government to Mesopotamia . . . 27
Comments on the submarine peril 28

H 103—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War :—*concluded.*

How the Resolution on Imperial Preference passed by the Imperial — Conference has alienated the sympathies of India 26

The success of the — Loan in the Bombay Presidency is due to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon 25

EDUCATION—

Comments on the increase in the fees of the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad . . 37

RAILWAYS—

Complaint about cheating by booking clerks at Railway Stations . . . 39

If special trains are not to be run for the next Ashadhi Fair the fact should be made public 38

MUNICIPALITIES—

Ahmedabad: Alleged strained relations between the Municipal Commissioner and the — Municipality 41

Bombay: Comments on the proposals of the Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, to economise by effecting a reduction in the salaries and number of low-paid employés 40

Hyderabad: The — (Sind) Municipal Committee of Management . . 42

Shikárpur: The Commissioner in Sind and the — Municipality . . . 43

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Bombay Government's Circular regarding students and politics.

Mahrátta (4), 17th June.

*1. "*Back to 1908!* is the War-cry of the Bombay Bureaucracy. We say, Amen! Out of the tribulations which 1908 brought down upon us slowly grew the Spirit which culminated lately in proclaiming from the platform of our National Assembly that the Indian people demands that India should be granted *Self-government at an early date.* All hail, therefore, to the re-incarnation of the Government soul of that year in the Government Body of 1917! 'Government particularly desire that school and college students should not be permitted to attend meetings which are organised by Home Rule Leagues or at which Home Rule is to be advocated.' We are frankly in opposition to Government on this point and *particularly* desire that the unholy desire of Government expressed in the above words should never be *permitted* to attain fulfilment.......... It is for parents and guardians to judge in the case of their 'minor' children, and it is for grown up students in consultation with their elders to judge for themselves whether it is in the interest of the Motherland that boys and girls, even the grown up among them, should be strictly prevented from inhaling the atmosphere of public meetings.......... In order that there should be attempts on a large scale at organising Independent National Schools and Colleges, a *thorough distrust* of Government's educational policy in a good proportion of the intellectual and monied classes of the country is a necessary preliminary.......... Let us remember that now in the year 1917, resolutions passed in 1908 have been thrown at us in the hope that these missiles will serve to *stunt* the growth of the rising generation and thus to prejudice the National cause of Self-government. This digging up of old measures to counteract a most indispensable National Movement is a clear proof of the incorrigibility of our Bureaucracy and of its innermost determination to keep us 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' as long as may be. Let us, therefore, strictly avoid the temptation of being 'led away' by 'noble' sentiments now and then interspersed in gubernatorial utterances. Let our policy—in Educational and other National matters—be framed on the well-defined ground that *we cannot trust the Bureaucracy.* We hope that the unmasking of the Bureaucracy effected by the 'digging up' tactics referred to above will move a great many of our brethren to join the movement of 'National Education under National control,' so that a good proportion of our boys now condemned by recently promulgated orders to live and move and have their being in Regulation Atmosphere of a very dangerous character may soon have a place to go to where they may receive an education that will make them fit not only for maintaining themselves honourably but also for taking an honourable part in completely shattering the dominion of the Bureaucracy in India and enthroning in its place 'Responsible self-government' of the most suitable type." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"'There is no obligation to contribute to the support of institutions which are not rendering effective service to the people'; thus concludes paragraph 8 of the Resolution of 1908. If *the people* acted on this principle where would our Government be?......... 'No representation, no taxation' is but a corollary of the axiomatic truth that 'effective service to the people' cannot possibly be rendered by any institutions which are not *responsible to the people* and have no full representation of the people on them. The Indian Home Rule Movement is based on the realisation that our Governmental institutions of the present day are not rendering effective service to the people. It is true, to use the words of the Government Resolution, that *there is no obligation to contribute to the support of such institutions.* But the Indian people are contributing, and will continue to contribute—until Government make it impossible for them to exercise their generosity."]

Gujaráti (13), 17th June, Eng. cols.

*2. "What is a public meeting? That was not defined and if the prohibition had been rigidly carried out, it would have prevented school-boys and college students from attending lectures even on literary, educational or scientific subjects delivered at public meetings. The absurdity of such a prohibition is too plain to need any further comment......... Are students to be prevented from attending a public meeting at which a lecture is to be delivered on the present war or an appeal is to be made for contributions to a Relief Fund or the War Loan? Is it permssible for them to attend a public meeting convened for the purpose of commemorating the reign of a popular or unpopular Viceroy or Governor?........ But the authorities have not taken the trouble to meet the difficulties that we have pointed out. It is no use ignoring them, if serious complications are to be avoided......... Government will by the adoption of such an extreme position verging on absurdity alienate the sympathy and support even of those parents and guardians who are as strongly in favour of the cause of discipline, obedience and well ordered conduct on the part of schoolboys and college students as any Director of Public Instruction or any Member of Government......... The use of the expression 'Home Rule' in the Circular under notice is of a dubious and misleading character. What does it mean? So far as the Congress is concerned, 'Home Rule' does not extend beyond the programme of reforms it has specifically formulated. That is a perfectly legitimate programme of constitutional reforms. But according to the direction in the Circular, a meeting convened by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for propagandist purposes in connection with the Congress scheme of self-government would probably be as much under a ban as any meeting organized by the Home Rule Leagues. The Congress organisations like the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in this city and the District Congress Committees and the affiliated associations will, therefore, do well to consider if any reflection upon them is involved in the Circular. The present Circular, and the original rules to which it refers are not carefully and accurately worded and the question that arises is whether it has placed the programme of the Congress also under any cloud of suspicion. The Home Rule Leagues are distinctly placed under a ban. But though the Congress and its organisations are not specifically mentioned, the ban *may* extend to their meetings also at which self-government or Home Rule may be advocated whithin the limits of the Congress scheme. In this connection the Principals of colleges will have no discretion whatsoever, as in the case of other public meetings. Very probably their adherence to the expression 'Home Rule' has brought the present trouble upon the Home Rule Leagues, and therefore it is necessary for them to obtain a definite expression of opinion from Government upon the subject."

Indian Social Reformer (2), 17th June.

***3.** "We are not sure that Government took the trouble of perusing these documents to which they refer with such pious veneration. If they had, they would have seen that the most important of them is an essay on the duties of parents to their children, which, in utter ignorance of the teachings of their religion and 'from the fatal Oriental habit of yielding to importunity', Indian parents are supposed to neglect, necessitating the concoction of this Clarke-Enthoven encyclical.......... We doubt if Government perused these documents which they commend to the attention of teachers, because the present circular travels beyond the terms of the older circular, in that it lays down that 'school and college students should not be permitted to attend meetings which are organised by Home Rule Leagues or at which Home Rule is advocated.'......... We do not see why Home Rule Leagues should be singled out for this special ban, and how the advocacy of Home Rule is more subversive of students' discipline than the advocacy of the Colonial type of self-government which is a far more absolute kind of self-government than Home Rule. If Government expect to carry with them the moral sense of the community, they should limit their prohibition to propaganda advocating violation of the law. It has been admitted that no law is violated by the advocacy of Home Rule, and it seems to us to be highly arbitrary to single it out for official censure in this oblique manner."

***Hindusthán* (16), 13th and 14th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 14th June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (50), 15th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 16th June, Eng. cols.**

4. The *Hindusthán* remarks that this step on the part of the Local Government is undesirable, It inquires what arrangements would be made for controlling the entire body of students if Home Rule were to be advocated in every house. It believes that the very principle on which such circulars are based is wrong. [In the subsequent issue the paper observes:—The present circular of the Bombay Government is not likely to cause any surprise because it is in keeping with the policy of that Government which had, in the past, issued an order against Mrs. Besant (under the Defence of India Act) and which prosecuted Mr. Tilak in a court of law. The present Government have clearly shown how they are inclined and it is, therefore, futile to hope for liberality from them.......... We will at least say this much that the public should not remain silent. They have every right to raise a protest if their birth rights are encroached upon and they should not be backward in exercising this right of theirs. We must say plainly that the present order of the Bombay Government is useless and inopportune. The very fact that other circulars are appended to the present one completely demonstrates its uselessness. There is only one new thing in the present circular, and that is the subject of Home Rule. We cannot understand what harm the Home Rule League and the *swardjya* movement have done to Government. It is erroneous to suppose that the present prohibition will operate as a real check on students. The complaint with regard to the students will cease automatically if its root cause, *viz.*, the Home Rule League and its agitation for Home Rule are stopped. At present the Home Rule movement is the life and soul of the Indian nation. How can the attempts to stop it be tolerated? In spite of thousands of such endeavours it will continue and the youthful classes will also take part in it. Government have not been able to do anything in the past with regard to the transgression of their orders (in this connection) and the same state of things will continue in the present as well as in the future. In view of the present circumstances the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* does not approve of the Government circular. It, at the same time, believes that the circular is directed against the Home Rule League and opines that an indirect attempt has been made therein to counteract the effects of the misunderstanding created by the recent hasty speech delivered by Lord Pentland. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* supports the action of Government in issuing the circular. It regards the circular of 30th September 1908, appended to the present circular, as worth its weight in gold for the present generation, in spite of the loud protests that might be raised by other papers against it. The *Bombay Samáchár* commends the motive underlying the present Government circular, namely, that of preserving discipline and ensuring the formation of good character among students and opines that the public will be only doing their duty by the rising generation if they support Government and the heads of educational institutions in carrying out the measures adopted by them for the above purpose. It remarks that those who control the Home Rule movement are neither in the confidence of Government, nor of the Indian National Congress, nor of a very large portion of the Indian public; and since the Bombay Government have openly directed their present circular against their activities, the public should have no cause for apprehension with regard to their political progress on moderate and right lines. [In its English columns in a subsequent issue, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—" Apart from a certain healthy political enthusiasm, aroused in the people by the great events of recent years, we do not see that there is anything in the political atmosphere to cause disquiet to anybody. On the contrary, the people all over the country have shown themselves to be most loyal, and cordial and eager supporters of England and her cause. Even the suspicion of sedition and disaffection which existed in 1908-09, and which probably inspired the orders of Lord Sydenham, does not now exist. It seems, therefore, that the present orders are mainly suggested by, and are directed against, the Home Rule propaganda. Government have not attempted to disguise their motives, for they particularly condemn meetings organised by Home Rule Leagues, or at which Home Rule is to be advocated.......... Taken by itself, and if intended merely to put some check upon the unrestrained association of school and college boys with political affairs, especially the Home Rule League, the circular may not be open to comment. What we are concerned about is to see how far it is part of a regular campaign of reaction and repression. It comes at a disquieting moment. Lord Pentland purported to issue a similar measure in the interest of discipline, and for the protection of students. But even while explaining and supporting that measure, he betrayed himself and his policy by condemning all constitutional agitation, by discrediting such perfectly legal national institutions like the Congress and the Moslem League, and by ordering loftily, on threats of penalties, that 'all thoughts of the early grant of responsible self-government should be put entirely out of mind.' We hope this students' circular is not to be the precursor of a similar policy of repression here in Bombay."]

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 15th June.

5. The orders issued by the Bombay Government prohibiting students from attending political meetings strengthen the impression that the repressive policy introduced by the Madras Government is not a local, but an Imperial one. College students were under no restrictions in the Madras Presidency and the local Government issued, therefore, a circular and prohibited them. But fortunately our Government are under no necessity of issuing a similar circular. Already a prohibition of all students from attending political meetings is in existence, and Government have only ordered a strict enforcement of the same. It is quite impossible to defend the order, specially the prohibition of students from meetings where they can form an acquaintance with the ideal of self-government. Government are welcome to follow any policy they please about *swarájya*. The popular party will follow any lawful method of resistance it thinks proper. But a strong protest is necessary if Government think that movement will be killed by the prohibition of students from political meetings. A strong condemnation is necessary if Government confuse the issues and visit their wrath at the political agitation on the students.

How intolerant rulers like Lord Pentland and Mr. Hailey, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, are likely to do harm.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 15th June, Eng. cols.

6. "Now, Lord Pentland shot his bolt some time ago. It was a bolt from the blue, but so far it has not proved more terrible than stage thunder. In Madras all sorts of rumours are afloat and the most drastic steps are anticipated. All offices of the Home Rule League are to be closed, Home Rulers are to be interned, and so on, and so forth. So far as Lord Pentland himself is concerned, no one will be surprised if he is guilty of any indiscretion, but it will be for the Government of India very seriously to consider whether there will be any justification for making trouble where none exists. Sir S. Subramania Iyer, for instance, is a Home Ruler and he has publicly announced his decision to remain one. What will Lord Pentland's Government do to him ?....... [Here the paper refers to action alleged to have been taken by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi against the Indra Prastha girls' school at Delhi on account of the connection of its Lady Superintendent with the Home Rule movement, and then continues:—] Officials like Lord Pentland and the Honourable Mr. Hailey forget that the sense of self-respect is growing and not diminishing in India. There is no place and no community in India which gives the least cause for any anxiety ; but if we have some more rulers like Lord Pentland, in a few years India will become a very different country from what it is now, and all that we have been hearing of India's services during the war will be forgotten."

The ethics of repression.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 17th June, Eng. cols.

*7. Under the heading "The ethics of repression," the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—"It is impossible to appreciate the frame of official mind hurling thunderbolts of threats and execrations at Home Rulers. These may be insane for ought we know, but their propaganda is thoroughly constitutional, their aims thoroughly pro-British. Now the question is : if the movement is constitutional, is any English statesman justified in repressing it ? Assuming—nay, let us take it as a matter of fact, that the demand for immediate Home Rule is unwisdom personified—assuming that India will not be fit for Home Rule for another thousand years as many I. C. S.'s think, for reasons best known to themselves, even then is it advisable to repress the Home Rule cry now ?......... If self-government be her aim, it becomes her duty to train herself for it, and in the Home Rule movement, apart from the extravagancies of its leaders, we see nothing but an attempt to educate people politically and render them ultimately fit for Home Rule. So far as we can see, this is the real significance of the movement, and if the like of Lord Pentland refuse to acknowledge the right of India to educate herself politically, the future of India is darker than ever, and the British dominance in India will be justly branded as a colossal failure. If we are told that Home Rulers themselves demand a good deal more than what we represent, we may ask if the public opinion is on their side. If it is not, is it statesmanship on the part of Government to evoke popular sympathy for the movement by an unjust repression of it? Whatever the effect that the grandiloquent and ill-timed threats of Lord Pentland might have been expected to be by His Excellency himself, so far as we can see, they have advertised the movement as nothing else can ever have done. Crushing retorts to him have been forthcoming from the press and leaders of public opinion alike in this country. The veteran Sir Subramania Iyer, who can be declared a seditionist only by a fanatic if not a lunatic, has had the courage to declare: 'I cannot retrace my steps. I will not resign my office even if the League be declared unlawful. I am ready to face any penalties which may follow on my decision.'......... So much for the studied threats of His Excellency Lord Pentland. What is to follow now? We trust by now His Excellency is convinced that repression has the desired effect only amongst illiterate peoples, whose opinions are in a fluid condition, and that it is most misplaced where strong convictions have grown up in the minds of educated people."

To obey a law that ceases to appeal to the conscience of a citizen is immoral.

Mahratta (4), 17th June.

*8. "Lord Pentland's oration cannot be interpreted as making an exception in favour of 'Self-governmenters' and threatening only 'Home Rulers'. Nor does our local circular lend itself, in our humble opinion, to a similar interpretation. We are loth to believe that there will be any defections of respectable Congressmen from the Self-government or Home Rule Camp because the knout is being flourished in the air by our autocrats. We are loth to believe that like 1908 'astute' statesmanship will succeed in arranging a 'separate peace' with any important section of our countrymen......... Sir Subramania has declared that he will not resign his office *even if the League be declared unlawful.* This declaration, we learn, has frightened some people.......... When a law or an executive order seriously threatens to upset the order of things which is the *sine qua non* of the steady and continuous progress of the people and their Government towards the 'perfect' state, that law or order ceases to appeal to the good citizen's conscience as a law or order that must be obeyed. He readily comes to be convinced that to obey such a law or order is not only inexpedient but also immoral.......... To people who have vowed to fight the Motherland's cause *entirely in the open* by constitutional means and by none other, Sir Subramania Iyer's declaration must appeal as the only right thing under the circumstances. We trust that before long we shall have quite a giant list of men of weight from all parts of India *publicly sworn* to back up Sir Subramania in his most righteous and constitutional stand. We trust that any attempt on the part of our opponents to create a division in the camp of Aspiring India and to arrange 'a separate peace' will fail ignominiously. We trust that 'No Separate Peace' will be our universal National Cry and that whatever little differences still serve to classify us into parties A, B, C, we shall all join up and present a united front to the Bureaucracy, between which and any of our 'parties' there surely is an infinitely greater opposition of interests than there can possibly be between any one Indian party and any other Indian party. *Vande Mataram!*"

The Home Rule Leagues do not ask for anything more than the demands of the National Congress.

Sandesh (100), 14th June.

9. It is given out that Lord Pentland is trying privately to explain to some leaders that in his speech he did not intend to attack the Memorandum of the Nineteen or the Congress Scheme. It would be better if he publishes the fact openly instead of trying privately to convince some people. What does Lord Pentland want to object to? The time has gone by when a difference was made between the Congress views and the views held by people obnoxious to Government. It is admitted on all hands that nothing beyond what is stated in the Memorandum and the Congress Scheme is to be demanded at present. The Home

Rule Leagues have accepted *in toto* the Congress Scheme and in view of their adherence they have been asked by the Congress to support it. General objections against the movement cannot be raised; only particular statements of individual writers and speakers may be objected to. The usual game of differentiating between men belonging to the popular party cannot be played without objecting to the Congress Scheme. We do not want to write anything about the repressive policy of Lord Pentland till it is actually enforced. If he wants to put down only the Home Rule Leagues, we have nothing to say. It is a matter of his own convenience. But there is no use in raising a cry that the demand of the Home Rule League differs from, and is more revolutionary than, that of other people.

Indu Prakdsh (35), 9th June.

10. In the course of a long article, the *Indu Prakdsh* says:—Certain recent events in England make us believe that our misfortune is at an end. The views of Sir Satyendra Sinha, as expressed when interviewed by one of the correspondents of the *Englishman*, create many hopes. Mr. Chamberlain has almost pledged himself to do good to us. The apparently adverse speeches of officials like Lord Pentland are favourable to us. Lord Pentland clearly says that the aspirations of those that go beyond the memorandum forwarded unanimously by our delegates are quite impracticable. It is but natural that we should become very much enraged at the speech of the Governor of Madras. But we must realise that our demands are beyond our capacity. It is undesirable as well as impossible to expect anything to happen at once. France which became suddenly independent had to pass through a severe ordeal and had to suffer for its sins for nearly 75 years.

Comparison between the political situations in Ireland and India.

Kesari (92), 12th June.

11. England has got to-day three voices. With one voice it is singing in concert with America the glory of full independence. With another it is requesting Ireland, be it under pressure, to choose the particular kind of Home Rule it likes. With the third it is growling at Home Rulers in India and threatening them with dire punishment if they continue the movement. How are we to make out which voice represents the real heart of England? From the day the Great War began England has set up the cry that the war has been undertaken for justice, independence and the rights of nations. But no one has yet come forward to tell it plainly to set its own house in order. England has not spoken a word about the beam in its own eye, but it has made strenuous efforts to find out the mote in the eyes of others. England has taken up the question of Irish Home Rule because it has received a plain hint from America to that effect. It explains the difference in the attitude of British statesmen who speak generously about European nations and Ireland and that of the local officials who speak ungenerously, contemptuously and indifferently about India. The sympathetic and generous words about Ireland now uttered by Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon are not their own but they have been forced out of them at the bidding of America. When circumstances become similarly favourable to India the sweet song of Home Rule will be heard in India also. India must try hard to change the circumstances and find out a protector. But it is necessary to remember that Ireland has not entirely depended only on American sympathy. Its own efforts in that direction have been great. A deputation from India will not only draw the attention of America but also of the whole world.

Proposed "National" education scheme of Mrs. Besant.

Young India (10), 13th June.

12. Commenting on Mrs. Besant's recent scheme of "National" education *Young India* writes:—"The object of the Society will be to secure for the youth of India such education as will enable them to grow up as *citizens of a Free India*, 'not mere clerks whose value lies in their servility and whose aim is to become petty tyrants in their turn.'......... The fear seems to be entertained in some quarters that the movement would be viewed with apprehension by officials and like its precursor of the Partition days, it may even be suppressed.......... Government may disapprove of the movement in so far

as the curricula of the schools and colleges will be adapted to the real needs of the country. But at best, they may not recognize our institutions nor give them aids, though to missionary and evangelical institutions they may. But that they will venture to suppress the movement is beyond a possibility at this time of the day. Lord Chelmsford has himself openly recognized that the halting and debased method of pursuing education must cease to exist."

Comments on the committee appointed by the Behar Government to investigate into the relations between the indigo planters and their employees.

Jám-e-Jamshed (19), 12th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 13th June; *Hindusthán* (16), 13th June.

13. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses gratification at the decision of the Government of Bihar and Orissa to appoint a committee to enquire into the grievances of the coolies employed on the indigo plantations in the Champaran District and suggests that either Mr. Gandhi or Mr. Polak may be appointed on the committee. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* congratulates the Government of Bihar and Orissa on their having appointed a committee fully representative of all interests and opines that the Government have taken a really wise step in asking the committee to investigate the question thoroughly and to submit their report within three months. The *Hindusthán* on the other hand expresses itself dissatisfied with the *personnel* of the committee on the ground of its having no popular representative except Mr. Gandhi. It is afraid the report of the committee will not help to solve the question.]

Mahrátta (4), 17th June.

***14.** "The only feature that strikes us as a commendable one is the appointment of Mr. Gandhi on the Committee. An ideal Committee in such a case would be one composed of impartial non-officials, unconnected either with landlords or tenants, before whom the official view, the landlords' and planters' view, and the view of the ryots represented by men like Mr. Gandhi should be placed. In the case of the present Champaran troubles, facts show that official sympathy is in a great measure on the side of the planters. Hence the constitution of the Committee justifies our fears that the result of the inquiry will not be satisfactory."

Kesari (92), 12th June.

15. Commenting on Mr. Irwin's letter to the *Pioneer* about Mr. Gandhi, the *Kesari* says:—It is very shameful to Government to allow such an attempt to be made openly. The weakness and subserviance of Government are unimaginable. That a planter should openly dare to threaten Government themselves and that Government should sit quiet would mean that planters and not Government rule the country there. Every local Government begins to growl at the Home Rulers who say that they will persist in their constitutional agitation if an instalment of *swarájya* is not given. Are we to understand that anything said by the favoured planters is to be allowed?

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 14th June.

16. The appointment of Mr. Gandhi, by the Bihar Government, on the committee appointed to inquire into the nature of the dealings of the indigo-farm owners with their tenants, is satisfactory. As the other Indian member of this committee represents the landowners, it is doubtful whether he would prove to be of any use. It was essential that Mr. Gandhi should have represented the tenants; and, therefore, it is necessary to thank the Bihar Government for his appointment. We may not criticise the Bihar Government for appointing only two Indian numbers on a committee of six; for, Mr. Gandhi being there to look after the interests of the tenants, it does not matter how many Europeans there are.

Treatment of Indians in Burma.

Young India (10), 13th June.

17. "We have received a copy of the representation submitted to the Burma Government by the Secretaries of the Provincial Congress Committee. The representation refers to the 'treatment of Indians coming by sea to Burma or travelling in the country itself, by the Police, the Customs and the Port Health authorities' of that blessed Province. If things before the war were bad enough, thanks to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir Harvey Adamson, they have become worse under Sir Harcourt Butler's 'able and zealous' stewardship of the Province. An intimate friend of ours, who had been to Burma about a year and a half ago, on his return to this country, described to us in an intimate way, not intended for publication, some particulars regarding the parochial rule of Sir Harcourt, under which every police constable exercised considerable authority over the person, property and liberty of every Indian, anarchist or no anarchist, visiting or moving about the Province. The authoritative document which has now been submitted fully bears out the statement made by our friend a year ago that Indians are subjected to every conceivable annoyance, hardship and humiliation because they are Indians. People wearing European clothes were comparatively free to do as they pleased and even travel on the Burma railways without possessing tickets.......... Nowhere has the administration so far failed to obtain fair treatment for Indians as the Burma Government."

Mahrátta (4), 17th June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 17th June, Eng. cols.

***18.** "We would direct our readers' attention to the representation of the Burma Provincial Congress Committee printed elsewhere. A perusal of this representation will give the reader an idea of what an Indian is to expect from the Freedom-loving British authorities, unless he in co-operation with his kith and kin and his countrymen makes it impossible for these authorities to continue in the enjoyment of irresponsible power. We refuse to believe that the desire of the Government of Burma is that Indian citizens should receive the treatment which a European receives. The lower officials, stupid as they may be in some particular cases, indulge in regularly humiliating and harassing Indians—solely on their own responsibility. It is the *spirit* of the Government orders that guides them.......... The British have indeed imported into the East quite a novel breed of germs—these germs induce in the carrier the preposterous idea that Indians may be subjected to any 'experiments' of quacks in the various branches of human activity, including politics and medicine. We have helped to aggravate this British *disease* by our *passive* submission, varied (to the amusement of the *celestials*) by our halting wordy *protests* !......... Where is the remedy for all this ? Not in mere representation undoubtedly.......... The humiliations and the sufferings depicted in the representation are such that a little taste of the same *forced* on a Britisher will rouse him to *rebellion*. The Burma Provincial Congress Committee, if they are serious about getting the grievances properly attended to, must make up their minds to *organise* themselves and members of the general public for something more solid than *pen and paper protests*." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"Things must have come to a pretty pass, since the Burma Provincial Congress Committee have been forced to submit to the Lieutenant-Governor a representation, recounting the humiliations to which Indians in Burma have been subjected, and which ought to fill every self-respecting Indian with a profound sense of shame. Every Government as a matter of duty sees that abkári regulations are duly observed, that sedition and anarchy are speedily and effectually repressed, and that sanitary requirements are carried out in a reasonable manner. But only a police-ridden state can allow respectable and loyal citizens to be treated like seditionists, and harassed as can only be done by police whether under the mask of the health of the people or the safety of the people."]

Comments on the Burma Government's Press Note regarding the death of Chand Charan Nag.
Message (5), 15th June.

19. Commenting on the Press Note issued by the Burma Government regarding the death of Chandi Charan Nag, the *Message* writes :—"We confess we are not at all convinced by the account given in the press note. The political character of an offence committed might conceivably justify anything which the executive might choose to do, but can we believe that *suspicions* by certain individuals of some *possible* guilt about which nothing very substantial is proved are in India allowed such a consideration as to justify incarceration of an individual for months together witout any definite charge against him being

framed in the law courts, and under circumstances which, in spite of all the care of officials concerned, might be attended with fatal results?”

Alleged terrorism practised by military units stationed at Dádar (Bombay).
Message (5), 12th June.

20. “Several complaints have been reaching from Dádar that the military units stationed there have been terrorising the poor, peaceful inhabitants of the place......... A certain correspondent, whose veracity we have no reason to doubt, writes of a low caste young woman having been forcibly carried off by some of the members of the Pathan units the other day with a view to outrage her modesty. The woman seems to have been ultimately let off at the intercession and we believe supplication too of a number of the humbler residents of the locality......... We know from personal knowledge of the Police refusing to assist the public in apprehending culprits who happen to wear a semi-military dress. That is a thing which is by no means unusual. In these circumstances, it appears to us that there is urgent need for the military authorities to look into the matter.”

How the future of German East Africa and Central Africa will affect India.
New Times (new), 31st May.

21. “The annexation of German East Africa to the Indian Empire is so necessary for the safety and well being of India and the Empire that we have always believed that our sacrifices in this great war would be vain if this object is not attained. If India is to provide herself with a near outlet for her surplus population (the Dominions have just slammed their doors in her face) and to reduce her military burden after the war, it is necessary that she should be the absolute master of the Indian Ocean. She should on no account allow any European power, much less Germany, to remain in a position of military vantage on the Indian Ocean whence her safety could be threatened with any appreciable chance of success. Therefore any plan which Germany may have with regard to Central Africa which stands just opposite on the other side of the Indian Ocean cannot but be an object of interest to her......... The Empire will be committing a fatal mistake if it sacrifices the advantages which General Smuts rightly claims for the retention of German East Africa.”

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding pressure in connection with the War Loan.
Sind Journal (8), 7th June.

22. Commenting upon the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding pressure in connection with the War Loan in the village of Rampur, the *Sind Journal* remarks:—“We come across the following amazing remarks in the above Press Note:—‘It is possible, and indeed, even probable, in the circumstances that the pressure of argument was strongly used and that people were pressed to invest larger amounts than they felt inclined to. Similar pressure and persuasion had been exercised in all classes of society, but so long as threats, intimidations or violence are not used, this does not amount to a matter of which Government can take notice.’ The *Bombay Chronicle* rightly objects to these remarks. .... In a recent Press Note issued by the Bengal Government we read that some cases of undue influence and pressure used by officials having come to the notice of the Government, fresh instructions have been issued against the adoption of these methods. We are, therefore, surprised to find the Bombay Government giving a latitude to its officers which is liable to be abused in some cases at least. No doubt, people should be exhorted to invest in the War Loan as much as they can, but the work had better be left in the hands of a non-official agency.”

Jám-e-Jamshed (19), 14th June.

23. Commenting on the Press Note issued by Government in connection with allegations made in the *Bombay Chronicle* about pressure used by Government officials in connection with the War Loan, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The Press Note brings out the fact that the revenue officials had prepared an estimate of the amount each village was capable of subscribing. The enquiry instituted by Government seems to have been conducted in a perfunctory manner, and it, moreover, did not investigate all the complaints published by the *Bombay Chronicle*. We do not think there was any necessity for Government officials to suggest the amounts people should subscribe to the Loan. People of their own accord have subscribed beyond the expectations of Government and officials in the mofussil have erred in interfering with the people in respect of the War Loan. The result of people being made to subscribe to the War Loan beyond their means will be that they will be compelled to sell their Loans to others and thus cause a depreciation in the market value of the War Loan. We would ask Government to institute enquiries into all complaints received by them from various quarters and grant redress to such people as are deserving of such consideration at their hands.

Sandesh (100), 10th June; *Kesari* (92), 12th June; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 11th June.

24. The *Sandesh* publishes an interview with Mr. Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, about the War Loan Ramp case, in which Mr. Horniman, has adversely criticised the Press Note on the subject. [The *Kesari* commenting on the above says that the *Chronicle* took all possible precautions before publishing the complaint, and remarks :—What public inquiry has been held by Government also leaving no room for any doubt? Mr. Horniman has asked for the papers and if Government do not supply them the inference is clear. We shall revert to the subject, if they do. Government make a guileless assertion in the resolution that no one need pay beyond his means. But what a differnce between speech and action! A leading Inamdar of Poona has received letters from different Mamlatdars asking him to pay one year's income of lands situate in their respective jurisdictions. What then about his maintenance during the year? Indians have not yet learnt the art of living on air! The higher and lower officials who issue such notices or cause them to be issued should publicly declare whether they have subscribed a year's income to the War Loan. Any one can dispose of the property belonging to others! The *Indu Prakásh* on the other hand says that there is no complaint whatsoever in the Maharashtra about any pressure being used in raising the War Loan. Much is made of a stray case or two which often is the result again of the ignorance of villagers.]

The success of the War Loan in the Bombay Presidency is due to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon.

Gujaráti (13), 17th June, Eng. cols.

***25.** While expressing gratification at the success of the War Loan, the *Gujaráti* writes :—"It was a fortunate circumstance that this presidency had at its head a Governor who knew how to make the movement a success by inspiring public confidence and seeking cordial co-operation in a manner that deserves high praise. It was an equally fortunate coincidence thar his wife happened to be a resourceful and magnetic personality who has met with success in every undertaking to which she has put her hands."

How the Resolution on Imperial Preference passed by the Imperial War Conference has alienated the sympathies of India.

New Times (New), 11th May.

26. Commenting upon the Resolution on Imperial Preference passed by the Imperial War Conference, the *New Times* remarks :—"It means that India while paying fully the higher prices which will prevail when German, American and Japanese competition against British goods is removed by a Preferential Tariff, will continue as usual to face the American, Russian and Argentine competition against the largest part of her exports to England. It is nothing short of a cruel mockery to invite India to an Imperial partnership on such injurious and humiliating conditions. It will be preference, but preference for England and against India. Against her best interests India is being asked to buy dear and sell cheap.......... We do not mean to suggest that no preference should be given to England. We may have preference, but the preference must be confined to things like machinery, etc., which India itself cannot produce. We believe that preference to be genuinely imperial must be beneficial to all concerned.......... It is painful to think that there should be so much stupid shortsightedness in dealing with Imperial questions. The resolution has completely alienated the sympathies of India. It was irrelevant and uncalled for, since a conference summoned for War objects had no business to discuss questions which did not expressly pertain to it."

Comments on the impressions of Mr. N. M. Joshi, one of the press representatives sent by Government to Mesopotamia.

Akhbár-e-Islám (50), 11th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (53), 11th June.

27. Referring to the account given, in the course of a lecture recently delivered, under the presidentship of Sir D. E. Wacha, by Mr. N. M. Joshi, one of the Indian press representatives sent to Mesopotamia by Government, of the situation there, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks :—Though the picture Mr. Joshi gave on last Friday of the present situation in Mesopotamia was incomplete in many ways, yet on the strength of it anybody could declare that there was not the slightest amount of truth in the many rumours that were spread in connection with that country. Mesopotamia is a very old country and if we were only to peep into its history of eight thousand years ago we would at once know that great empires were founded in it. This country is as fertile as it is old. Unfortunately such a country could not remain in the hands of the Turks, the reason for this being (the nature of) their internal political administration. In this country the Armenians and the Jews could not rest in peace. If Turkey had ruled it well it would have turned out to be a great country. But it was not so destined for the Turks. Mesopotamia has been freed from the hands of the Turks in the present war and has come into the possession of the British and it is a matter of history what great sacrifices the latter have had to make before this could happen. Though the British have conquered Mesopotamia, they have undoubtedly had to suffer exceedingly in doing so. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the account given by Mr. Joshi must convince the most illiterate among the people of the brilliant nature of the victories won by Indian soldiers in Mesopotamia. Referring to Mr. Joshi's contradiction of the rumour that Indian soldiers are more exposed to the enemy's fire than British soldiers in fields of battle, the paper observes that such conduct is contrary to the very nature of the British who have not hesitated to spill their blood profusely in the present war in defending others against the Huns. It supports Mr. Wacha's suggestion to Mr. Joshi to publish his experiences in Mesopotamia in book form and dwells on the necessity on the part of Government of circulating among the people as widely as possible translations of such a book in all the principal languages of the Presidency.]

Comments on the submarine peril.

Sind Observer (9), 8th May.

28. In the course of a lengthy article on the submarine peril and the harm done thereby to the food supply of England, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—"Over two months ago the British Parliament was assured that, given a free hand for six weeks longer, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe might be trusted to have the situation well in grasp. The stipulated period of grace has elapsed, but the number of boats sunk has risen rather than diminished, and this in defiance of additional experience in such methods of warfare and the tireless devotion to duty of the first navy in the world.......... Nothwithstanding the vigilance of the navy and the self-sacrifice of the Merchant Service, it cannot be denied that Germany is steadily pursuing her avowed project of starving England by sinking all and any ship bound for British ports. With consummate skill the enemy has turned the seeming advantage of England's isolation into the gravest peril this country has yet had to face. This could not have happened had not Great British for many years neglected her agricultural resources...... Secure in her navy, her isolated position, and the carrying power of her many merchant ships, Great Britain paid no heed to this gradual abandonment of the soil......... Such was the state of affairs when war broke out on August 4th, 1914.......... True, politicians made a great many speeches urging economy in order to invest the more liberally in war loan and to assist in financing the Government. No extra land was put under cultivation. German prisoners and interned aliens generally were not set to work to reclaim swamps, such, for instance, as the Norfolk Broads. Germany, on the other hand, lost no time after the declaration of hostilities. Bread and meat tickets were issued and care was taken that one man should not grow fat at another's expense. Every available foot of land was placed under cultivation.......... While all this was going on behind the enemies' lines, the other nations pointed the finger of scorn and cried: Germany is starving! A pity, the nations in question had not digested the moral of La Fontaine's fable. The ant and the Grass-hopper.......... The bitter lesson which approaching winter taught the grass-hopper, the war has taught the people of Great Britain. The submarine peril has brought the vital question of food supplies home to the nation in a manner that nothing less drastic than the wholesale sinking of ships could have done.......... The danger now threatening the British Isles is not likely to be limited to that country, nor yet to Europe.

Comments on the abdication of King Constantine of Greece.
Sánj Vartamán (28), 16th June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (50), 16th June.

29. The *Sánj Vartamán* believes that the political troubles in Greece will come to an end with the abdication of King Constantine and remarks:—Germany has received a fresh blow by this abdication. The enemy's plans of cutting off the allied troops in the Balkans have been frustrated. He will not doubt do his worst to put hitches in the way of the new Greecian Government by instigating such partizans of his as might still be in that country. But we might rely upon the Allies to take strong and timely measures to prevent the new King from falling into the German snares. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses the hope that the new King will be able to help the Allies to crush German militarism.]

Comments on the policy of the alleged officially patronised *Sunday Tatler*.
Message (5), 12th June.

30. "In these days when independence is at a discount and when it is risky to be outspoken in regard to men and things official, it would pay no doubt to play the *role* of dittoing the official world, *pace* the official patronage extended to the tag-rag-journalism of the *Sunday Tatler*.......... The objects and the methods do not deceive anybody as to what is behind all the nonsense which is poured forth in its columns, and the way in which it is encouraged in certain quarters to tread its appointed course of vilification, for certainly no higher ends, would lead one to think that behind the outward forces, there are others at work. Whatever these forces behind the scenes, the *Sunday Tatler's* tattling will do no good to those whose cause it is expected to serve, may be loyally and even faithfully, except to lower them in the public estimation."

Increasing the duty on liquor is no check on drunkenness.
Message (5), 10th June.

31. Commenting on a recent resolution of Government on consumption of liquor, the *Message* writes:—"In their sapience, the authorities think that if they gradually increase the duties on liquor, they will gradually check consumption. But, as the late Honourable Mr. Gokhale pointed out in a speech in the Council, a gradual and step-by-step method is altogether ineffectual in the matter. Not only that, as the same great man emphatically stated, the method makes the poor ryot doubly poor, for it deprives him of more money without in any way removing temptations to vice.......... The increase of the pice or two only robs his wife or his children of their food to that extent. We are entirely opposed to slight increases of duty. If increases are to be made, they should be heroically made.......... But perhaps action which will make liquor prohibitively dear is to be condemned, for will it not have the 'catastrophic' effect of suddenly making a man desist from his usual habits of life? Are not 'catastrophic' changes to be avoided at all costs?"

Comments on the Birthday Honours List.
Muslim Herald (118), 8th June.

32. Referring to the honours conferred on His Majesty's birthday, which the paper compares to a shower of rain, the *Muslim Herald* observes that they have been mainly awarded for war service, and that the present list, like its predecessors, is not free from the defect of having ignored many persons who occupy a prominent position in public life. It maintains that the practice of awarding titles on the strength of the reports of Government officers only is apt to lower the estimation in which they are held, for though the number of persons getting the titles is large, still many who are more deserving are left out, with the result that the public values the titles as much as it does the title-holders. It concludes by hoping that Government officers would employ greater discretion in making recommendations in future.

Gujaráti (12), 10th June.

33. Everywhere the advisability of increasing the prestige of the teacher is being talked about; Government officials are also talking about the same subject and yet nothing is done to increase the prestige of teachers. In the recent distribution of honours no teacher figures as a recipient of any honour. On the other hand many are the occasions on which the prestige of the Police is observed to have been magnified. Moreover, while those who serve the public and the Empire independently, without taking up state service, hardly share in these honours. We have no objection if Government appreciate the worth of their servants; but we think that those who serve the public should fare better than Government officials in the matter of these honours, that flatterers should be kept at arm's length and that the value of these honours should not be lowered by conferring them upon those who help particular institutions. Haphazard and indiscriminate distribution of honours lowers their value in the eyes of the people and it is the duty of the advisers of Government to see that such a thing is not allowed to take place. [The paper then goes on to remark that Government are the proper party to know whether the bestowal of a K.C.I.E. upon the Honourable Mr. Chaubal is the reward he has received for co-operating with the majority in the work of the Public Services Commission or is a prize for his work in the Executive Council. Referring to the titles of Rao Saheb and Khan Saheb conferred upon Messrs. Raghunathrao Tavde and Obaidullakhan, Inspectors of Police, respectively, the paper observes that a list of the recipients of titles belonging to the Police Department would be a noteworthy document.]

Advisability of postponing the Haj this year.
Bombay Samáchár (53), 11th June.

34. The *Bombay Samáchár* publishes a contribution under the signature of "Momin" in the course of which the writer, after referring to the measures taken, in the past, by Government for the health and well being of those Muhammadans who proceeded to the Hedjaz for the performance of the *Haj* and for providing them with facilities during their voyage, etc., remarks that the fact that Government have drawn the attention of persons intending to go on the *Haj* this year to the paucity of steamers, in order to warn them against the inconveniences they might have to experience as a result of it, furnishes an unmistakable proof of the solicitude of Government for their Moslem subjects. From the view point of military exigencies the writer regards the present want of transport facilities for the Hajis as quite natural and considers the action of Government in warning those who intend to go on the pilgrimage even under the present circumstances of the possible delays they might have to experience in Bombay this year before starting on their voyage, to be quite appropriate. He regrets that such difficulties should have arisen at a time when the ruler of the Hedjaz has made all possible satisfactory arrangements for the Hajis, but observes that there is no other alternative for the latter but to submit to the inevitable.

Dangerous condition of the Mahábleshwar-Váthár road.
Dnyán Prakásh (33), 10th June.

35. Mr. Jivaraj Gautamchand Sholapurkar invites attention to a recent accident which his bullock cart met with at one of the dangerous places on the Váthár-Mahábleshwar Road, which is characterised by steep slopes on either side and is also dangerous at places where it is crossed by bridges. He states that there have been many such accidents in the past and many more are likely to occur in future. He, therefore, suggests that proper precautions should promptly be taken by Government by putting up boundary-stones, etc., at such places all along the road.

The Hyderabad (Sind) Municipal Committee of Management.

Sind Journal (8), 7th June.

42. "The Committee of Management, Hyderabad, in its zeal to screw up its income has, since its installation, been devising new forms of taxation, some of which are novel and startling. The public of Hyderabad has of late been agitating over the new rules for the levy of general water rate and private water service fees which are quite harsh and anomalous. The regime of the Committee of Management has been marked by several indignant protests by the public on questions of principle. The last occasion was the public meeting held on the 28th ultimo when resolutions were passed condemning the new private water service rules which are *ultra vires* and the general water rate rules, and protesting against the closing of the water service during the hottest part of the day and at night time. The meeting was a large and representative one, but it appears that it has not yet had its desired effect.......... The Committee of Management owes, or rather owns, no responsibility to the public. The complaint about the insufficiency of water-supply also remains unredressed.......... The Commissioner in Sind has already been approached by the people to annul the harsh rules of the Committee of Management regarding private water service fees and a fresh opportunity has now been offered him to do bare justice to the people."

The Commissioner in Sind and the Shikarpur Municipality.

New Times (New), 9th May.

43. Referring to the condition, alleged to have been imposed by the Commissioner in Sind upon the Shikarpur Municipality at the time of granting it increased powers, that he would exercise the right of confirming the appointment of a permanent incumbent to the post of Chief Officer, the *New Times* remarks:—"We doubt if such an agreement can under any circumstances be considered valid and therefore binding on the Municipality. The grant to a Municipality of increased powers for which it becomes qualified on account of various conditions cannot be made subject to reservations by which the Municipality would not under ordinary circumstances be bound. All that the Commissioner can do is to withhold the new powers if he thinks the Municipality unfit to exercise them. He cannot give a privilege and stultify it at the same time by taking away another which is perhaps equally important. For otherwise by this neat little device all privileges which are legally due can be nullified by conditions which some interested members might choose to accept. Once this dangerous principle is conceded its abuse will lead to serious consequences."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 22nd June 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 25 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 23rd June 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged attacks on the Muhammadan religion in the first Gujarati edition of the *Satyártha Prakásh* 33
Appeal to Indians to subscribe to the Besant fund started by Sir Subramaniam Aiyar 11
Arguments in favour of *Swarájya* 22
Comments on a Central Provinces Circular regarding students and politics 30
Comments on Lord Pentland's speech in the Madras Legislative Council 14
Comments on the Bombay Government's Circular on the subject of students and political propaganda . . . . 27—29
Comments on the gift of one lakh of rupees by Mr. S. R. Bomanji to the Home Rule League 20
Comments on the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two assitants . 1—9
Comments on the interview between Lord Pentland and Mrs. Besant . 10
Comments on the Madras Government's Press Note explaining their attitude towards current political discussion . . . . . . 15 & 16
Comments on the personnel of the Committee of Inquiry regarding Behar indigo plantations 31
Comments on the prohibition of lotteries by Government . . . 32
Comparison between the treatment given to Irish Nationalists and Indian Home Rulers . . . . 25 & 26
Condemnation of Lord Pentland's alleged repressive policy . . . 12 & 13
England should adopt a consistent policy towards Indian affairs . . 24
Had Mr. Lloyd George been in Madras now he would have been interned 19
The power of the Anglo-Indian officials is doomed . . 18
Three reasons for Home Rule in India 21
What the Government of India should do to neutralise the effects of the recent acts of the Madras Government 17
What the Home Rule League wants 23
Judicial matters: Comments on the judgment in the criminal case filed by Mr. Durgadas B. Advani against two Railway officials of Karáchi . 39

H 191—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded*.

Police :

Alleged insult to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikáner by a police officer in Bombay 36

Alleged staging of a play at Surat calculated to hurt the feelings of the Muhammadans 37

Public Service : Why Indians are unwilling to join the I. M. S. . . 38

War :

How is it that Englishmen who could raise a large Territorial Force in Great Britain cannot raise even 6,000 men in India . . . 34

Protest against primary school children being made to subscribe on the — Loan Day 35

EDUCATION—

Alleged collusion between the University authorities and Examiners to keep down the passes at the Matriculation Examination 41

Comments on the amalgamation of the Bombay University Matriculation Examination and the School Final 40

MUNICIPALITIES—

Ahmedabad : The — Municipality and its Municipal Commissioner . . 43

Bombay : Proposed reconstitution of the — Municipal Corporation . . 42

Karjat : Protest against declaring — (district Kolába) to be a Notified Area. 44

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two assistants.

Mahrátta (4), 24th June.

*1. "Mrs. Besant is interned. Her colleagues, Mr. G. S. Arundale and Mr. B. P. Wadia, are also interned. Rumours are in the air that our local Government is going to copy the Madras Government. The names which Dame Rumour whispers in a confidential yet confident tone are Mr. Tilak, Mr. B. G. Horniman, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, etc. Whatever truth there may be in these fresh rumours, this much is certain that the Indian Bureaucracy has now girded up its loins to test the strength of the Home Rule movement in India.......... Our opponents, the bureaucrats, realise the danger to their luxurious existence which the success of our Home Rule propaganda necessarily involves. We are, however, no longer in a position to consult the good of the Bureaucracy in precedence to the good of the Motherland. Our country is suffering grievously in many ways and the only efficacious remedy for much of our acute suffering is Home Rule.......... This is a most critical hour. We have now before us a clear proof of the determination of the Bureaucracy to employ every means in their power to thwart us in our National work. This proof thrown defiantly before the Indian Nation at a time when every British Statesman is at great pains to persuade the Allies of Britain that England is fighting Germany, wholly and solely to safeguard the rights of every nation to have a voice in its own destiny, has a peculiar and painful significance. It shows either that the Bureaucracy in India has or relies on the support of the British Government or that it has made up its mind to religiously do its best to suppress as far as may be the movement which spells no profit to their caste, regardless of what the Imperial authorities may say of their War against Liberty carried on in India simultaneously with the so-called War for Liberty which is being fought in Europe.......... The mettle that we may be able to show at this hour will determine in a large measure how soon or late we may be blessed with Home Rule.......... To the challenge of the Bureaucracy there must emerge from us a counter-challenge. There is afoot a serious attempt to create a split in the National camp.......... Will 'our Congressmen and intelligent Home Rulers' (whom the *Times* would see taken under the deceptive wing of the Government of India) allow themselves to be drawn into the old net and to betray the National Cause? We shall see. Meantime, we must press that every Congressman worth the name will do well to join the Home Rule League....... But for leading Indians to become Home Rule Leaguers and to endeavour to increase the membership of the League to some lakhs before the next Congress is not the only thing that may be done in answer to the bureaucratic challenge. It will be useful to employ, if only temporarily and with the definite purpose of securing the reversal of the internment orders served on Mrs. Besant and her associates, the constitutional weapon of Boycott as far as may be.......... The National Education Scheme which Mrs. Besant has been obliged to leave in an incomplete state might be seriously taken up and pushed forward as speedily as may be. The cause of *swaráj* or Home Rule depends for its sure and speedy and effective progress on the wise employment of the Triad, Swadeshi-Boycott-National Education. And let us remember, further, that no cause can triumph without comprehensive and compact organisation....... .. Our much talked of spirituality is now on trial. The Bureaucracy holds in its raised hand—the 'knout'; in the other, we may be certain, it is holding, concealed as yet from our physical vision, 'sops to Cerberus'. This is an old, old game. If we are to triumph at an early date, we must press vigorously on with our programme in spite of the knout and the sops."

Young India (10), 20th June.

2. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas writes in *Young India*:—"Lord Pentland has made himself famous by an act of official high-handedness which, since Lord Curzon's days, is unparalleled for its short-sightedness and its arbitrary,

almost defiant, disregard of public opinion and of the proprieties of official responsibility and executive power. He has struck a blow at Constitutionalism in this country, and in doing so has selected a victim who happens to be, perhaps, the most highly venerated individual in India.......... The comprehensive restraint that will be imposed on her action, utterance, writing and movement constitutes a situation, in respect of her vast following, of grave delicacy and strain. The executive order of the Madras Government, however unwittingly, impinges upon the religious susceptibilities of large numbers of law-abiding subjects of the King-Emperor who must resent the harsh injustice of her treatment at the hands of Lord Pentland with intense emotion......... We believe, and we hope, having regard to the truly grave solemnity of the crisis that is rapidly developing,—a crisis of Lord Pentland's own unaided creation,—that the Government of India will not be found to share the blind obsession that has characterised the Government of Madras. There are occasions when unimaginative apathy or obduracy may easily involve disastrous results. In our solemn belief this is such a one. We are uttering words of warning—based upon knowledge and upon the belief that the Government have not yet quite realized the spirit and the range of the reaction which Mrs. Besant's internment, if carried out, will arouse......... As a spiritual influence and as the religious leader of a considerable following, elementary prudence and commonsense demand that the order of internment against her,—an order that should never have been passed,—should be forthwith cancelled." [Elsewhere L. G. Khare writes in the same paper:—"The little tin gods want our money, which they have bartered away without our previous sanction to the proposal, but they do not want us to bear arms for the Empire, though they do not seem to have the courage to say so. They leave it to their attorneys, the Valentine Chirols and the Lionel Curtises; but just as they have their *apologists*, we have our fighters, and our fighters must now be hit below the belt, so that they may not gain in time the ear of the British Democracy......... The only conclusion is that the present masters of India are *afraid* of the attitude of courage, of self-less devotion which Mrs. Besant and her adherents have exhibited. They think that their careers point out a way to young Indians which the citizens of a Dependency ought not to tread, so the most un-British method of interfering with individual liberty of speech and action has been applied in the case of persons whom the Indians trust most......... It (Indian youth) will have to choose between the advice of its experienced elders, and the advice of those who are imported at so much per month, to see that it remains slavish and docile. It is, however, rapidly realising the fact that it is not the Indian who is unfit to rule himself, it is the British bureaucrat who is unfit to rule the Indian. But is it really to be believed that Madras and Simla have not realised where things will drift if government by internment is to succeed the good work of Lord Hardinge?......... Is the British Government in India able to exclude a knowledge of European history from Indian minds which already possess it? The history of Poland, that long tale of the sorrow of a brave people, is eagerly read in India......... Mrs. Besant is interned, the Indian youth is to be guarded from 'obnoxious political influences'. No wonder the youth of India will continue to read the history of Poland with a bitter interest. One of the greatest of Polish poets, Adam Mickieuiez, composed the following prayer for his countrymen, when hope was nearly dying out of dismembered Poland, and the era not only of internments but of wholesale expulsions was embittering the whole nation:—'God the son, who dost rise from the dead, raise our country from the dead.' 'From Russian, Austrian and Prussian bondage deliver us, O Lord.' 'They cry to Thee from the depths of the mines of Siberia and from the snows of Kamschatka.' 'By the wounds, tears and sufferings of all Polish prisoners, exiles and pilgrims, deliver us, O Lord.'"]

*3. In the course of a lengthy article, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The Government of Madras having receded in their press *communiqué* from the untenable position taken up in Lord Pentland's speech, namely, that the carrying on of a movement for the early

Indian Social Reformer (2), 24th June.

securing of self-government was by itself an objectionable course, the only question which remains to be considered is: Was there anything in Mrs. Besant's methods of advocating it which could be reasonably said to be 'prejudicial to public safety'......... It is but fair to bear in mind that, though Mrs. Besant's propaganda has been carried on for some years past—*New India* has been in existence three years—nothing has happened in the Madras Presidency to warrant the presumption that they would lead to consequences prejudicial to public safety. There have been no bombs, no dacoities, no conspiracies. On the other hand, there has been throughout the whole country a distinct revulsion from secret methods, which were beginning to exercise a sinister fascination on immature minds. Open criticism, open attack and exposure of evils in the press and in public speeches, open challenge of the excesses of authority, occasionally verging, it may be, on violent attacks on individual officials, have replaced the incipient tendency to underground propaganda. This change is not due wholly to Mrs. Besant, but her example undoubtedly has greatly fostered it. Between secret methods and open challenge, we need hardly say that the latter is by far perferable. To that exent, if no more, Mrs. Besant's influence must be allowed to have told on the right side. Unfortunately, we have to face the fact that the one or the other is inevitable in the present circumstances of the country, having regard, on the one hand, to the greatly increased sensitiveness of Indian public opinion to distinctions and disabilities which have been till recently borne as a matter of course and, on the other, to the evident incapacity or indisposition of Government to visualise anything which lies outside the competence of the Criminal Investigation Department to discover.......... How many times recently have we not heard from veteran public men that it is hopeless for them to attempt anything in the face of the apathy of Government to anything outside the pre-occupations of the passing moment! Their advice is not asked till things come to a crisis. They are expected to conserve their influence with the public in some mysterious way, though the measures and policy of Government prove to everyone that they are regarded as tame dogs whose barking need not be regarded as of any account.......... What can be more astonishingly inept than that, when the whole world is ringing with the praise of freedom and democracy, our phlegmatic Government expect us to be satisfied with their occasional assurance that they are hatching some extraordinary scheme of reform which will not err on the side of excess—it does not matter if it errs on the other side—in the recesses of their ancient, ramshackle bureaux?......... We are forced by all these considerations to conclude that Mrs. Annie Besant is punished not because she has done anything to endanger the public safety, but because she has offended against the 'herd instinct' of Europeans in India to look down upon Indians as an inferior race, socially and politically.......... In our considered judgment the internment—so dreadfully suggestive, verbally and actually, of a burial, not, however, of a dead person but of a living one,—of Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants is impolitic, unnecessary and unjust."

Kesari (92), 19th June; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 19th and 22nd June; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 18th and 21st June; *Sandesh* (100), 19th June.

4. The *Kesari* writes:—We inferred from the way in which Government dealt with the Memorandum of the Nineteen that they were not favourably disposed, but we did not suppose that the policy of pure repression now followed thoughtlessly in Madras would be shamelessly adopted at least during war time. The repressive policy of 1908 has been again revived. The present policy must have been followed with the assent of the Government of India. The first act of war was to remove the young students from the fight. This is not the place to discuss how unlawful and tyrannical this order is. The next step was to swoop over the prominent Home Rule leaders of Madras and specially Mrs. Besant. The Defence of India Act is a war measure and the Madras Government has not published any information that Mrs. Besant was dealing with the enemy. The real reason is that Mrs. Besant is working very vigorously for Home Rule. Is it possible that the British Empire would be ever imperilled by Home Rule agitation? The line of argument adopted by

the Madras Government is weak and false. We are firmly convinced that there is no other alternative but to take the management of internal affairs into our own hands though it is necessary to maintain an Imperial connection in our own interests. No one asks for an immediate grant of Home Rule. Only we want Government to take a definite step towards the goal after the war. Judging from Lord Pentland's speech, we think that the bureaucracy is resolved that India should not get even the rights of *Swarájya* according to the Congress scheme; but we do not know whether the Imperial Government are also of the same opinion. But we do not think that the Government of India (*sic*) would be much willing when once the bureaucracy makes up its mind as the local officials always threaten the people of England that India would be lost if their counsel is not adopted. If Government are willing to favour the Congress scheme, let them declare so. What is it but injustice to praise one party to their face and to repress another, dubbing it seditious? By such an attempt the local white bureaucracy will disgrace the principles of equality and liberty and the morality, generosity and goodness of the English race. The fresh example of Russia again shows to the world that it is impossible to put down the aspirations of *Swarájya* by repression. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—The order will create universal sorrow and anger. The Defence of India Act has been misused on many occasions, but the misuse of it against Mrs. Besant beats all others. The attempt of Government to stop Home Rule agitation indirectly by using a war measure deserves all censure and the people of India will never tolerate it. It is evident that the Madras Government have taken this move with the consent of the Government of India. It is our holy duty to continue our agitation ceaselessly without minding the present stern policy of Government. In another issue the paper remarks:—The right answer to the policy of repression has been given by the people and it has been resolved by the nation to continue Mrs. Besant's agitation. The *Indu Prakásh* takes objection to the word "Home Rule" and is opposed to any campaign of calumny, but it remarks:—Why should the Madras Government be so much upset? Mrs. Besant does not want to preach a policy of violence. Why should the Madras Government be so very much agitated? The measure excites sympathy for the sufferer. The masses do not consider carefully and they see persecution everywhere. It is not desirable that the idea that there is persecution under British rule should spread in the country. In a subsequent issue the paper says that the Madras Government has committed a blunder and that Mrs. Besant's internment has united the Moderates and the Extremists. It also remarks:—The Madras Government could not see the right way, being flurried by the word "Home Rule". It is a delusion to think, as some Englishmen do, that Home Rule would be strangled by silencing Mrs. Besant. If Mrs. Besant is interned someone else will continue the agitation. The *Sandesh* says:—So long as it rests entirely with Government to grant Home Rule or not, they need not be under any anxiety. A calm and peaceful attitude is necessary now more than ever, and we request Lord Willingdon not to resort to any special measures until he is convinced that the advocates of Home Rule encourage illegal acts.]

Gujaráti (12), 24th June, Eng. cols.

***5.** "In Ireland there was a rebellion and every effort is being made to conciliate her. The Premier proclaims from his seat in Parliament that Government want the goodwill and co-operation of the Irish people, and the British Government have gone the length of releasing Irish political prisoners with a view to inaugurate the proceedings of the Irish Convention in an atmosphere of cordial understanding and perfect harmony. The Irish have been asked to arrive at a settlement for themselves and every effort is being made to secure their goodwill and friendship. What have the people of India done?......... How are they being rewarded? One well-meaning Governor does not want them to go in for any political agitation whatsoever! Another administrator thinks that their programme of reforms would be an incitement to crime! Still another comes upon the political arena to preach homilies to the leaders of the Indian public and holds out threats of penalties for cherishing and propagating ideals, the offspring of his own imagination.

.... Great Empires and Little Minds ill go together. So said the philosophic Burke, and the recent occurrences are an apt illustration of his profoundly sagacious observation. India now presents a most lamentable spectacle. The entire Indian community with its press is ranged on one side and Government with its officialised organs on the other. If this extraordinary phenomenon of intense racial and political cleavage is the glorious fruit of statesmanship, the less we have of the latter, the better for the Indian people, the British Government and the British Empire."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 20th June, Eng. cols.; and 17th June.

6. "We are not in a position to say whether the Madras Government are now satisfied or whether other internments will follow. The Madras Government have done what they thought was necessary for the safety of the Presidency. It is not quite clear what danger was really apprehended.......... Will the internments of Mrs. Besant and her fellow-workers give the quietus to the national movement in India? It is not the Home Rule League or any particular form of activity that we have in mind, but the soul-awakening of India, and the clearly outlined goal of her aspiration, namely, self-government within the Empire. The lesson of every page of history would be falsified if repression could stifle the normal and natural aspiration of a nation to attain to the full stature of nationhood. We are reluctant to make a comparison between the Irish Home Rule movement and the Indian Home Rule League, though neither ever sought to repudiate the British connection; but the British Government at one time adopted the same attitude towards the Irish Home Rule party as the Madras and other Governments are doing to-day towards the Indian Home Rule League.......... And so history goes on repeating itself. Given a righteous cause, its ultimate triumph is certain in spite of persistent opposition and repression. The internment of Mrs. Besant will be a powerful stimulus to the national cause .... A widespread agitation will follow. Having full faith in the righteousness of their cause, sincerely loyal to the Crown and to the British connection, people throughout India will refuse to abate one jot of their demands. What the bureaucracy in India is vainly seeking to suppress is not due to the writings or preachings of this leader or that, but it is in the air, it is heard in the thunder of the guns in Europe, it is pounding in the pulse of national life......... She has now made the supreme sacrifice of her liberty and public service. Her enforced silence will not put an end to her work." [The paper thus concludes a vernacular article on the same subject in its issue of the 17th June:—We pray that before a more deplorable state of things arises, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State will win the blessings of the people by boldly cancelling the order of the Madras Government and thereby spreading peace and quiet all over the country.]

Sánj Vartamán (28), 19th and 20th June; *Hindusthán* (16), 18th and 19th June; *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* (68), 21st June; *Shri Venkateshwar* (72), 23rd June; *Jám-e Jamshed* (19), 20th June.

7. The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The news of Mrs. Besant's internment has come as a bolt from the blue and has been received with sorrow throughout the country. Mrs. Besant has been conducting political agitation in a legitimate manner and has done her best to give proper guidance to the youth of the country and kept them from taking the wrong path. She is not a leader of any secret movement and has never advocated or favoured the anarchist movement. She has been exerting herself for the welfare of this country by following an open and above-board policy. If Government are of opinion that she has done anything that is reprehensible they should take legal steps against her. But they have deprived her of her freedom by internment under the Defence of India Act. The Government of Madras are wrong in thinking that the *Swarájya* movement will be crushed by the internment of Mrs. Besant. The movement has taken such firm root that instead of receiving any harm it will be stimulated by the step Government have taken and many people who have held aloof from the movement so far will join it in great numbers. Mrs Besant is famous throughout the world as a theosophist and we feel sure that not only India but the

other parts of the British Empire will protest against the momentous step taken by the Madras Government. Lord Pentland has erred in taking a step that will tend to create unrest and disaffection in this country at a time when it has stood loyal to the British Raj. We hope he will now set about correcting his mistake. [In the subsequent issue the paper points out that protests are being made throughout the country against the action of the Madras Government and asks the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League to convene extraordinary meetings to protest against Mrs. Besant's internment and to send a petition signed by thousands of people to His Majesty the King-Emperor with a view to drawing the attention of the Ministers to the action of the Madras Government. The *Hindusthán* considers the step taken by the Madras Government as short-sighted and as one that would give rise to unrest amongst the people instead of pacifying them. It calls upon the people to keep their heads cool under the trying circumstances and to refrain from taking any hasty step, and asks the popular leaders to guide their followers with tact and discretion. In the subsequent issue the paper refers to the universal protest with which the country has received Mrs. Besant's internment and the opinions it has evoked from various quarters favourable to the Home Rule League and opines that no official repression would be able to put down the political aspirations to which the war has given rise in the hearts of the people of India. It suggests that a joint deputation of the Congress and the Moslem League should immediately proceed to England to enlighten the British public on the state of affairs in India. The *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* considers it a short-sighted step on the part of the Madras Government to have interned a lady who is worshipped throughout India for having brought about an awakening in the youth of the country. It hopes petitions will be sent from different provinces to the Government of India for getting the order of the Madras Government annulled. The *Shri Venkateshwar* expresses its disapproval of the action taken by the Government of Madras and wishes that Lord Pentland had on the contrary asked the Government of India to publish a draft of the political reforms that would be introduced after the termination of the war, as suggested by the *Times of India*. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* recounts the various services rendered to India by Mrs. Besant and believes the Government of Madras must have had strong reasons for interning her. It believes that if these grounds had been made known to the public Mrs. Besant would have had an opportunity of clearing her character and public sympathy would not have been drawn towards her. It is of opinion that if Government thought her speeches and writings to be inflammatory they would have done well to institute legal proceedings against her. It asks the Members of the Imperial Legislative Council to draw the attention of Government to the public opinion in the matter of Mrs. Besant's internment.]

Indu Prakásh (35), 20th June, Eng. cols.

8. "The hearts of the Indian people go out in fullest sympathy to Mrs. Besant in her present trouble just because she has been a vigorous, but absolutely law-abiding and constitutional, standard-bearer of Indian demands and aspirations. The leading responsible men of Madras, men some of whom Government have honoured with high distinctions, resent the action of Lord Pentland......... Allahabad has followed suit; and her influential leaders have joined the Home Rule League as a protest against the action of the Madras Government. The Honourable Mr. Sastri, President of the Servants of India Society, has already published a strong letter, protesting against the action of the Government of Lord Pentland. The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association at their meeting held on Monday last entered an equally emphatic protest against the reactionary attitude of Lord Pentland......... We call upon the highest British statesmanship to judge aright this remarkable, unprecedented unanimity of opinion brought out by the action of Lord Pentland and restrain the reactionary forces that threaten to let themselves loose in India and mar the harmony of heart and feeling that common sacrifices in the present war have established between the rulers and the ruled."

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 24th June, Eng. cols.

***9.** "As loyal subjects of the British Government, we cannot but bemoan the suicidal policy of the Madras Government. It might have been expected that the disastrous results of the Aurangzebian régime would teach our rulers the folly of an unreasonable repression. The variest tyro knows to-day that Lord Curzon was the one man to awaken the national consciousness of Bengal and even of India. Lord Pentland has added himself to the number of the unconscious benefactors of India, for such an administrative blunder as he has committed does far more to close up the ranks of Indians than anything that Mrs. Besant can say or do......... The ridiculous tactics of the Delhi C. I. D. against the Home Rule League, Delhi Branch; the infamous persecution of the Indra Prastha Hindu Girls' High School and its Lady Superintendent; the illiberal utterances and deeds of Lord Pentland, show what a failure British statesmanship in India to-day has proved to be." [Elsewhere, however, the paper publishes a contributed article by Mr. K. P. Malbari, in the course of which the writer dwells on the dangerous character of the Home Rule League and emphatically declares that India is not yet fit for self-government. He also remarks: "Had only all our administrators been as strightforward and as unequivocal in their political utterances as Lord Pentland had been in the present instance, there would have been less number of political agitators and less number of political organisations in the country."]

Comments on the interview between Lord Pentland and Mrs. Besant.

Praja Mitra amd Pársi (25), 22nd June, Eng. cols.

10. In the course of its comments on the interview between Lord Pentland and Mrs. Besant, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"Has the compulsory cessation of Mrs. Besant's activities, religious, educational and political, brought complete tranquillity to Madras or India? Let the happenings of day after day answer this question.......... If she has served India greatly by the written and the spoken word, by the matchless gift of eloquence with which she is endowed, it seems she will render India still greater service by the silence which has been imposed on her by arbitrary executive authority.......... Lord Pentland specified no charges against her so that there was nothing which she could explain. But the country understands why she has suffered and it is acting accordingly. The internment of Mrs. Besant is nothing more or less than a determined attempt to suppress lawful, constitutional agitation for the establishment of self-government within the Empire in India.......... [The paper here refers to the recent accessions to the ranks of the Home Rule League and the various funds started to aid Mrs. Besant and forward the Home Rule movement, and concludes:—] What is happening to-day in India is nothing but a repetition of the history of constitutional struggles everywhere, and we shall win through to our goal soon or late, and it looks as if it will be rather soon than late."

Appeal to Indians to subscribe to the Besant Fund started by Sir Subramaniam Aiyar.

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 21st June.

11. We earnestly hope that all advocates of self-government will respond wholeheartedly to the appeal of Sir Subramaniam Aiyar for funds in aid of Mrs. Besant. Not only her followers but every lover of this country should consider it his sacred duty to contribute to this fund as much as he possibly can. Mrs. Besant's extraordinary self-sacrifice alone is the cause of her present miserable plight. We feel sure, therefore, that every man who has the least regard for his country will not fail to contribute his quota to this fund. The Irish had collected a very large sum of money for the benefit of Daniel O'Connell in similar circumstances. It is the duty of Indians to collect similarly a large fund for Mrs. Besant to repay at least partially her splendid services. At the same time we cannot help remarking that the Government of Madras has displayed the most reprehensible lowness of mind by forbidding the sale of books already punished by her and thus rendering her wholly destitute.

Condemnation of Lord Pentland's alleged repressive policy.

New Times (new), 12th June.

12. "If the policy of coercive legislation is going to be followed, as we learn from Mrs. Besant's article on the 'Coming Storm' in *New India*, Lord Pentland will be responsible before posterity for having inaugurated an era of discontent and unrest in the Presidency. It is still a psychological problem to us to understand how a representative of the British Democracy and a member of the liberal party speaks so frankly about repression and in a manner that has far exceeded the traditions of bureaucratic absolutism in this country.......... The demand for self-government is the demand of illiterate India—the demand of the masses of this country. His Excellency refuses to take a view of the political upheavals going on in the world and stands resolutely for a rigid, soulless machinery of administration without any responsibility to the governed. His 'bold bid for reaction' is absolutely out of tune with the new spirit in India. His Excellency is perfectly justified in condemning unlawful propaganda and the forces leading to disorder. The propaganda of Home Rule or self-government is forwarded by strictly constitutional means and does not in any case mean the severance of the British connection. We acknowledge the benefits of British Rule and believe that India's political salvation lies in her continued connection with Great Britain, but we also believe that self-government is the natural consummation of the spirit of British Imperialism."

Indu Prakásh (35), 18th June, Eng. cols.

13. "As an earnest of good faith and good will, England has by one stroke of the pen unconditionally released all Irish political prisoners. There is a grim humour in the news of the Madras internments following on the very heel of the release of all Irish political prisoners. The Madras internments are a further proof the Executive overriding the Judiciary. The High Courts in the land have declared self-government as a legitimate political aspiration. All writings and speeches directed towards the attainment of this goal are, therefore, lawful and legitimate. While the whole world is in process of reconstruction, poor and helpless India, with whom no race of men could be compared in respect of national innocence, ought to be allowed all legitimate freedom to work out her destiny, whether in politics or economics, or national education. The effusions of Anglo-Indian newspapers could be ignored as those of confirmed reactionaries. But when a provincial ruler ushers in an era of repression, it is the clearest duty of the leaders of the nation to approach the highest authorities responsible for the good government of this country with a prayer that they should not allow the 'man on the spot' to deny legitimate freedom to people within the British Empire, when the Empire is fighting the battles of freedom or humanity at large."

Comments on Lord Pentland's speech in the Madras Legislative Council.

Gujaráti (12), 17th June.

14. Commenting upon Lord Pentland's last speech in the Madras Legislative Council, the *Gujaráti* writes:—The Congress and the Moslem League want self-government or *swarájya*. Lord Pentland and other officials believe that they would be able to check the *swarájya* movement by the force of their authority, but they will certainly not be able to accomplish their purpose. Indians have fully imbibed the principle on which England has been waging a just war and they fully understand the significance of such terms as independence of nations, rights of the people, and voice of the people in the administration of their country. The Indian people want responsible self-government on Colonial lines. What does Lord Pentland mean by asking the people not to expect the Legislative Council to have full control over the Executive? Has Lord Pentland been authorised by the Government of India to say what India will or will not get? The right of granting political reforms is vested in the Government of England. The Indians want their Government to be responsible to the people and they will continue to agitate so long as their object is not gained. People naturally ask why there should not be a popular majority in the Provincial Legislative

Councils and why local self-government should not be freed from official control. It seems to us that Lord Pentland has messed matters through the intoxication of power long enjoyed. He expected the members of the Legislative Council to dance to his tune; but they are one by one repudiating his statements and public meetings are being held to protest against Lord Pentland's views. The Government of India should pacify public opinion by dissociating themselves from Lord Pentland, or Lord Pentland should take upon himself the full responsibility for his personal opinions. Mr. Lloyd George declares that India is to be regarded as a partner and not as a dependency of the Empire. People lose faith in official pronouncements when those in authority make contradictory statements. If India is not to be ruled on liberal lines, let it be announced that the principles for which England is fighting the present war are not suitable for India, but are only applicable to Europe and America, and let all telegrams reporting speeches of Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith and President Wilson, containing generous sentiments, be stopped from coming to India. It is dangerous to throw cold water on high aspirations after helping to create them. [Elsewhere the paper expresses its gratification at the bold attitude taken by Sir Subramaniam Iyer in declaring his preparedness to suffer all that he might be called upon to suffer for being the President of the Home Rule League.]

Comments on the Madras Government's Press Note explaining their attitude towards current political discussion.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 20th June, Eng. cols.

15. "We do not think we can say that Lord Pentland's Government have been well advised to issue a Press Communiqué explaining their attitude towards 'current political discussion'. We are afraid the Madras Government have not learnt the wisdom of silence. It is not clear to us what practical purpose is served by communications of this kind. Take the original outburst of Lord Pentland in the Legislative Council, which has, in a sense, necessitated the issue of the present communiqué...... Which agitator has given up agitating since that ill-advised speech was made, we should like to know. It has, as far as we can see, merely stiffened these agitators in their determination. It has led persons of position and good sense to adopt an attitude of defiance. It has aroused bitterness, resentment, and suspicion in the whole country.......... It is quite clear from the communiqué that the present Government of Madras cannot bring themselves to a quite wholehearted sympathy with the recent aspirations of India.......... We ourselves have never been very much impressed by some of the more violent aspects of the Home Rule agitation. Nor are we admirers of Mrs. Besant in her sensational flights. But it is a very unwise policy on the part of individuals and Governments to express their disapprobation of these in terms which extend far beyond the objectionable aspects of political discussion, and condemn movements which are perfectly legitimate, and sanctioned by the whole spirit, temper, and tradition of the British constitution."

Bombay Samáchár (53), 22nd and 23rd June; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 16th June; *Hindusthán* (16), 16th June; *Shri Venkateshwar* (72), 23rd June.

16. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—There will be difference of opinion as to how far the opinions of the Madras Government are true. However, they cannot be said to be opposed to political progress in India or that the Madras Government are prepared to gag the mouths of those who conduct political movements in a legitimate manner. To draw such an inference would be doing injustice to the Government of Madras and the Moderate party in the Congress. Those who now differ from the opinion of the Madras Government will scarcely have any cause for complaint when the dust of controversy is laid. [In the subsequent issue the paper expresses the opinion that the Madras Government has committed a mistake in giving undue importance to the opinion of a small minority who advocate the immediate grant of *Swarájya* to India. It blames some of the Moderates who have recently become members of the Home Rule League as in its opinion such action on their part is likely to hinder the cause of the steady political progress of India. The *Sánj*

Vartamán, on the other hand, considers Lord Pentland's explanation as unsatisfactory and adds :—Educated India fully supports the demands made by the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council and Lord Pentland's policy of repression will result in serious consequences. No one has a right to put down the *Swarájya* propaganda as long as it is considered a lawful movement. The officials are entitled to have their own opinion as to when India should be given *Swarájya*, but they should not force their opinions upon the people. The *Hindusthán* considers it a triumph for the popular party that the Madras Government should have expressed sympathy with the movement for self-government. It is of opinion that the Government while agreeing in principle have expressed their determination to oppose the *Swarájya* movement owing to their faulty notions as to the time required by India to go through the intermediate stages necessary to reach the goal. It calls upon the people to adhere to their purpose and to continue their exertions for the attainment of their goal. The *Shri Venkateshwar* is of opinion that Lord Pentland is needlessly alarmed by the Home Rule movement. It believes his personal opinions will have no weight in the ultimate decision of Parliament in the matter of carrying out political reforms in India.]

What the Government of India should do to neutralise the effects of the recent acts of the Madras Government.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 19th and 21st June.

17. Lord Pentland's speech and his orders in connection with Mrs. Besant and her colleagues have, as it were, created a panic among those who held moderate views. They have preferred to join the Home Rule League to remaining aloof from it because they entertain apprehensions lest farsighted measures might not be taken immediately to neutralise the effects of the speech and orders and lest the failure to take such measures might spread in the whole country unrest and disaffection of a kind worse than that which existed in the *régime* of Lord Curzon and might tarnish the reputation which the people of India have earned for themselves during the present war. [The paper then goes on to refer to the amnesty granted to political prisoners in Ireland and to the organisation of the Irish Convention to settle the Irish Home Rule question, and as a means to wipe out the effects of the actions of the Madras Government above referred to suggests that the Government of India should follow the example of the Home Government and should cancel the recent internment order issued by the Madras Government, should grant pardon to political prisoners, and should convoke a convention representing all sections of the Indian public, on the lines of the Irish Convention, and should, in co-operation with that convention, prepare a scheme for introducing political and economic reforms in India. In the subsequent issue the paper remarks that true statesmanship on the part of the Government of India will not consist in remaining indifferent to the situation created in the country by the acts of the Madras Government. It suggests that they should call an extraordinary meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council not later than the first week of the next month and allowing full discussion to take place in it on the present situation, should publish an explanation calculated to pacify the minds of the public.]

The power of the Anglo-Indian officials is doomed.

Indu Prakásh (35), 22nd June.

18. Even the blind man sees that the days of officials, who are not responsible to any one, are nearing their end. England assumed the reins of the administration of India not for the good of India but for the economic and political prosperity of England. From 1819 to 1875, India was under the guardianship of England. National patriotism was awakened by the study of English history. Self-respect drove out the cringing spirit. Officials, who at first said that India was a trust placed in their hands, began afterwards to claim the ownership of India. The differential treatment of whites and blacks became intolerable. The knowledge that though capable we are excluded from high offices because we are Indians became unbearable. Some officials could not tolerate this agitation. They could not put up with the principle of equality introduced by Indians. Who will do more good to the nation: Indians knowing the needs and aspirations of their countrymen, or English officials who know *khánsámás*, tailors, Naiks and Dafedars and who have got a passing acquaintance with Zamindars and Deshmukhs and who occasionally see educated Indians for a few minutes? If the fact is that Indians alone can do more good than the English, is not the power of those officials who say that they should manage also the internal affairs of India doomed?

Had Mr. Lloyd George been in Madras now he would have been interned.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 24th June, Eng. cols.

*19. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* thus concludes its comments on Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the deputation of the Labour Party that waited on him to present to him the resolutions dealing with the labour-problems after the war carried at the annual conference at Manchester:—"We congratulate Mr. Lloyd George on the lucky accident that he is not in Madras now, else for a speech like this he might have been interned under the Defence of India Act and given the alternative of confining either in the Andaman or Nicobar Islands if not in far-off St. Helena. We wonder what the C. I. D. in England have been doing! If a few of our ingenious eminent C. I. D. men were exported to England, it would be beneficial to both countries."

Comments on the gift of one lakh of rupees by Mr. S. R. Bomanji to the Home Rule League.

Mahrátta (4), 24th June.

*20. "In the *Chronicle* of the 21st instant appears a most inspiring letter of Mr. S. R. Bomanji, a Life Member of the Home Rule League (Madras), Bombay Branch. The letter is addressed to the Honourable Mr. Jinnah who has been approached to accept the presidentship of the Branch League. Mr. Bomanji says in this letter that he is prepared to place the sum of a lakh of rupees at the disposal of the League for its future activities.......... Mr. Bomanji's offer at the present time is indicative of the spirit that is slowly but surely possessing the mind of the people. 'The suffering of the people is the concern of the people' is, as we have seen, the formula of the true-born Bureaucrat who cares only for his own caste. It is but reasonable that from amongst the people should come forward their saviours. Money is the sinews of war. And we have so much work before us that we can never have enough of money. Our Home Rule War is to be a peaceful war, but not for that reason an inexpensive one. Crores of money are required and lakhs of brave souls. For the sake of the success of the Empire our people have, under official pressure or of their free will, so far contributed over 41 crores to the War Loan alone! And of men they have supplied regiments upon regiments that have made India's name respected on the foreign battlefields. What is the Empire to us, if the Motherland is not to have in it, at an early date, a place worthy of her 'importance'? As long as we are not under Home Rule, we are but hewers of wood and drawers of water for our alien masters. But 'Home Rule at an early date' is anathema to the Bureaucrat, who feels no scruples, with all his hatred of our Home Rule programme, in 'recruiting' *our* money and *our* men for his Empire—his ideal empire in which we are to have no rights if he can help it."

Three reasons for Home Rule in India.

Young India (10), 20th June.

21. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal writes in *Young India*:—"I advocate Home Rule or *Swarájya* for India for three great reasons. These are:—(I) It is absolutely necessary for the highest realisation of our National Life and Destiny, or what may be called *Jateeya Parama Purusharta*. (II) It is absolutely necessary for the perpetuation of the British connection with India. (III) It is essential for the preservation of World-Peace......... We desire Home Rule or *Swarájya* to secure freedom of development of our National Life and through it the freedom of development of our individual lives also......... Our national character and culture is a complex and composite thing, and therefore more developed than what passes as national character or culture in Europe. And we want *Swarájya* or Home Rule for the fullest and freest development of this composite and complex National Life in India. Europe has no experience of this National type; and no European Nation, however clever or

well-meaning, can therefore guide or control it and educate and lead it to its highest self-realisation and self-fulfilment......... It is, therefore, essential that we should be freed from all outside control of our National Life and placed upon our own feet to manage our own affairs in our own way, in the best manner we can....... (II) But this *Swarájya* does not mean that we must be separated from the Empire to which we now belong......... At present the Empire does not belong to us, but we belong to the Empire. With a self-governing India admitted into full and free partnership with the other self-governing members of the Empire including the United Kingdom, the Empire shall as much belong to us as we shall belong to the Empire......... No one, whether Indian or Britisher, ever believes that India will continue to be a permanent Dependency of Great Britain or her Dominions. Everybody thinks and admits that 'some day' the present rulers, who are only trustee, of the Indian people, will deliver their trust to the latter and let them live and grow as a free nation among free nations. The Indian Home Ruler sees in this attitude and policy a very great danger to the perpetuation of the British connection......... The Indian Home Ruler does not desire the isolated Sovereign Independence for his country, for two very great reasons, one practical, and the other affecting his ideal. To maintain her position of isolated sovereignty, even if she should get it as a kindly gift from her present masters, India will have to command a modern army and a powerful navy. How is she to get these?......... But it is inconceivable that they (*i.e.*, her present masters) will, or, humanly thinking, they really can, grant her these opportunities except on the clear understanding and in the firm conviction that India will never use these against the British Empire......... And this understanding and conviction can never be arrived at or grown, as long as India is kept in her present state of complete helplessness and political and financial dependence of Great Britain. Home Rule is, therefore, the only condition under which India can fully develop her military and naval strength to the extent necessary for her self-protection against the ambitions of her lustful neighbours......... And lastly, India as an equal co-partner with the United Kingdom and her Overseas Dominions of the Empire now known as the British Empire, will offer a surer guarantee of coming world-peace than what is likely to be secured by any other alliance or groupings of the existing world powers........., The real cause of modern European rivalries is not in Europe, but outside in the weaker and unprotected countries of Africa and Asia. And unless the European concert agrees to set these countries free from the dominion of the foreigner, these European rivalries for the appropriation of these far Asiatic and African carcasses will continue to rage as fiercely as ever."

Arguments in favour of *Swarájya*.

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 21st June; *Mantri* (new), 9th June; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 16th June; *Shubhodaya* (new), 15th June.

22. After giving extracts from the speech of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the *communiqué* of the Madras Government, the *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—The striking similarity in the views expressed by the heads of the two Governments supports the general belief that the recent measures for the suppression of the *swarájya* movement are being adopted at the instance of the Government of India. This similarity is observable not only in the views but also in the phraseology of the two pronouncements. There is absolutely no room, therefore, for doubt that the policy pursued by the local Governments is not their own, but is dictated by the higher authorities. We shall not at all be surprised if the despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on post-war reforms reveals the same views as those expressed by the two provincial Governments. Thus in the opinion of the Government of India advance towards self-government should be made (1) as education spreads, (2) as causes of disunion diminish and (3) as large numbers of the vast population gain political experience. Although we admit that some progress is necessary in all these directions, we hold that every nation has a right to govern itself and no alien nation can deprive it of this right. If there is any reason why education is not universal in India it is because the educated classes have no power. Another condition laid down by Government to test our fitness for *Swarájya*, *viz.*, that causes for disunion should diminish, can hardly be called just as it is very easy to sow discord

and hostility among the different classes of a subject population. Besides, what other proof of our unity do Government require in the face of the existing harmonious relations between the Hindus and the Muhammadans? We are also quite unable to understand how the large numbers of our population are to gain political experience unless the rights of *swardjya* are conferred upon us. Indeed we ask for *swardjya* in order that our people may have an opportunity of gaining that experience. [The *Mantri* remarks:—We do not think the views of the popular party differ much from those of the Madras Government. Our responsible leaders do not claim full self-government directly the war is over. They only ask for reforms as an earnest of *swardjya* and a declaration by His Majesty the King-Emperor that *swardjya* would ultimately be given. The Government of Madras are in favour of giving this earnest and as they, as His Majesty's representatives, have conceded the principle of *swardjya* it is immaterial whether an assurance is given by His Majesty himself. The *Indu Prakásh* remarks:—The party of progress desire Government to clearly indicate the several stages between the present form of government and *swardjya*. They also want Government to make an authoritative declaration that *swardjya* would ultimately be given to India. Indeed we are tired of promises. We keenly feel that we have no voice in the affairs of our country and are unable to bear our humiliating condition although we are fit. The *Shubhodaya* writes:—How and under what law can Government suppress Home Rule agitation if it is legal? Is there no one to redress our grievances, if the Bureaucracy attempts to suppress Home Rulers? When Government have undertaken this war in order that no country on the face of the earth should be in a state of dependence we do not think that Lord Chelmsford or Lord Pentland will create discontent by tyrannising over Indians who are dear to the Emperor.]

What the Home Rule League wants.
Sandesh (100), 17th June.

23. The *Sandesh* declares that the time for ease and indifference has past and Indian politics have assumed a grave and stern aspect. In stating the aims of the Home Rule League it writes:—We wish for peace in the country. We also wish that there should be no discord between the rulers and the people. Our efforts are directed towards averting the conflagration the fearful signs of which are now visible. We earnestly pray Government, therefore, not to misunderstand the Home Rule movement. The ways of the revolutionaries are quite different. The Home Rulers have never countenanced these and they pin their faith to the British sense of justice.

England should adopt a consistent policy towards Indian affairs.
Mantri (new), 19th June.

24. India appears of late to have assumed the character of duality in that she is differently looked upon in India and in England. In England her praises are being sung by every one from the Premier down to the man in the street and it is even declared that her status ought to be raised from a dependency to that of an ally. In India, however, the Anglo-Indian newspapers frown at the responsible leaders of the people and, while characterising the *swardjya* movement as unpractical, demand that the mouths of all these men be gagged at once. This will be a puzzle to the simple-minded Indians, but there is nothing strange in all this. The ways of state-craft are always crooked. We only request that both in England and in India an identical policy be pursued even if we do not gain anything thereby.

Comparison between the treatment given to Irish Nationalists and Indian Home Rulers.
Message (5), 19th June.

25. "The irony of it all is that almost simultaneously with this act of *liberal statesmanship* on the part of H. E. Lord Pentland, news should reach the country of the Imperial Government's decision *to release all the prisoners now in confinement in connection with the recent rebellion* in Ireland.......... The lesson of the failure of Irish government by the English bureaucracy is fraught with great meaning, and that lesson cannot be reversed in India. Repression might succeed in driving under ground the popular discontent; but it cannot kill the movement, which it is the cherished aim of the short-sighted authors of a policy of repression to accomplish......... To treat the Congress-Muslim League Scheme of reforms as an '*extravagaut aim*' is a sort of mental aberration, which is irreconcilable with the times we are living in."

Mahrátta (4), 24th June.

*26. "On Saturday the 16th instant news came to India of Mr. Bonar Law's announcement in the House of Commons regarding the release without reservation of the Irish rebel prisoners.......... It is a singular coincidence that while an 'earnest' of one kind was being given to the Irishmen by the British Government, an 'earnest' of quite the opposite kind was ready for being given to Indians. And the sad 'earnest' was actually given us on the day on which the glad news of Mr. Bonar Law's announcement was in our hands! A question was asked in the House of Commons regarding the 'earnest' of the Madras Government—the internment measures—to which Mr. Chamberlain replied that he had no doubt that the measures were necessary. May it be that England is waiting for India to become an 'Ireland' before she stoops to consider the Indian demands in the proper spirit?"

Comments on the Bombay Government's Circular on the subject of students and political propaganda.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 17th June, Eng. cols.

27. "We can understand a straight course, whether right or wrong, being taken. Is the Home Rule movement unlawful, is it dangerous? Then why is it not prohibited? Evidently, up to the present Government are not prepared to go so far, but the tortuous methods that have been adopted to discourage and discredit the movement will merely produce bitterness and indignation. The circular just issued is a reflection not only upon students, but on their parents. .... The students of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow. Is it wise, is it statesmanlike, to embitter their feelings without sufficient cause? It is not the Home Rule League alone that is being looked at askance in official circles. Before the last Congress met at Lucknow the United Provinces Government sent a letter of warning to the Reception Committee against intemperate speeches. The result was that the boldest speeches ever made at the Congress and Muslim League were heard at Lucknow. Against Lord Pentland's fulmination in the Madras Legislative Council Sir Subramania Iyer and the Honourable Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar have taken a bold stand. Even the meek and inoffensive citizens of Delhi have refused to be brow-beaten. That is the temper of the country. It is perfectly loyal, but dignified and firm. Is this the time for wise rulers to sow the wind in India?"

Kesari (92), 19th June; *Prakásh* (99), 20th June; *Subodh Patrika* (38), 17th June; *Dnyán Prakásh* (33), 19th June; *Shubhodaya* (new), 15th June.

28. Government have recently revived the orders of 1908 prohibiting students from attending meetings. They have gone a step further and absolutely prohibited students from attending Home Rule meetings, whereas formerly it was within the discretion of Principals to allow college students to attend political meetings or not. Government themselves say that students have of late been attending political meetings, and yet nothing harmful seems to have resulted. Why then should political meetings be decried needlessly and students deprived of their freedom, thus maiming one part of their education? Are students prohibited from witnessing dramas treating of love and vulgar *tamashas*? Have Government who boast of their vigilant attention to the good of the students taken the precaution of examining whether the text-books prescribed for examinations contain any obscene passages? Then why this insistence on prohibition of attendance at public meetings? Perhaps the reason is that the bureaucracy does not lose a pie if the morals of the students are ruined, but if students begin to attend Home Rule meetings one day the powers of the bureaucracy itself might be curtailed. [The *Prakásh* says that it has been constrained to protest against the Circular as it mentions Home Rule Leagues by name and as the policy adopted by Government ignores Home Rule. Now it remains only for Government, it continues, to avow like Lord Pentland that the ideal of Home Rule is an impracticable one. The *Subodh Patrika* remarks:—The big Government officials advise people not to make any agitation in these critical times, but will the people remain contented when such Circulars are issued after declaring once that the Home Rule agitation is not unlawful? The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the present Circular is much more severe than the old one. It further remarks:—The old Circular did not affect unaided schools as the present one does. Formerly some difference was made between

school and college students. Now the Principals have been deprived of their discretion. How can Government sit quiet trusting the Principals of private or Government colleges when such a dangerous subject like Home Rule is likely to be discussed? The *Shubhodaya* remarks:—It is not for the authorities of the schools to sit in judgment upon the orders. We hope both the teachers and students will abide by them and see that their schools are not endangered. It is questionable whether Government should thus divorce students from politics. We do not urge that they should be allowed to attend Home Rule meetings which are not countenanced by Government, but it would not be just to prohibit them from attending any political meeting. When attendance at the theatre is allowed, why should the students be asked to abstain from lectures?]

Gujaráti (12), 17th June; *Gujaráti Punch* (14), 17th June.

29. After pointing out how the bark of administration in India is at present sailing on troubled waters, how the people on the one hand are anxious to make for the port of Home Rule or *Swarájya*, while those at the helm are busy making attempts to keep them away from that port, the *Gujaráti* refers to the circular rently issued by the Bombay Government on the subject of the attendance of students at political meetings and particularly those organised by the Home Rule League and its branches and sarcastically observes that Government perhaps do not like that the future generation should acquire training in these meetings which might enable them to become good citizens and to know how to serve the State and the people. It then proceeds:—Will the hearts of truth-loving Indian students submit to this (Government) order? Will those parents, who aspire to seeing their sons become patriotic servants of the State and the people, be prepared to accept the position of their rising sons being prohibited even from having a mere taste of the desire for their country's liberty and independence? What interpretation will the hearts of curious young men put upon the present Government order? What is the meaning of saying that the rules made in the past as regards the discipline of students should be strictly enforced *at present*? What misconduct have the students now been guilty of? Does *at present* mean till the close of the war? Where is the harm in the students listening to the discussions about Home Rule when Government themselves and courts of law have recognised the legitimacy of the Home Rule agitation? Have Government apprehensions about the words "Home Rule" or about what they connote? Will the word "self-government" be acceptable to Government if it is used in the place of "Home Rule"? If Government are desirous of ascertaining by issuing such circulars how far people are anxious for Home Rule or self-government or *Swarájya*, it will soon become known to them from the adoption of passive resistance by the people; and if that happens, will Government close all schools and colleges? We do not think that the action of the Bombay Government in issuing the order at the present juncture bespeaks high statesmanship or far-sightedness. [*Gujaráti Punch* also writes in disapprobation of the Bombay Government circular. It asks Government why they do not stop the Home Rule Leagues themselves if they think that the activities of those bodies turn the heads of students. It expresses the hope that the Government of Lord Willingdon will reconsider the matter and will ask the Director of Public Instruction to withdraw the present circular.]

Comment on a Central Provinces circular regarding students and politics.

Subodh Patrika (38), 17th June, Eng. cols.

30. "The Government of Lord Pentland has been outdone by that of the Central Provinces, the Director of Public Instruction of which has issued a circular prohibiting school-boys from attending all public meetings.......... His circular practically forbids students to be present at religious and social meetings of which there are so many held everywhere. This is an unwarrantable interference on the part of the Educational Department with the natural rights of parents and guardians of students. The circular, as it is worded, is altogether unjustifiable and is likely to defeat its own end. We are afraid there is something wrong somewhere, as the recent actions of the Governments of Madras and the Central Provinces show. We are going back to the times when in 1906 and onwards repression under the name of discipline held

supreme sway in educational matters. We sincerely trust that the Government of India will not fail to realise the futility of such acts and that it will not fail to put them down, if need be, with a firm hand."

Comments on the personnel of the Committee of Inquiry regarding the Bihar indigo plantations.
Kesari (92), 19th June.

31. The *Kesari* expresses dissatisfaction at the constitution of the Bihar inquiry committee and is of opinion that the appointment of Mr. Gandhi as a member of the committee was not desirable. It holds that Mr. Gandhi should have been left free to represent the cause of the coolies. The paper thinks that the terms of reference need not have included the question of the general relations between Zamindars and their tenants. It further requests the Bihar Government to deal promptly with the Champaran grievances that have come to their notice without waiting for the submission of the report of the committee. Mr. Lloyd George, in a similar case, promised an immediate redress of labour grievances, it continues; but to expect similar things in India would be to hold that Government are responsible to public opinion. It further remarks that India has not yet got a *swardjya* of that type.

Comments on the prohibition of lotteries by Government.
Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 24th June, Eng. cols.

***32.** Commenting upon the prohibition of lotteries by Government the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"We readily admit that scoundrels can make a profession of lotteries, and in such cases Government interference is absolutely essential. But to penalise lotteries altogether does not appear to be quite a wise policy. Nor can it be said to be just and fair, when Viceroys and Governors openly encourage racing, which is always the exhibition of gambling on a scale so colossal that lakhs, and even perhaps crores, change hands in the short space of a few hours. So long as racing is allowed, the penalising of lotteries will always remain an injustice, pure and simple. What is legal for the rich cannot be illegal for the poor. We have a right to expect equitable equality from Government; either let racing be abolished or let lotteries for public purposes be fully allowed."

Alleged attacks on the Muhammadan religion in the first Gujarati edition of the *Satydrth Prakdsh.*
Akhbdr-e-Isldm (50), 19th June.

33. One Pirzada Saiyad Sadruddin H. Dargawala, Navsári, addresses a letter to the *Akhbdr-e-Isldm* in the course of which he observes that in the 14th chapter of the first Gujarati edition of a book entitled *Satydrth Prakdsh*, printed at the Jagdishwar Press, Bombay, in Samvat 1961, extremely unjustifiable attacks have been made upon the holy Koran and the Prophet Muhammad and that the attacks are couched in language calculated to wound the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadans. He then goes on to take exception to the following sentences and passages occurring in the said chapter, *viz.*, "Does God belong to the Muhammadans only and not to others? Did not the voice of God exist before thirteen hundred years ago? It, therefore, follows that the Koran is not the work of God, but is the work of some person who was not of an impartial mind (page 509, line 19)." "It is proved that Muhammad Saheb's heart was not pure and it becomes evident that it is for this reason that he wrote the Koran to serve his own ends (page 510, line 10)." "Such things cannot find place in God's revelations (page 512, line 3)." "It becomes manifest that the Koran is not written by one individual, but is written by many." "It becomes clear that Muhammad Saheb has served his own ends in the name of God (page 514, lines 6 and 8)." "The Koran is not revealed by God. It must have been written by some malicious trickster; or else how could such extraordinary things have appeared in it (page 510, line 5)?" "The Koran can on no account be called the word of God (page 519, line 7)." "What is this Koran? It is a big farce (page 520, line 4)." "It points to the fact that this Book must have been written by savage people who did not know God (page 521, line 9)." The writer holds that the abovementioned sentiments cannot but wound the feelings of the Moslem community generally. He observes that the original *Satydrth Prakdsh* which was written by Swámi Dayánand Saraswati and published in Benares in 1875 A. D. does not contain any such sentiments as are incorporated in its present Gujarati edition and that the 14th chapter in the latter has been interpolated by some spiteful and designing person. He concludes with remarking that all Moslem bodies, writers and newspapers should raise an agitation on constitutional lines in connection with that chapter and should appeal to Government to get it expunged from the book.

How is it that Englishmen who could raise a large Territorial Force in Great Britain cannot raise even 6,000 men in India.

Sind Journal (8), 14th June.

34. Referring to the Government of India's Resolution on the poor response made to recruitment for the Defence of India Force, "H. R.", in the course of a letter to the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"While reading this Resolution one is forcibly reminded of the words of Raja Rampal Singh who, speaking from the Congress platform as long back as 1885 at the second Congress in Calcutta, foresaw the situation that faces us today and uttered the following memorable words:—'Then will England regret that, instead of having millions of brave Indians trained to arms to fling back invaders, she only has scanty legions to oppose to them, and from her timid subjects can only look at most for good wishes—good wishes, truly good things in their way, but poor bulwarks against Berdan rifles and steel ordinance.' Oh, Englishmen! free and brave, do you not realise the moral of this lamentable spectacle of millions of Indians emasculated and unarmed, devoid of all martial spirit and vigour, who cannot easily produce 6,000 men even for the defence of their country and the Empire? Does not a pang of remorse pass across your hearts? Have you asked yourselves why it is that you could raise a large Territorial Force from forty-five millions only in Great Britain, whereas you cannot get six thousand men out of the millions of educated Indians? Is it not that a foreign Bureaucracy, too jealous of its power, has failed to place its trust in the people and has kept most of them ignorant of the use of arms and has thus crushed all martial spirit out of them? Trust them, and grant them self-government, which is their due, and instead of six thousand men that you want, six million soldiers, valiant and brave, will answer to your call. What is wanted is a little more of statesmanship, a little more of foresight, a little more of imagination. Mr. Lloyd George is said to possess all these. Let him then show these in the case of India as he is showing in the case of Ireland, and India, instead of a weak point in the Empire, shall be the greatest bulwark of the Empire."

Protest against primary schools children being made to subscribe on the War Loan Day.

Subodh Patrika (38), 17th June, Eng. cols.

35. "The 14th of this month was observed as a 'Bombay War Loan Day'. All the schools in the Presidency including even primary and indigenous ones were given a holiday and the boys and girls in them were given an opportunity to contribute to the War Loan. There is no question as to the absolute necessity of making the Loan a success, but whether litttle children from six to twelve, as most of those who attend the primary schools are, should have been asked to contribute to is a question which we have no hesitation to answer in the negative. The contributions, however little they may be, tell heavily, especially on poor parents who in most cases, in addition to what they have to give on behalf of their children in schools, have to contribute to funds started in their offices and factories." [The paper adds in its vernacular columns:—It is different with those who have plenty of money. But should those who cannot make two ends meet, and who have even four or five children at school, pinch themselves and contribute to the War Loan in order that their children might not be disappointed, masters might not be displeased, and the Director of Public Instruction might not be wroth with the school?]

Alleged insult to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir by a police officer in Bombay.

Gujaráti (12), 17th June.

36. Referring to the rumour published in the *Rást Goftár* of the 3rd instant about the insult alleged to have been given to the Maharaja of Bikanir on account of his being asked by an Indian police officer to show his passport on his arrival at the Bombay harbour, to which rumour that paper was not prepared to attach any importance till the true facts in connection with that incident were published, the *Gujaráti*, while not considering the demand for showing a passport as constituting an insult

to anybody, does not regard it as possible that the police were unaware of the expected arrival of the Maharaja of Bikanir. It then goes on to narrate the rumour according to which the Maharaja on landing was asked to show his passport while His Highness' secretaries and Sir S. P. Sinha were not asked to do so, and that when the Maharaja inquired of the police officer how it was that one of his secretaries and Sir S. P. Sinha who were Indians were not asked to show their passports the police officer in reply pointed out that they were dressed in English costume; and that on His Highness demanding the name of the police officer the latter refused to give it and said that in doing what he had done he was carrying out the orders of his superiors; that the Maharaja is thereupon reported to have remarked to Sir James Meston that no such distinction was made in his connection during the time he was in England but that he had become a 'native' on account of his Indian costume even before landing in his own country, India. The paper remarks that in India there should be no distinction in the eye of law or in the execution of it between Europeans and Indians; and it expresses the hope that, if the rumour reported above be true, Government will take steps to remove such distinction and, teaching their officers to use more discretion, will give His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir ample satisfaction.

Alleged staging of a play at Surat calculated to hurt the feelings of the Muhammadans.

Political Bhomiyo (65), 22nd June.

37. A writer styling himself "a lover of peace" addresses a letter to the *Political Bhomiyo* wherein he refers to advertisements appearing in newspapers about the staging of a play entitled "Dara Aurangzeb" at Surat by the "Shri Vankaner Arya Hitvardhak Dramatic Company" and remarks that to represent the Emperor Aurangzeb, who was of a religious bent of mind and who got a book like *Fatwá Alamgiri*, which was a collection of decisions based on religious tenets, published, as playing antics on the stage is tantamount to insulting the whole Islamic world and is calculated to injure the feelings of the Moslems. The writer cannot understand how the Vankaner Dramatic Company has been able to secure sanction from the authorities to stage this play at Surat when one bearing the title "Aurangzeb" and staged by a company at Ahmedabad was stopped by Government in the year 1911 in response to a protest raised by the Muhammadans against its being staged. He inquires if the company promotes the interests of India, as its name implies, by thus displeasing the Muhammadans. He does not consider it to be an exaggeration in the slightest degree to say that the Vankaner Dramatic Company incurs the heavy responsibility of paining the hearts of Moslems in being prepared to stage the play in question. The correspondent remarks that the object of Government is to see that nobody's religious feelings are wounded and adds that the proprietors of dramatic companies as also the authorities at Surat should adopt such an attitude that the object of Government which is one of preservation of peace may be attained.

Why Indians are unwilling to join the I.M.S.

Kaiser-i-Hind (20), 24th June, Eng. cols.

*38. Commenting upon the letter of 'Izzatwalla' criticising the terms offered by the Secretary of State to Indian doctors enrolled in the I. M. S., etc., appearing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"The shortage of doctors even in England is notorious, so much so that in some quarters compulsory service in the case of doctors has been freely advocated. In circumstances such as these it would be most reasonable to encourage Indian doctors to volunteer for service in the army. The Secretary of State for India evidently desires to have them, as is clear from his offer of 'improved' terms. 'Izzatwalla,' however, shows how specious these improved terms are. We have every sympathy with him in his wish to de-Prussianise some of the senior officers, who are often so notoriously rude to Indians. Indians generally, and Indian doctors in particular, are perfectly willing to help the Government and are loyal to the core. But even loyalty has limits, and many an Izzatwalla will hesitate long before they accept humiliating conditions, and will never sacrifice their Izzat even on the altar of humanity."

Comments on the judgment in the criminal case filed by Mr. Durgadas B. Advani against two Railway officials of Karáchi.

Sind Journal (8), 14th June.

39. Commenting upon the judgment in the criminal case filed by Mr. Durgadas B. Advani against two Railway officials of Karáchi, the *Sind Journal* writes:—"The learned Magistrate has made light of the words 'get out' uttered by the Station Master in asking Mr. Durgadas to come out of the compartment reserved for Europeans and Anglo-Indians without considering the tone adopted by the Station Master which was highly improper specially when addressing a gentleman of Mr. Durgadas' position. The decision of the Judicial Commissioner's Court in Mr. Mathradas Ramchand's case is not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, and the fact that Mr. Durgadas was aware of it does not preclude him from asserting his rights as a British subject. Mr. Durgadas was perfectly justified in insisting upon remaining in the compartment as the reserving of compartments on racial grounds is abhorrent to the minds of educated Indians. The following sentence from the judgment in the case shows the bent of the Magistrate's mind which has failed to grasp the real significance of Mr. Durgadas' action which is anything but courting notoriety: 'His (Mr. Durgadas') intention was to get a handle and an opportunity to go to a criminal court and then get an order which whether in his favour or otherwise would obtain him notoriety and at the same time give him occasion to take up a point—though once decided, yet a sore point—among some stiff-necked Indian politicians.' The learned Magistrate seems to forget that the Judicial Commissioner's Court is not infallible, and instances are not wanting in which High Court Judges have reversed their own decisions when the matter has been put in a different light before them."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the amalgamation of the Bombay University Matriculation Examination and the School Final.

Rást Goftár (27), 24th June, Eng. cols.

***40.** Referring to the amalgamation of the Matriculation and School Final Examinations, the *Rást Goftár* writes:—"The arrangement though not altogether satisfactory in so far as it involves a loss to the University of undisturbed control of the Matriculation is by way of a makeshift as convenient a compromise as can be effected between the two examinations which by their rivalry have long set up a stumbling block in the way of the reform of secondary education. The worst outcome of this dual system of examination was reached when Government refused to recognise the Matriculation as a qualifying standard for the lower grades of public service. Students, school-masters and the Government were losers alike by that decision.......... A set of conditions arose out of the rivalry between the two examinations which was thus detrimental to every one concerned.......... The arrangement that has been arrived at would obviate at least for five years the anomaly of this dual system of examination and the public will have the opportunity in the meanwhile of judging of the relative merits of the present and the past systems."

Alleged collusion between the University authorities and Examiners to keep down the number of passes at the Matriculation Examination.

Message (5), 19th June.

41. "A rumour is strongly current in the city, which we sincerely hope is not true. It is somehow stated and is largely believed that the large percentage of failures at the recent Matriculation Examination of the Bombay University was not due to the incompetence of the candidates. But the rumour says that it is the result of collaboration and collusion on the part of certain very high University officers and the various examiners were prevailed upon at the last moment to cut down the percentage of successes to 30. Although the actual results are slightly in excess of that limit, great consternation has been caused by the rumour now current. If there is an iota of truth in it, it threatens to sap the very foundations of our University life and its independence."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Proposed reconstitution of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Sánj Vartamán (28), 22nd June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 23rd June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 23rd June.

42. *Apropos* of the resolution brought by Dr. Sukhia in a recent meeting of the Bombay Municipal Corporation whereby he sought to deprive the Justices of the Peace of the right to elect members to the Corporation the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that in view of the existence of a caucus among the Justices which has robbed their election of its independent character and in view of the great advance in education, in public spirit and the general capacity of the people, it has become necessary that the election by the J. P.'s should cease so that the Municipal franchise may be further extended among the rate-paying public. The paper also suggests the abolition of nomination of members by Government and believes that a city like Bombay should have received the fullest measure of freedom in the matter of Local Self-government as long as a decade ago. It is also of opinion that the graduates of the Bombay University should now have the right to return four representatives instead of two as hitherto and that, like the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau should also have the right to return their own representatives. It remarks that the citizens of the different wards should hold meetings for demanding these rights. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* suggests that if the election by the Justices cannot be completely abolished, they may be allowed to return only five members instead of 16 as at present and the remaining eleven seats so made free may be distributed among the different wards and that tenants having a monthly income of Rs. 100 and above should be allowed the exercise of the municipal franchise. The paper characterises the present system of municipal election in Bombay as antiquated and of a retrograde character. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also favours the reservation of the right of returning four-fifths of the total number of members to the rate-payers and the extension of the municipal franchise to the tenant class. It, however, advocates the retention of the right of election by the J. P.'s observing that those who cry loud against the existence of the caucus among the Justices outdo those whom they condemn by their own excessive "canvassing". The paper endorses the suggestion made in certain quarters for abolishing the system of nomination by Government.]

The Ahmedabad Municipality and its Municipal Commissioner.

Praja Bandhu (24), 17th June, Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti Punch* (14), 17th June, Eng. cols.

43. The *Praja Bandhu* quotes at length the Resolution passed by the Ahmedabad Municipality declaring that Mr. Shillidy should not continue as Municipal Commissioner, and remarks :—"The wording of the Resolution is pretty strong, but we think it is well warranted in view of the inexplicably defiant and uncompromising attitude of the Municipal Commissioner. This must be regarded as reprehensible in the case of any public servant, but it is the more so in the case of one who belongs to the Indian Civil Service, and whose official rank in British service entitles him to be put in charge of a whole sub-division comprising two, three or even more talukas......... It need hardly be said that Mr. Patel's Resolution is a significant sign of the times, inasmuch as it is for the first time since the appointment of Municipal Commissioners that a Resolution like this is passed by a Municipal Board with reference to its highest executive officer......... The Resolution will in due course reach the Bombay Government, and we shall await with interest to learn what action, if any, they propose to take in connection with it. As for the Municipal Commissioner, we have no means of knowing what he proposes to do after the Board has passed the above Resolution. It is, however, quite obvious that it is getting hot for him, and if he wishes to stick to the present post he will have to mend his ways and be more vigilant in safeguarding the interests of the Municipality, which presumably is one of his prime duties. On the other hand if he desires to throw up the job we have nothing more to say except that the sooner he does so the better for the Municipality as well as

for himself." [The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—"The Resolution requests Government to remove the present Commissioner. We do not think that merely replacing him by another person will mend everything. The present Commissioner is a strong man and one who knows how to keep his house in order. His only fault is that he thinks himself to be above the General Board. If we get as his successor a person who takes things easily, we do not think we will have made a change for the better. What we want is a strong executive head like the present Commissioner, but one who keeps within his own bounds and does not transgress upon the powers of the General Board."]

44. A resident of Karjat (district Kolába) complains in the columns of the *Kesari* that the notifications about the house-tax and conservancy cess were not properly advertised at Karjat and that the people had no opportunities to present their objections against them and that numerous applications were forwarded to the authorities and that in reply a memorandum was received from the Collector stating that the applications afforded no sufficient grounds for negativing the proposals. He states that the residents of Karjat are much harassed and he draws the attention of the Honourable Member representing the division to the question hoping that he will take it up.

Protest against declaring Karjat (district Kolába) to be a Notified Area.

Kesari (92), 19th June.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 28th June 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

H 191—6 CON

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 26 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 30th June 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Are the Government of India placing themselves at the head of the best national forces in India as advised by the *Times of India*? . 4

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons on the Madras internments . . . . 9 & 10

Comments on Miss Hamabai Petit's donation to the Home Rule League 13

Comments on the Bombay Government's circular about keeping students aloof from politics 14

Comments on the cancellation by certain United Provinces leaders of a meeting in connection with the Indian Defence Force as a protest against the Madras internments. . . . . . . 19—21

Comments on the decision of the Government of India accepting the principle involved in the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel's Bill for the conditional introduction of free and compulsory education within Municipal areas in the Bombay Presidency 29

Comments on the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two assistants . 5—8

Comments on the proposed retaliatory measures against the alleged repressive policy of Government 16

Comparison between freedom of speech in South Africa and India . 25

Condemnation of the proposal to erect a temple of Shivaji at Poona . 28

Death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji . . . . 26 & 27

Government and Indian industries 22

India is bound to get *Swarájya* under British suzerainty . . . 3

It is not by co-operation with the British that Indians can get what they want 1

Lord Pentland and the students working as volunteers at the Cuddalore Conference 15

Muhammadan attitude towards the Home Rule ideal 23

Resolve of members of the Tilak Home Rule League not to recant even if the League is declared unlawful by Government . . 11

Suggested adoption of "boycott" as a weapon against repressive measures 18

The favour shown recently to Ireland by the British Government is due to pressure from the United States: Alleged similarity between the positions of Ireland and India . . . 24

The potent weapon of "Swadeshi-at-a-sacrifice" 17

What should be India's programme of agitation against the bureaucracy 2

Why Mr. B. C. Pal advocates Home Rule for India 12

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Hajis: Appeal to Government and the Bombay Haj Committee to arrange to provide the few steamers necessary for the Haj traffic this year . 44

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay: Comments on the proposed public movement for securing an extension of the term of His Excellency Lord Willingdon . . . . 33—35

India Council: Comments on the new appointments of Indian members to the— . . . . 36—39

Indians in the Colonies: Treatment of Indians in South Africa . . . 40

Judicial matters: Comments on the case filed by Mr. Durgadas B. Advani against two railway officials at Karáchi. 42

Police: Alleged grossly insulting behaviour of a policeman towards Mr. Lele (of Wái) during a religious meeting 41

Sind: The — Muhammadans are not so badly treated in the matter of Government service as has been made out by the *Sind Moslem* . 45

Vaccination: Comments on the conviction of two school-masters of Karáchi for refusing to have their children vaccinated 43

War:

- Comments on the Report of the Mesopotamia Commission . . . 31
- The situation in Russia 32
- There are a lot of officers in civil employ in India who could be released for service at the Front 30

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay: The reform of the — Municipal Corporation . . . . . 46 & 47

Shikárpur: Alleged Municipal neglect at — (Sind) in connection with fires 48

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

It is not by co-operation with the British that Indians can get what they want.

Mahratta (4), 1st July.

1*. "In the *Commonweal* of the 22nd instant is published the talk of St. Nihal Singh with Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha. In this talk occurs the following :—' .... In spite of all that has happened, we of the older generation have unshaken faith in British integrity, fairplay and justice. The case is very different with young Indians. We of the older generation are, therefore, taunted by the younger men for our faith in Britain.........' We would like to know if Sir Satyendra's robust faith in British integrity, fairplay and justice is still absolutely unshaken. The rulers here *are Britishers.* Lord Chelmsford, Sir Michael O'Dwyar, Lord Willingdon, Lord Pentland, Mr. Chamberlain are *Britishers*..........Britain in her relations with Belgians and Boers and her own kith and kin may be an ideal Nation. But that is nothing to us. Belgians and Boers and those who derive profit from Britain's integrity and other virtues may and will praise her to the skies. But all that is extraneous to us. How are we treated. That is what ought to determine and will determine our estimate of Britain. At this hour, no sane Indian can take it upon himself to counsel his brethren, young or old, to hug tightly the superstition of 'British integrity, fairplay, justice,' and quietly 'co-operate' with the agents of Britain in all their schemes. It is not thus that we can ever get what we want, namely, 'Free institutions'. Will Sir Satyendra speak out at this critical hour and give the people the benefit of his sober advice ?"

What should be India's programme of agitation against the bureaucracy.

Young India (10), 27th June.

2. "Vande Mataram" writes in the *Young India* :—"Everyone knows that the bureaucracy must have anticipated and must be prepared to withstand any amount of our agitation conducted in our usual way—meetings and protests. There must be something which may go home to them. Here is the programme of work which, if taken up in right earnest, will bring arrogant bureaucrats to their knees. (1) All the members of the Home Rule League over the country should demand immediate emergency meetings of 'The Indian National Congress' and 'The Moslem League,' I mean not the Committees only but full meetings with delegates from all parts of India. (1) That both the bodies should pass resolutions to the following effect :—(1) That the elected non-official members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils should be called upon to resign in a body as a protest against the action of the Government of Madras. (2) That no Indian should stand for election till (*a*) Lord Pentland is removed : (*b*) Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia are released. (*c*) A proclamation is issued announcing the intention of the Imperial Government in the matter of an early grant of self-government to India as outlined in the scheme framed by the Congress and the Moslem League. (*d*) All provincial governments are ordered not to take any action under the Defence of India Act or any other emergency measure against political agitation, except under the ordinary law of the land. (3) That a petition be submitted in the name of all India to the House of Commons, praying for an order to sue Lord Pentland for damages on his return to England. (4) That all people in the principal towns and cities of India be asked to strike work till Mrs. Besant and others are released and Lord Pentland removed. (5) That strong and influential deputations in thousands proceed to Delhi to wait upon the Viceroy, asking him at once to remedy this wrong and refuse to take food and drink or to leave Delhi till all the demands are satisfied."

India is bound to get *swarájya* under British suzerainty.

Gujaráti (12), 24th June.

3. In the course of a lengthy article, the *Gujaráti* writes :—The Morleyan reforms were bestowed upon India as a direct result of the awakening caused by the policy adopted by Lord Curzon and we hope that good will result from the blow Lord Pentland has dealt to public opinion in India. What India regarded as a distant goal a few years ago has now come within

the pale of practical politics. It seems we are going to realise the truth of the dictum of Mr. Lloyd George about one year accomplishing the work of a century. The suppression of Mrs. Besant's Home Rule movement will lead to that result. There can be no guarantee that Government will not object to the propaganda and aims of the Indian National Congress. If Government object to the goal of Home Rule, Self-government or *swarájya*, they should have declared their opposition to it when Dadabhai Naoroji announced it as the goal of Indian aspirations from the Congress platform in the year 1907. The more the Indian public pondered upon this goal, the more did they realise the low status they occupy in the British Empire, and the more they realised their situation the more did they strive to secure *swarájya*. They thought of *swarájya* as a panacea against the evil of Indians being disregarded and neglected abroad. Mrs. Besant has taught the Indian people how to cherish the goal of *swarájya* under the Empire and to carry on the agitation after the manner of the British. Her agitation was carried on openly and there was nothing of secrecy or underhand dealing in it such as could require the services of the C. I. D. to prove. She has acted as a guide in showing the path of political progress to the Indian people. Indian public opinion has been flouted by the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two associates. It may be a divine dispensation that these persons have been interned so that the Indian people may be stirred to strive the harder for the attainment of their goal. Providence is determined to give to the Indians *swarájya* within the British Empire and they will attain it the earlier the more the officials talk of postponing its realisation. At such a critical juncture who would fail to serve his motherland?

Are the Government of India placing themselves at the head of the best national forces in India, as advised by the *Times of India*?

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 26th June.

4. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thus concludes an article in which it discusses the present political situation and refers to the advice of the *Times of India* to Government to place itself at the head of the best national forces in India, etc.:—"If Governments like those of Madras and the Punjáb, with the approval of higher authority, confound anarchists with constitutionalists, if students are forbidden to attend meetings of which the proceedings cannot by any conceivable means be kept secret from them, if grown-up people are threatened with persecution for joining the Home Rule League or for persistently demanding self-government within the Empire, then it can be hardly said that the Government of India is placing itself at the head of the best national forces in India; what the Government is really doing is to array against itself those very forces which should be found ranged on its side. No Government can be congratulated upon actively working to bring about such a political situation at the present time."

Comments on the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two assistants.

Rást Goftár (27), 24th June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 24th June; *Gujarát Mitra* (13), 24th June; *Hind Vijaya* (new), 27th June.

5. Commenting upon Mrs. Besant's internment, the *Rást Goftár* writes:—We are sorry to see that the Governments of Bombay and Madras have given offence to public opinion by their recent actions. Lord Pentland's measure has spread consternation throughout the country. It would be unjust to say that Government have acted without any rhyme or reason. However, we are constrained to say that Lord Pentland's order is inopportune and hasty. We wish Government had adhered to their determination not to take in hand any controversial subject during the period of the war. We would like Lord Pentland to withdraw the order and to institute legal proceedings against Mrs. Besant and her two assistants if in his opinion they have been guilty of any crime. We hope the Indian people will keep their heads cool and not be exasperated by the step the Madras Government have taken. They would do well to refrain from giving any direct or indirect threats as no good is likely to result from them. [*Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—No Indian can help expressing his disapproval of the hasty step taken by the Madras Government. If Government believe that the *Swarájya* movement is being conducted in a hasty and improper manner they should have

pointed out the mistake of popular leaders and given them advice instead of trying to suppress the movement. We fail to understand why the Indian Government should flout public opinion at a time when attempts are being made to conciliate Irish opinion in the matter of Home Rule. We have no sympathy with those who advocate the immediate grant of *swarájya* to India, but we would like to see the Government of India using tact and discretion in their relations with the popular movements. The *Gujaráti Mitra* writes:—It is to be regretted that a reasonable man like Lord Pentland should take a step that is likely to stir up a commotion throughout India. This is the age of liberty and Lord Pentland's step is bound to cause a reaction. India has proved its fitness for *Swarájya* and Government officials should rather help the people than throw impediments in their way. The *Hind Vijaya* writes:—Lord Pentland's step has not tended to suppress the *swarájya* movement; nay, rather, it has given a stimulus to it and has spread discontent among the people. It is needless to say that the step is indiscreet.]

Praja Bandhu (24), 24th June, Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti Punch* (14), 24th June, Eng. cols.

6. The *Praja Bandhu* thus concludes its article on the Madras internments:—"By issuing the orders Lord Pentland has not only created a hornets' nest around him, but has seriously disturbed the even tenor of life in this country without any justification for it. Under these circumstances we think His Excellency the Viceroy ought to fully and impartially inquire into this matter, and if he finds that there is no justification for the step he ought to lose no time in revoking the orders of internment passed by the Governor of Madras. It will, indeed, be an act of statesmanship, which while redounding to his credit will suffice to restore calm in place of strong resentment and keen disappointment in consequence of the orders which the Governor of Madras has thought it advisable to issue." [The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—"The action of Government is *ultra vires* and the confinement of Mrs. Besant and others is an illegal confinement and we think an application to the Madras High Court for a writ of Habeas Corpus will be a proper step to take."]

Kesari (92), 26th June; *Shri Sháhu* (104), 27th June; *Prakásh* (99), 27th June; *Shubhodaya* (new), 22nd June; *Karnátak Vritt* (75), 26th June; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (74), 26th June; *Loka Bandhu* (76), 24th June; *Raja Hansa* (77), 28th June.

7. Why are respectable Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen like Messrs. Jinnah, Bhurgri and Surendranath rushing to join the Home Rule Leagues and announcing their intention to stick to it whatever be the consequences? Is it not because Mrs. Besant, who is determined to get Home Rule for India and who works wholeheartedly for the cause, is persecuted? Very few people are fated to undergo the persecution that leads to such results. We think Lord Pentland has earned the glory of a Pilate by persecuting Mrs. Besant. The conversation between Mrs. Besant and Lord Pentland resembles that between Christ and Pilate. Lord Pentland has given proof of his wisdom and policy by applying to Mrs. Besant the law that is meant for disloyal persons. The time has now come when it will be decided whether the power of the bureaucracy will be on the decline or whether the Home Rulers will be completely crushed and whether the uncontrolled sway of the bureaucrats will be proudly maintained in India for centuries more. The bureaucracy which rules over us absolutely does not desire that we should get *swarájya* for centuries or even at any time. Lord Pentland has made it clear to what lengths it will go to maintain its rule. [The *Shri Sháhu* says:—People are not afraid of the threats of Government. We request Government to retrace their steps after careful deliberation about their thoughtless action. The *Prakásh* remarks that the blood of the martyr is the seed of the Church and thinks that the Madras Government would not have issued such short-sighted orders had they any idea as to what they would lead to. The *Shubhodaya* says that Mrs. Besant's advocacy of Home Rule is responsible for her internment and that the Defence of India Act has been misapplied in her case. It further remarks that it is regrettable that Anglo-Indian newspapers that are as a rule against Indian aspirations are overjoyed at Lord Pentland's action. The *Karnátak Vritt*, the *Karnátak Vaibhav* and the

Loka Bandhu write in a similar strain. The *Rája Hansa* writes:—The Home Rule movement has not been broken up by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak being put down. On the contrary, it has gained in enthusiasm and spirit. It is man's natural right to demand Home Rule and we shall commit a sin if we do not ask for it. Discontent will be surely created by the application of the Defence of India Act to Home Rule.]

Sind Journal (8) 21st June.

8. "Mrs. Besant has never preached violence, nor have her two co-workers condemned by the Madras Government done so. But simply because they have the courage of their convictions and can call a spade a spade they have been muzzled. Such is the wisdom of the bureaucracy which does not see what mischief it is doing in its zeal to prolong the tenure of its life indefinitely. The whole country resents the injustice done to Mrs. Besant and her two worthy lieutenants whose only fault is that they love India more than their own persons. The threats of Lord Pentland, instead of driving people into despair, have nerved them to carry on the constitutional agitation for self-government within the Empire with even greater vigour than before.......... Shall India alone be tongue-tied and shall her revered leaders be punished for advocating the cause of the Motherland? Mrs. Besant and her two devoted colleagues are suffering for a just and noble cause and their sufferings will not be in vain. It is easy to silence individuals, but who can muzzle a whole nation?"

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons on the Madras internments.

Young India (10), 27th June.

9. "Mr. Chamberlain's statement completely unmasks the attitude of Government towards the aspirations of the people. The policy of repression, which has now been inaugurated, is only the beginning of the end, and after all, poor Lord Pentland is not the instrument of his own will. It is part of a concerted plan of action to put down popular demands and grant only such as might appeal to the bureaucrats.......... Anyway, the frank avowal of Mr. Chamberlain ought to set at rest all speculation regarding the future of British policy in India. The infallible bureaucrats have completely got the ears both of the Viceroy and the Great Mogul of the India Office, and they are not prepared to part with the least fraction of real power to other hands, however legitimate those hands may be. Without going out of their way, they will try to throw some small crumbs from their luxurious tables. If you want you may pick them up and be grateful in return."

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 30th June.

10. Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons that he approves of the internment orders of the Government of Madras leaves no room for hope that the Home Government will check the repressive policy of our Government. This will only strengthen our determination to ceaselessly carry on the agitation for *swarájya*. People realise now the necessity of sinking all their differences and working in harmony at this time.

Resolve of members of the Tilak Home Rule League not to recant even if the League is declared unlawful by Government.

**Mahratta* (4), 1st July; *Kesari* (92), 26th June.

11. "More than 800 members of the Tilak Home Rule League have intimated in writing to the Secretary of the League that they have resolved not to retrace their steps even if the demand for Home Rule as defined in the Congress Resolution of last year be declared unlawful and that they are prepared to face any penalties this their decision may result in." [The *Kesari* publishes a list of Home Rulers who have given the intimation referred to in the *Mahrátta*.]

Why Mr. B. C. Pal advocates Home Rule for India.

Young India (10), 27th June.

12. Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal contributes to *Young India* the first instalment of an article headed "Why I advocate Home Rule for India", in the course of which he remarks:—"I am an advocate of Home Rule because, among other things, I desire the PERPETUATION OF THE BRITISH CONNECTION. I use the word Perpetuation deliberately, in preference to the word continuance, because continuance implies that the thing or condition to be continued already exists......... So far as the people of India are concerned, the present British authority in the country is as despotic as the authority of the Tsar in Russia before the latest Revolution. This is the real character of the present British connection with India. This connection is based upon the Overlord-and-Dependent relation.......... There is, however, no room for any kind of foreign suzerainty in the Home Ruler's scheme or vision of the future government of his country. Home Rule and foreign suzerainty are mutually exclusive and destructive concepts. There is, however, one view of this suzerainty to which the Home Ruler can have no manner of objection. If by British suzerainty is meant the acceptance of the British sovereign as the constitutional Head of the composite Empire which will include both Great Britain, her Overseas Dominions, India and Egypt, the existence of this sovereignty will not necessarily kill or cripple the full and complete rights of free citizenship implied by Home Rule.......... The present system of British connection, with India as a helpless Dependant on the one side, and Great Britain as her supreme and absolute Lord and Master on the other, hinders the natural growth of her honest allegiance to the King-Emperor, and chills our loyalty to the Empire of which he is the Sovereign Head, and consequently, no Home Ruler, indeed no Indian who loves his own country, is proud of the noble heritage of his race, and conscious of the great possibilities before his people, can honestly desire the continuation of this system."

Comments on Miss Hamabai Petit's donation to the Home Rule League.

**Kaisar-i-Sind* (20), 1st July, Eng., cols.

13. "'Divide and Rule' has always been the policy of our Anglo-Indian Press. Notwithstanding the fact that a Naoroji, a Mehta, and a Wacha made every sacrifice for the regeneration of mother India it used to be urged that the Parsees as a class had no permanent interest in the political advancement of our country. What shall our Anglo-Indian Press say of the munificent gift made by Miss Hamabai F. Petit amounting to Rs. 15,000 for 'advancing the cause of the Home Rule League'? Is it not an undisguised indication of the fact that even Indian womanhood has come to realize that India's political salvation lies in securing self-government within the Empire?"

Comments on the Bombay Government's circular about keeping students aloof from politics.

New Times (new), 16th June.

14. "His Excellency Lord Willingdon has chosen to follow the fatal policy of Lord Pentland. If the two orders in Madras and Bombay declare the policy of the Government of India, it augurs ill for the peaceful progress of our country. The policy of repression in India has not succeeded before. It cannot succeed now. The latest threats of repressive measures from responsible officials of high standing have come as a surprise upon the Indian people. The Government of India must rise to a higher vision of statesmanship and must in no way try to oppose a movement that represents the cherished aim and conviction of the people of this country......... Failure is writ large upon all policies of repression. If repression has failed everywhere in the world why should it succeed in India? Is India not a part of the world where nations claim to preserve their own rights? We are not yet free from the evil effects of the Curzonian policy when a new storm is abrewing and we do not know if this is merely the beginning of a series of repressive measures.......... The result of His Excellency's order would merely be to inspire discontent and distrust.......... Right association is the first principle of all true education and nothing will excite the curiosity of students to attend political meetings more than the Government order for prohibition.......... Again if further coercive measures follow the results will be much worse. The thing is, and the truth must be told in clear terms, that it is no longer possible to keep students away from the new currents of thought and life in India."

Lord Pentland and the students working as volunteers at the Cuddalore Conference.

Sind Advocate (7), 31st May.

15. "Lord Pentland of Madras seems to have been seized by the ambition to outdo Curzon and Sydenham. He has done what no satrap or Viceroy thought of doing heretofore—the forbidding of students serving as volunteers at National movements where their function consists merely in receiving, honouring and waiting upon the guests from different parts of the country. .... Lord Pentland not only forbade this, but he rose to the height of unfairness and impudence by getting the volunteers of the Cuddalore Conference *disbanded by the police* (Schools and Colleges being closed, and, therefore, action by the Principals being out of the question), and what is still perhaps worse, he did this just on the eve of the Conference, thereby putting the organisers and the numerous guests to a great trouble. As a gentleman at least, he would have seen that this was a very wrong step."

Comments on the proposed retaliatory measures against the alleged repressive policy of Government.

Dnyán Prakásh (33), 26th and 29th June; *Sandesh* (100), 28th June; *Mantri* (new), 24th, 27th and 29th June; *Subodh Patrika* (38), 24th June; *Shetkari* (37), 24th June.

16. Every one will be glad that the policy of repression pursued by the Government of Madras is being universally condemned. The proceedings of the crowded meetings held at Madras and other places must have convinced Government that people will not submit tamely to coercion. It is, however, necessary to sound a note of warning against the various measures of retaliation that are being suggested. The heavy and unjust blow struck by Government in interning Mrs. Besant and her co-workers has naturally upset us all and tempted some of us to suggest steps the unwisdom of which they would recognise in their sober moments. The Committee of the leading citizens of the United Provinces adopted a mistaken course in declining to encourage recruiting for the Defence Force in order to mark their disapprobation of the repressive policy of Government. We must not join the Defence Force with the idea of helping Government, but to secure our own good. Governmeut put forth tremendous efforts to collect subscriptions for the War Loan; what does, then, their apathy towards the question of recruitment for the Defence Force signify? We shall suffer infinitely more than Government if the United Provinces Committee dissociate themselves from the recruiting campaign. Another suggestion, that the elected members of the Legislative Councils should resign their seats, is equally short-sighted. We fail to understand the wisdom of forfeiting an effective weapon of expressing our views before the authorities in this country. [In a subsequent issue the paper remarks:—To take the vow of *swadeshi* to mark our disapprobation of the policy of Government is to misuse the *swadeshi* movement. It assumes in that case the character of boycott. We think it highly improper, however, to inaugurate boycott under the name of *swadeshi*. The *Sandesh*, on the other hand, says that the country should push forward the *swadeshi* movement with the utmost vigour. The *Mantri* considers that the Allahabad leaders were not well-advised in cancelling the recruiting meeting as the Defenee Force is meant to defend our own country. It exhorts its readers to take the vow of *swadeshi*, and in a subsequent issue it comments with satisfaction on the decision arrived at at a ladies' meeting held at Madras to encourage *swadeshi*. The *Subodh Patrika* disapproves of the action of the Allahabad leaders in the matter of the recruiting meeting. The *Shetkari* says that *swadeshi* and passive resistance are two of the legitimate weapons in the hands of unarmed people to bring the authorities to a more reasonable frame of mind. It is absolutely necessary, it declares, for the uplift of India that every one should adopt *swadeshi* in its entirety.]

The potent weapon of "Swadeshi-at-a-sacrifice".

Message (5), 26th June.

17. V. B. Kirtikar writes in the *Message*:—"The bureaucrat says that it is an extravagant, nay, an impossible, dream for Indians to aspire for Home Rule at an early date, etc. The Indian patriot declares that he would prefer extinction to the vegetating life that is his to-day, under the iron sway of bureaucracy. The matter has come to a pass. Apparently this is going to be an unequal fight between the bureaucracy, having all the resources of the State at its command, and our defenceless people.......... Truce to your petitioning, memorialising and protesting. We have had enough of this soul-harrowing business! Why make unnecessary noise when nobody seems to be in a mood to listen to it? Why hold yourselves up to the ridicule of the pratical matter-of-fact world, by raising a din over a trifle? .... Not remaining content with expressing our impotent rage in equally impotent ways, we should employ the only potent weapon which has a great potentiality for good and which no bureaucracy on earth, so hide-bound, can deprive a subject people of. That weapon and the only weapon in the armoury of an unarmed people is the weapon of 'Swadeshi-at-a-sacrifice.' Its power has been tested and found to be of no mean merit in the service of those who employ it.......... Just give it one more trial please, and your victory is assured."

Suggested adoption of "boycott" as a weapon against repressive measures.

Message (5), 28th June.

18. "It will certainly not be an ideal situation, in which Indians will be forced to resort to boycotting British goods, in order to attract the attention of the British people to the conditions here.......... The late Mr. Gokhale accepted boycott as a legitimate weapon and in a speech at Allahabad he went so far as to say that even refusal to pay taxes was legitimate—under certain circumstances. The younger generation knows all this and will be tempted to take to the last resource of constitutional agitation, unless Pentlandism is stopped and people are assured as to the Government's intention of taking definite and substantial measures, heralding self-government at an early date."

Comments on the cancellation by certain United Provinces leaders of a meeting in connection with the Indian Defence Force as a protest against the Madras internments.

Young India (10), 27th June.

19. "We must congratulate Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Tej Bahadur and their colleagues on the excellent example of public spirit they have set to their countrymen. We had never flattered ourselves before that the so-called concession to Indians to volunteer for the Indian Defence Force was an indication of the trust of the bureaucracy in the people. And if we were eager to help them to raise a sufficient number of recruits it was certainly not because we were enamoured of the humiliations to which we and our young men are exposed in our own country. We wanted to make it a success because we looked primarily at the cause we were asked to serve. It was not the cause of the Bureaucracy; it was the cause of the Motherland and of the Empire. In view of the regimé of repression inaugurated by the Government of Madras, the United Provinces leaders cancelled the meeting called for last Saturday and rightly abstained from doing anything to encourage recruiting."

Mahrâtta (4), 1st July.

*20. "There is no doubt that the form taken by the resentment of the Allahabad leaders is a justifiable one. What could they say at a recruiting meeting? 'The Bureaucracy seems to be determined that you shall have no rights in this country and seems to be resolved to strike down with a heavy hand all agitation for Home Rule—which is a matter of honour with every true-born Indian. And, yet, boys, we exhort you to join the Defence Force, for advantages a, b, c are going to follow from your joining this Force.' To this possible argument at a recruiting meeting it may be replied: 'If the Bureaucracy is not going to help us it is best for us not to help the Bureaucracy—whatever the consequences. Whatever the advantages in helping the Defence Force movement, the great disadvantage is that you will give the Bureaucracy room for representing to the higher authorities and the British public that Indian leaders are not very serious about their Home Rule movement, since not the greatest strokes against the movement rouse them to retaliatory action, such as the Irish and other people would take on a much lighter provocation. By outward act is the inward feeling known. It is, therefore, the right policy to give your resentment the most effective form possible in order that it may be rightly appreciated by the people who are not amenable to appeals of a chivalrous nature.' In fine, there is, in our humble opinion, ample justification for the attitude taken by the leaders of Allahabad."

Message (5), 29th June.

21. "We have always understood the conduct of the United Provinces people in dissociating themselves from the Defence Force as a protest against executive high-handedness and arbitrary conduct. It cannot have been a secret that the bureaucracy do not want our men, and the too many humiliating conditions and disqualifications which accompanied what Dr. Mullick in the height of his foolishness regards as the greatest privilege conferred on his race by a paternal bureaucracy are an overbearing testimony in the matter. People with a sense of national self-respect and conscience were not much in need, though the bureacrats with due considerateness spared the people the pain of telling them so openly. In these circumstances, no self-respecting people could enthuse over finding men for the Force. The bureaucrats are capable of helping themselves, and if they want the men they will find them. When they are making it clear in innumerable ways that they do not need our co-operation in this matter, should people be so solicitous to officiously offer it against their own self-respect?"

Government and Indian industries.

New Times (new), 14th June.

22. In the course of an article headed "the industrial outlook in India", the *New Times* writes:—"Now, India is industrially dependent on foreign nations and agriculture has become its main industry. This dependence on one industry is responsible to a great extent for the increasing poverty of India. Forty years ago the Famine Commission appointed to investigate the causes of famines in India insisted strongly on reducing the large percentage of the population dependent entirely on agriculture. But the Government has as usual slept over the matter and has neglected to provide for the necessary diversification of employment by a systematic encouragement of industries.......... When Bombay with its own unaided exertions began to develop its cotton industry, it was sharply reminded by Lancashire that India had no fiscal independence. Since the agitation for the repeal of the iniquitous Cotton Excise duties was naturally carried on by men who demanded justice for Indians in the no less important sphere of politics, all movements for the industrial regeneration of India were treated by the Government as seditious. Even now many Anglo-Indians do not hesitate to confound *Swadeshism* with Sinn Feinism. For a time, therefore, Indian industries instead of getting any help from the Government had to face its active opposition. The war has, however, come as an eye-opener to the Government.......... In its anxiety to exploit the resources of the country for England's benefit, it has pursued a fiscal policy which has only placed the country in economic bondage to Japan and Germany. The extent of the helplessness of India before the competition of these countries has been only revealed by the war.......... As a result of this changed attitude and the increasing strength of public opinion, the economic autocracy of Lancashire has been to some extent mitigated and the Government has seen its way to appoint a Commission to investigate the methods of encouraging Indian industries. Various Governments have appointed industrial advisers, but that the Government could have done much more than appoint a Commission and engage local industrial advisers is only too obvious. Failing to utilise the man-power of India for fighting purposes, it could have easily utilised it for the industrial needs of the army. India could easily have started new factories to manufacture cloth, boots and many other things which are necessary for a successful prosecution of the war. As it is Indians are only asked to do the work of digging trenches in spite of their martial valour and their inherited technical skill. This continued suspicion of India is one of the greatest disappointments of the war and its removal after it is over, if not earlier, will be the greatest guarantee of a disinterested attitude on the part of England towards Indian interests."

Muhammadan attitude towards the Home Rule ideal.

Akhbár-e-Islám (50), 25th, 26th, 28th, 29th and 30th June.

23. In the course of the first instalment of an article under the heading "Extraordinary haste for obtaining *swarájya* and Home Rule for India," the *Akhbár-e-Islám*, while recognising the justifiability of a demand for *swarájya* to be granted in due course, condemns the foolish impatience displayed in that connection by a section of the Indian public during the continuance of the war. It dwells on the evil results that might follow from the objectionable conduct of those who carry on Home Rule agitation among the youth of the country. The paper remarks that if the people allow Government to think, as a result of the impatience displayed by them during the present crisis, that they do not rely upon the promises made by the responsible authorities with regard to the political status of India after the war, it would not be too much if Government took whatever measures they thought fit to control the public. It does not believe that the British Government which is fighting in the present war for the liberty of other nations will play false with India by withholding from her the boon of *swarájya*. It observes that the population of India is chiefly composed of Hindus and Muhammadans, and that an overwhelmingly large bulk of the latter are so steeped in ignorance that they do not know the very meaning of *swarájya* and Home Rule. The paper further adds that a number of Muhammadans, who have been reading the exciting writings on the subject of *swarájya* and Home Rule appearing in several of the Extremist Gujaráti organs, have been coming to it and putting the following questions :—(1) What is the meaning of *swarájya* or "Home Rule"? (2) Do the Hindus want to take the Government of India in their own hands and keep the Muhammadans in servitude under themselves? (3) Have the Englishmen been defeated in the war that the Hindus are impatient to turn them out of India? (4) Will there be a (civil) war in India between the Hindus and the Muhammadans? If so, (5) Which party will the British Government help? (6) Is the rumour which is rife among the Hindus, that there will shortly be a rebellion against the Englishmen, true? (7) What is the object of the British Government in giving arms to the Hindus and the Muhammadans? (Do they want that) the Hindus and the Muhammadans should fight among themselves and they might make over the administration of India to the winning side? etc., etc. The paper then goes on to lament the ignorance of the Moslems and observes that its pen refuses to move at the thought of the domestic troubles that would follow the grant of *swarájya* to the Indian people in the present condition of the country. [In its issue of the 26th June the paper observes that Lord Pentland's advice to the Indian leaders not to try to rush forward on the path of political progress at a breakneck speed does not constitute an infringement of the promises made by the higher authorities to raise the political status of India. It advises the Indian people to possess their souls in patience till the end of the war. The paper, however, suggests that in order to allay the public feeling aroused at the present juncture the Viceroy would do well to invite popular leaders before himself and pacify their minds in some measure as well as exhort them on the advisability of maintaining peace and quiet during the present crisis. In its issue of the 28th June the paper disapproves of the adverse criticism against the Madras internments and observes that the people are not competent to probe the mysterious reasons which at times prompt Government to take a particular measure. The paper does not believe that Government will be terrified by the popular agitation. In its issue of the 29th June the paper remarks that the Congressmen are perhaps dreaming vain dreams in supposing that Moslems in India will follow in the wake of the leaders of the Moslem League whom they have managed to drag within the pale of their influence during the last two years and upon whose strength they have been gloating in carrying on their present agitation. It regrets that a section of the Hindu community has failed to appreciate the depth of the loyalty of the Moslems and adds that it will be surprised if that section succeeds in disturbing the peace and silence of the Muhammadans who, though their hearts are wounded on the spiritual side at Turkey being involved in the war, have stood loyally by the Empire and the Indian Government. In its issue dated the 30th June the paper exhorts those persons who have been crying out for *swárajya* and Home Rule to have faith in Government and to co-operate with them in bringing the present war to a successful close and expresses its confidence that if they act in that manner they will not have occasion to find their faith betrayed by Government.]

The favour shown recently to Ireland by the British Government is due to pressure from the United States: Alleged similarity between the positions of Ireland and India.

New Times (new), 30th May.

24. "It would seem that America was reluctant to give any active help unless the Allies at the same time swept away the dirt of injustice which disfigures their houses as well as that of Germany. It is American pressure more than the Unionist good-will which seems to have been responsible for Mr. Lloyd George's proposal to summon a convention to settle the Irish question. It is not a mere coincidence that the Irish proposals should have been made just at the time when Mr. Balfour was carrying on his negotiations for American help in Washington. We can now understand better the references of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon to the necessity of giving freedom to Ireland if we are to win the war. Lord Curzon made the significant statement that the Government proposals about Ireland were as much a war measure as any act which had been passed........ If this sort of argument is true for Ireland, it is true for India. A united and reconciled India would do much more than Ireland. It would be interesting to know if Dr. Wilson in pointing out the necessity of giving Home Rule to Ireland discussed the need of granting self-government to India if England is to emerge successful out of this war. Perhaps the American President has different categories of judgment when the freedom of an Asiatic country is in question."

Comparison between freedom of speech in South Africa and India.

Kesari (92), 26th June.

25. Referring to the discussion on the republican movement in South Africa in the local Parliament, the *Kesari* says:—We do not find much in the discussion. The point worth noting is that the question could be moved in the South African Parliament even when the war is raging and Mr. Hertzog and his followers who voted against the resolution and who did not consent to the cessation of the agitation were not interned. It is only in India that there occurs the extraordinary miracle of a man being interned for saying that 4/5th of the Legislative Council members should be elected and that they should control the Executive Council so far as internal affairs are concerned.

Death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Mahrátta (4), 1st July.

***26.** "Dadabhai's name will ever be remembered by Indians as it is indissolubly associated with the political goal of India, *viz.*, self-government or *Swarajya*. It is he who undauntedly placed that goal before the present generation, and adhered steadfastly to it when some of his pliant followers were wavering to stand by it in times of repression. That ideal has now been ingrained into the minds of the Indians and all honour to the leader who did it.......... Neither smiles nor frowns, neither cruel repression nor kind-seeming concession can impose upon wakeful Self-respect. Home Rule is a matter of Self-respect with the true-born Indian. We do hope that every Congressman and every member of the Moslem League will see his way to enrol himself as a Home Rule Leaguer and stick to the Congress-League scheme as the minimum that India must get soon after the termination of the war."

Rást Goftár (27), 1st July, Eng. cols.

27. Expressing regret for the death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"A sincere patriot and a great statesman who laid the foundation of the national movement in India, Mr. Dadabhai has done more than any Indian to advance the cause of his country's good. He dedicated to his life's great mission the devotion of a saint and leaves his name to posterity as the modern Rishi of India. The work which he has accomplished will live for ever in the history of this country and his memory cherished with the love and affection which a people entertain for a great national hero."

Condemnation of the proposal to erect a temple of Shivaji at Poona.

Arya Prakásh (11), 24th June.

28. The *Arya Prakásh* strongly objects to the deification of Shivaji by a temple being built in his honour at Poona out of a sum of Rs. 15,000 given by a pleader of Nágpur who has appointed Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar as trustees. The paper regards Shivaji a freebooter and suggests that if the people of the Maharashtra hold him in high honour they might either erect a statue in his honour or found scholarships in his name. It adds:—The inspiration of the movement must have come from Mr. Tilak who originated a similar fad in the shape of the Ganpati festival many years ago. We would not be so uncharitable as to suggest that Mr. Tilak has started the movement of deifying Shivaji so that he might one day come to be similarly treated, though his enemies will not place any other interpretation upon the matter. Idolatry is a superstition and the temple in course of time is sure to fall into disuse as happened in the case of the temple of Wanraj Chawada. We hope the trustees will find out some better way of utilising the money.

Comments on decision of the Government of India accepting the principle involved in the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel's Bill for the conditional introduction of free and compulsory education within municipal areas in the Bombay Presidency.

Bombay Samáchár (53), 28th June; *Hindusthán* (16), 27th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 27th June.

29. The *Bombay Samáchár* greatly rejoices at the announcement of Government of India to the effect that they have no objection to the principle involved in the Bill drafted by the Honourable V. J. Patel, under which it is proposed to authorise Municipalities in the Presidency to introduce, under certain conditions, free and compulsory primary education within their respective local areas. It regards this as a welcome decision on the part of Government and hopes that it will be appreciated not only by the people of this Presidency, but by the whole of the Indian public. The paper wishes that the Bill may at once be taken in hand in the local Legislative Council for the first reading and might be passed during the *régime* of His Excellency Lord Willingdon. It remarks that municipal bodies in other parts of the country should at once come forward to take the benefit of the decision of the Government of India in this connection. [According to the *Hindusthán* every Indian will be filled with joy at this decision of the Government of India. It at the same time expresses its dissatisfaction at the work thus far done by Government in the field of education and remarks that not only have Government efforts in the direction of the spread of education not kept pace with the steadily increasing efforts made by private individuals and bodies, but in some cases there has been retrogression on the part of Government. The paper inquires if the Government of India will see their way to applying the principle involved in the system of free and compulsory primary education to the whole of India since they have accepted it so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also expresses its gratification at the decision of Government. It attributes the great illiteracy of the Indian masses to the apathy of Government in the past towards the demands made by the people for the spread of education on a larger scale and remarks that those who adversely criticise India's fitness for *swarájya* on the ground of the ignorance of the people are themselves responsible for the perpetuation of such a condition of things.]

There are a lot of officers in civil employ in India who could be released for service at the Front.

Sind Observer (9), 1st June.

30. "The absurd allegations that members of the Indian Civil Services are shirking military service have again been revived in England, and Mr. Chamberlain's notice was drawn to these unmerited aspersions on men whom Government will not permit to take up military duty. It is of course ridiculous to attack these men, as Mr. Chamberlain pointed out in his spirited defence of the services but we think Government are in a measure to blame for retaining more officers than necessary. For instance, the Public Works Department can surely spare some men now that work has been reduced considerably. People in England and out here looking at the long list of officials whom Government keeps in civil employ when the army is calling out for more officers naturally conclude that it is due to the officers themselves that they do not respond. Too much attention appears to be bestowed on civilians and little regard to the number of military officers, many of them young and active, who are kept by the Army Department in appointments in the Censor's office and similar billets which could be equally well and perhaps better filled by superannuated servants of Government. If the Civil Services need combing, we believe the Military Departments require the same process more."

Comments on Report of the Mesopotamia Commission.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (25), 30th June, Eng. cols.; *Sánj Vartamán* (28), 29th June.

31. Commenting upon Reuter's summary of the Mesopotamia Commission's Report, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—"As it is, Mr. Bonar Law has stated in the House of Commons that it was obviously the Government's duty to take immediate action regarding those specially accused of culpability.......... We presume that some of those who constituted the War Committee then are still members of the Government, Mr. Lloyd George for one. Mr. Austen Chamberlain is still Secretary of State for India. We are afraid it will not be quite easy or pleasant for Government to take 'immediate action' regarding all those 'specially accused of culpability.'......... The Commissioners find that the division of responsibility between the India Office and the Indian Government in connexion with it was unworkable. As a matter of fact, this division of authority and responsibility between the India Office and Simla is answerable for not a few errors in the general administration of India; and it is not bad that the unworkableness of the system has been so emphatically demonstrated in this conspicuous case.......... Of those mentioned here as primarily responsible, all, except Mr. Chamberlain, have now vacated the offices they held.......... So, perhaps, in spite of Mr. Bonar Law's threat, we should not be surprised if the Report arouses merely academic interest in the Parliament and the country." [The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—This Report of the Mesopotamia Commission exposes grave defects in the Military administration of the Government of India. The fact that such grave defects do exist owes its existence to the practice of vesting all authority in the hands of the official class. In order to put an end to this system, official administration should be made responsible to the public opinion.]

The situation in Russia.

New Times (new), 15th June.

32. It seems the Provisional Government in Russia has still very serious obstacles to face. The Council of Soldiers and Worksmen's Committee at Kronstadt and Reval have revolted and declared the independence of their Government. The main workers for the revolution originally desired merely a constitutional monarchy, but as the irony of fate would have it Russia is tending to a state of anarchy. The hope that the conservative influence in the new Government of Russia would be powerful, has been blasted and we are face to face with a new internal rebellion which requires a mighty hand to put it down. The Provincial Government requires the help of the army in putting down the two centres and one of the most unfortunate incidents in the Russian Revolution has been the disorder in the army. Kronstadt is a strong fortress and a great naval base and will afford facilites to the mutineers to hold out and defy. And if this centre presists in its defiance it might rouse others to revolt. This creates a serious situation which will not only absorb the engergies of Russia but will seriously engage the attention of the Allies. If the present situation in Russia continues it may prove to be a bar to an early victory."

Comments on the proposed public movement for securing an extension of the term of His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

Hindusthán (16), 28th June; *Pársi Sansár* (23), 2nd June.

33. The *Hindusthán* approves of the resolution passed at a meeting recently held at Bombay in the local Municipal Hall urging the postponement, at present, of the consideration of the subject of the extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office as Governor of Bombay. It remarks that such a movement creates a bad precedent and that, every Governor being in a position to make friends in small or large numbers, if Lord Willingdon's term of office were sought to be extended now, a similar demand would be made in the future for another Governor by those making up his obsequious following. The paper observes that His Excellency's attitude in connection with certain political matters has proved to be unpopular and that His Excellency himself would be placed in an awkward situation if a counter movement were made by those who disapprove of the present movement for extension. It wishes that a curtain would now be dropped over the matter and remarks that His Excellency must now be exclaiming "save me from my friends". [The *Pársi Sansár*, on the contrary, dwells on Their Excellencies' solicitude for the welfare of the people in public matters and remarks that there cannot be two opinions on a subject like the extension of the term of office of a sympathetic Governor like Lord Willingdon. It, however, observes that His Excellency's constant appeal to the people not to discuss political matters during the continuance of the war has created disappointment among the public. It winds up with remarking that if His Excellency, who has won the hearts of the people of the Bombay Presidency, had encouraged political movements he would have been adored by the public.]

Young India (10), 27th June.

34. "A meeting of certain 'leading citizens' of Bombay has been called for to-day at the Corporation Hall. We feel we must protest strongly against this new move on the part of certain clannish people who no longer command the public confidence or its loyal adherence. Satisfactory or unsatisfactory, Lord Willingdon's regimé is fast drawing to a close and it is advisable His Lordship should leave these shores before the star of his glory as an administrator sets down completely and when he has still left some friends and admirers to count upon. We understand an influentially signed protest is to be presented to the Chairman of to-day's meeting.... .... We have previously commented on Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's suggestion regarding the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office."

Message (5), 28th June 1917.

35. "The coldness of feeling with which Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy's suggestion regarding the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office was received by the public ought to have made that gentleman think long and deep before he again attempted to bring about a meeting today of some so-called 'leading' citizens. We suppose Sir Jamsetjee regards only those who frequently dance their attendance at the Government House or on high-placed officials as the leading lights of the City of Bombay, and at such a solemn meeting these wiseacres of the city will be resolving upon obtaining for Lord Willingdon an extension of his term of office. Whatever one's own feelings may be towards His Excellency, there is no manner of doubt that the whole Presidency views with disapprobation his administration. Far from being a success, we must frankly confess that that administration has been more a failure than a success. To say this is not, we hope, to throw a damper on His Excellency's enthusiasm for varied social service. From a social point of view there is no doubt that Lord Willingdon's tenure at the Government House has been an unprecedented success. But that alone does not justify a movement of this kind."

Comments on the new appointments of Indian members to the India Council.

Message (5), 28th June.

36. "The new nominations to the India Council should serve as sufficient eye-openers to the public.......... The number of Indians is now increased to three. But how will it help the course of political progress in India? It is an essential part of the popular demand that this irresponsible council of timeworn autocrats and bureaucrats, which now acts as a dead weight, should once for all be given the go by and the Indian Secretary placed on the same footing as the Colonial Secretary in England. In spite of that, throwing a crumb here, throwing a crumb there, is to be strongly discountenanced if it is to serve the purpose of silencing political agitation in this country. At any rate the time is now gone when people can regard this as a substantial advance towards the goal of India's political aspirations. On the other hand, there is a strong suspicion that the object underlying the new nominations is to draw off from the side of Indian nationalism the timid, unwary or time-serving patriots and thus weaken the cause of Indian agitation. In our own opinion, it is a mistake to regard the present nominations as an earnest of greater constitutional changes at the close of the war. We have outlived the stage of tinkering with our political hopes by this sort of timid, half-hearted concession."

Dnyán Prakásh (34), 28th June; *Indu Prakásh* (35), 27th June; *Mantri* (new), 28th June.

37. It is an agreeable surprise that the Secretary of State has decided to appoint an additional Indian member on his Council. Mr. Chamberlain could not have found a man better acquainted with India's aspirations than the Honourable Mr. Basu. Indeed, his appointment is a triumph of the Indian National Congress. We are constrained to say, however, that he should not have accepted the post as he would have been of more use to the people at this time. As a member of the India Council he will not be able to do for India a tithe of what he could have done as an Indian leader. He will no doubt do as much good to India as an Indian member can possibly do. He suffers pecuniarily also by accepting the post. The appointment of Sir Prabhashankar Pattani will help to curb somewhat the reactionary policy of the India Office. [The *Indu Prakásh* remarks:—Whether the India Council should continue to exist and whether its expenses should be borne by India are important questions. The Congress has rightly been contending that the expenses of the India Office are unreasonably thrown on India. However, so long as the Council exists it is desirable that it should include Indians. But instead of Government appointing them they should be elected by the people. The *Mantri* connects the Honourable Mr. Basu's appointment with the postponement of the Congress deputation to England which was to include him and insinuates that the remuneration attached to the post induced Mr. Basu to accept it.]

Gujaráti (12), 1st July, Eng. cols.

***38.** "We have no doubt that the nominations announced this week will be received with wide-spread approval in the country. That approval casts heavy responsibilities upon the Honourable Sir Prabhashankar Pattani and the Honourable Mr. Bhupendranath Basu in view of the momentous problems in the settlement of which they will be called upon to assist. What their countrymen expect from them is courage and independence, candour and outspokenness and a full appreciation of the forces and influences that have been stirring the country. The fossilised members of the India Council require to be galvanised into new life and activity. That is not an easy operation to perform, but that is what India expects the three nominees to achieve.......... We would have been more glad if Sir Prabhashankár Pattani, the Honourable Mr. Bhupendranath and Mr. Aftab Ahmed Khan had been elected on the India Council by the elected members of the Indian Councils, and we feel they themselves would have cordially welcomed such a distinguished status and such an honour at the hands of their countrymen."

Bombay Samáchár (53), 29th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (25), 27th and 29th June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (19), 27th and 30th June; *Indian Loyalist* (18), 28th June; *Hindusthán* (16), 27th June; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (20), 1st July, Eng. cols.

39. Expressing its appreciation of the India Council appointments, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Mr. Basu is popular throughout India. He has rendered valuable services to India as a Congress leader. Mr. Chamberlain should be considered fortunate in having secured the services of such a popular leader on the India Council. We feel sure Mr. Basu will be able to throw new light on many problems dealt with in the India Office. Sir Prabhashankar Pattani's appointment will be equally welcome to the Indian public. He has risen from a petty school master to a high position by the sheer force of his abilities. He is remembered as a capable Dewan in the Bhávnagar State. The three Indian gentlemen in the India Council will be of great use to the Secretary of State for India in giving India its proper place and status in the re-organisation of the Empire after the termination of the war. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thanks the Secretary of State for increasing the number of Indians on the India Council to three and believes it to be a good augury for the political reforms that will soon be introduced in India. It is satisfied with the three gentlemen appointed and trusts that their appointment will not fail to give satisfaction to the Congress and the Moslem League and the Native States as each one will now have a representative of their own on the India Council. In a subsequent issue the paper says that nominees to the India Council should be Congressmen or members of the Moslem League or men having administrative experience in Native States and that they should be appointed after being approved of by a large majority of non-official members of the Viceregal Legislative Council. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while approving of the new appointments to the India Council, suggests that non-official members of the Legislative Council should be given the right of electing at least two condidates for seats in the India Council. It is of opinion that the India Office should be reorganised on the lines suggested by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. In a subsequent issue it declares that the *Times* is wrong in thinking that unrest in India will be quelled by the additional appointment of an Indian to the India Council. It is of opinion that early steps should be taken to remove the ignorance prevailing in England about India. The *Indian Loyalist* expresses approval of the appointment of Mr. Basu and Sir Prabhashankar. The *Hindusthán* writes :—It can scarcely be hoped that Sir Prabhashankar will raise his voice in the India Council as a true representative of India. He has done nothing notable as a member of the Executive or Legislative Council of Bombay or in the Viceregal Legislative Council. It must, however, be said that Mr. Basu's appointment will be hailed with delight by the Indian public. We hope men of Mr. Basu's type will always be appointed to the India Council.] [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—" Mr. Pattani, who made Kathiawar a model state and who acted as executive member of the Government of Bombay for some time is sure to prove a very valuable addition to the Council. Mr. Basu who is a staunch Congressman is an Indian patriot of the first magnitude.......... We are sure that Mr. Pattani and Mr. Basu will prove themselves worthy of the selection made by the Secretary of State."]

Treatment of Indians in South Africa.
**Mahratta* (4), 1st July; **Indian Social Reformer* (2), 2nd July; *Kesari* (92), 26th June.

40. In an article headed " the European Brute " the *Mahratta* says :—" *Indian Opinion* of the 11th May has the following : ' On the 30th ultimo a young Indian gentleman of education was travelling on a Johannesburg tram-car when a European who resented his appearance there, threw him off the car, while it was in motion, and the poor fellow was left in the road unconscious, the car going on, and died without regaining consciousness. The individual responsible for this act of brutaliy remained at large, and the community is going to know no rest until he is brought to justice.' What shall we say of this exhibition of racial feeling ?......... It would be interesting to know exactly the number of those who looked on in a let-alone spirit while the cowardly deed was being done. In any case, the news of this crime cannot engender in the Indian mind any love for the tribe to which the perpetrator belongs." [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes :—" We referred in the last issue to the sad case of an Indian who was violently pushed out of a tram-car by a European, and died from the effects of the fall. We should like to have a very small fraction of the admiration expressed by General Smuts of the conduct of Indian troops under him, translated into practice in the attitude of South African white men towards the countrymen of these gallant men." The *Kesari* remarks :—The white person who performed such a heroic deed was not even arrested ; let alone the question of punishment for his sin. Indians in South Africa are greatly excited by the incident. So long as brutes, who recklessly kill their brother-subjects of the same Empire, go unpunished and move freely in society, what right have we to blame Germans who commit outrages ?]

Alleged grossly insulting behaviour of a policeman towards Mr. Lele (of Wái) during a religious meeting.

Vrittasár (108), 25th June.

41. The *Vrittasár* publishes the complaint made by Mr. Kashinath Waman Lele of Wái to the District Superintendent of Police, Sátára, to the following effect:—On the 21st of June I was discoursing on a religious subject on the verandah of a temple. One of my hearers who was listening to me for a long time suddenly asked me to stop and on my inquiring who he was he informed me that he was a policeman. I desired him to show me the order prohibiting a purely religious speech. At this the man became excited and threw his shoe at me and defied me to prosecute him. I have subsequently learnt that the name of this man is Mahadik. I request you to inquire into this matter and take suitable notice of this man's conduct.

Comments on the case filed by Mr. Durgadas B. Advani against two railway officials at Karáchi.

New Times (new), 15th June.

42. Commenting upon the Magistrate's judgment in the case filed by Mr. Durgadas B. Advani against two railway officials at Karáchi, the *New Times* writes:—"The treatment of Indian passengers is generally so scandalous and disgraceful to the Railway administration that there is a strong necessity for starting a society for the prevention of cruelty to passengers. The Magistrate's argument about the vexatious and frivolous character of the case is too ingenious to be convincing. Because the highest judicial authority in the land has given an unsatisfactory judgment on a point of law, therefore any subsequent *bonâ fide* attempt to get it quashed or modified is frivolous and vexatious.......... Is the learned Magistrate quite sure that the Judicial Commissioner's Court is not in an altered frame of mind as a result of a new attitude towards Indians during the war? Cannot a court go back on its own previous judgment? How can a complaint about a wrong which Indians feel as the sign of an alien Government, the symbol of racial humiliation as degrading as the infamous Indentured System and which stirs our deepest resentment and acts as an obstacle to all good relations between the two races whom Providence has brought together for an unknown destiny, how can such a complaint be termed frivolous and vexatious, is what we fail to see.......... The magistrate calls Indians who resent this differential treatment 'stiff-necked politicians', but we prefer to call them self-respecting gentlemen who have the honour of the country at heart. Unworthy motives have been attributed by a local paper and the public prosecutor to Mr. Durgadas in filing this prosecution, but the insinuations are too contemptible to engage our attention. The magistrate's question whether Mr. Durgadas was ashamed to hear his learned judgment, reported in a previous issue, is highly objectionable.......... Mr. Durgadas has done a public service the value of which cannot be over-estimated. It is possible he will fail; but the moral victory will be his.......... Let there be a few more attempts like those of Mr. Durgadas and the fate of the reserved intermediate compartment for Europeans will also be sealed."

Comments on the conviction of two school-masters of Karáchi for refusing to have their children vaccinated.

Message (5), 26th June.

43. Commenting on the conviction of two school-masters at Karáchi for refusing to have their children vaccinated, the *Message* writes:—"We congratulate Mr. Tarachand, Head Master of the Karáchi New High School, and his Assistant for standing up boldly for their conscience and subjecting themselves to penalties.......... We have nothing to say against the action of the Magistrate himself, who has disposed of the law according to his lights. But we do enter our emphatic protest against a law which makes such things possible. After all, even in European countries where vaccination was first discovered, people have no implicit faith in it and their conscience is respected. Why should it be different in this country alone? The Indian, particularly the Hindu, looks with horror and repugnance on vaccination because in the first place it violates the first principle of the Hindus, *Ahimsa*, and, secondly, on physiological grounds vaccination is not a panacea against small-box."

Appeal to Government and the Bombay Haj Committee to arrange to provide the few steamers necessary for the Haj traffic this year.

Sind Moslem (new), 16th June.

44. In the course of a lengthy article, the ***Sind Moslem*** quotes the communique of the Bombay Haj Committee regarding the advisability of postponing this year's Haj. It dwells on the obligatory character of the pilgrimage and after giving the *personnel* of the Haj Committee remarks:—"We believe many of those gentlemen (who are all Justices of the Peace and who are all residents of Bombay) may not be unaware of the fact that the Haj is compulsory on all those Muhammadans who are able to go, and that Moslems are ordained to go there even on 'foot' and 'lean camel', and therefore great care is to be taken before giving them advice to postpone their going to the Haj. Our contemporary the *Hamdam* of Lucknow has rightly remarked that 'many staunch followers of Islam, taking life to be untrustworthy, would consider the Haj to be compulsory on them this year and would not care for any hardships that would come in their way'. The members of the Haj Committee may not be unaware of another fact also, that last year only 2,430 pilgrims could proceed to Haj, whereas in the year 1909 not less than 27,000 pilgrims left the port of Bombay for performing the sacred ceremony. And we believe the number of the pilgrims this year too would be very small. For such a small number only two steamers would suffice. It is, therefore, a matter of regret that a Committee consisting of so many influential Muhammadans (all Justices of the Peace) cannot arrange to procure even two steamers from the shipping companies to which the pilgrim traffic has been a paying concern since years past.......... We are indeed grateful to the Government of India who 'have been considering the arrangements' for the forthcoming pilgrimage to Mecca, as will appear from an Associated Press telegram dated Simla, June 5th, published elsewhere. We learn that 'it will only be possible to arrange this year for a very reduced pilgrim traffic'. As we have expressed above, the number of the intending pilgrims will surely be within the 'narrowest limits' this year too, and it will not be impossible for the Government of India to obtain the required steamers for the purpose. We, therefore, request the Government of India in the interest of both the pilgrims and Government, to issue orders to the Haj Committee, Bombay, to procure the required steamers and earn an everlasting bliss."

The Sind Muhammadans are not so badly treated in the matter of Government service as has been made out by the *Sind Moslem.*

Sind Advocate (7), 31st May.

45. Replying to the complaints about favouritism shown to Hindus in Government service in Sind and the hard lot of Muhammadans, the *Sind Advocate* writes:—"Equally bold and imaginative are our contemporary's statements of about 'One Muhammadan amongst forty Hindus' in Government offices, and the few Muhammadans who do get in being victims of persecutions. Because a particular individual has had to resign—he may be a crank for aught we know—therefore Muhammadans are in general being hunted out of the service as if there are not any more Hindus being dismissed or otherwise ejected. As a matter of fact, taking Sind as a whole, there are more Muhammadans now in the Public Service than have a right to be there, and persecution? No! No! On the contrary incompetent and lazy Muhammadans have to be tolerated and humoured and dicated (*sic*) by Hindu officers because the higher officials are too much disposed to patronise Muhammadans. Let the *Sind Moslem* try and study things a bit and let it try and ascertain facts impartially and not take the mere word of an individual, an aggrieved, perhaps guilty, individual here and there."

MUNICIPALITIES.

The reform of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Rást Goftár (27), 1st July, Eng. cols.

***46.** Writing with approval of the success of Dr. Sukhia's resolution in the Municipal Corporation about the reform of the Bombay Municipality, the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"The seats usurped by the Justices must now go to the rate-payers, and the city must keep itself abreast of the times. Bombay has lagged behind the District Municipalities with their right to two-thirds of their bodies being constituted out of elective members.......... The constitution of the Corporation must, therefore, be overhauled and the reform accompanied with the total extinction of the Justices' right to a distinct electorate. The Justices must thank themselves for hastening events to that end. They have formed themselves into caucuses of late years and with the aid and support which they have never lacked from the nominees of Government they have in the last few years often carried things in their own way. Whenever elections of any importance occur within the Corporation the caucus manifests its baneful activities and over-rides the independent part of the House. Such things cannot be tolerated any longer, and the Justices must now be dispossessed of their long exercised right to special election and separate franchise."

Sánj Vartamán (28), 26th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (53), 25th June.

47. Alluding to the resolution passed in the Bombay Municipal Corporation referring the consideration of the question of the reconstitution of the Municipality to the Election Committee of the Corporation, the *Sánj Vartamán* dwells upon the undesirable condition of things obtaining in that body as a result of the caucus existing therein. It remarks that the caucus is responsible for intelligent and capable members being debarred from the presidentship and enables persons with scarcely two years' municipal experience to be pitchforked as Chairmen of the Standing Committee. The paper seriously doubts if the Bombay Municipality can lay claim to be the premier institution of its kind in India regard being had to the way in which resolutions are passed or rejected in accordance with signs made in municipal meetings. It is of opinion that local self-government will degenerate into a ridiculous farce within a decade if matters continue in the Corporation in their present state. As a means to remedy the existing condition of things it suggests that election by the J. P.'s should be done away with and the present number of members, which is 72 and which is inadequate for a population of 10 lakhs, should be increased to 100 to be elected wholly by the public. [The *Bombay Samáchár* regards as anomalous the present system of municipal elections which permits landlords paying taxes up to a particular minimum limit the exercise of the municipal franchise while it debars from that right tenants paying rent on a scale higher than that minimum limit. It also does not favour the system of election by the Justices of the Peace and advocates the extension of direct representation of the people in the Corporation.]

Alleged Municipal neglect at Shikárpur (Sind) in connection with fires.
New Times (new), 14th June.

48. "So many fires break out in Shikárpur and on every occasion such a scandalous mismanagement is shown in extinguishing them, that one would think that the Municipality had a secret design of burning down the whole city with a view to confer on it the blessing of new and clean houses which was supposed to be conferred by the Great Fire on London. Not a single year passes without a great fire breaking out, the disastrous effects of which are always enhanced by the negligence of the Municipality. A fire in the uninsured houses of Shikárpur brings ruin and desolation to their occupants. In the recent fire it is said that the acting Chief Officer and nearly all the Municipal Councillors either did not turn up or appeared only in time to see the work of extinguishing the fire finished."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 5th July 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

O [illegible]
re[illegible]
ress, [illegible]
een [illegible]

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 27 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 7th July 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged evil effects of the present policy of Government against Home Rule on the public mind . . . . 2 & 3
Alleged use of disrespectful language in connection with the Prophet Muhammad in a certain Gujaráti almanac 35
Appeal to the Bombay Government not to prevent students from serving as volunteers at the Congress and the League and at Conferences 25
Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's opinion about Mrs. Besant's Home Rule movement . . . . 16 & 17
Comments on the alleged absence of Europeans in the funeral procession of the late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji 32
Comments on the extension of terms of Their Excellencies the Governors of Bombay and Madras . . . . 28—31
Comments on the internment of Mrs. Besant . . . . . . 11—13
Comments on the order of the Punjáb Government prohibiting the publication of accounts of a public meeting at Láhore . . . 18 & 19
Comments on the orders of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi prohibiting protest meetings against the internment of Mrs. Besant . 20
Comparison between the activities of General Hertzog and Mrs. Besant 14
Condemnation of certain Home Rulers for advocating boycott against English goods, without consulting other Indian leaders 8
Condemnation of the agitation of the Home Ruler party 6
Controversy about the application of the term *mlechcha* to Muhammadans 34
Criticism of the working of the Defence of India Act 21
Death of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji 33
England's policy in Ireland and India contrasted 5
Government and protest meetings against Mrs. Besant's internment . 15
Government's duty in the present political situation 4
Government's own educational policy is influenced by politics . . 26
How would Muhammadans fare if India obtained Home Rule? . . . 10
Indians are more fitted for *Swardjya* than Arabs, Turks and Afghans . 1
Suggestion that Mrs. Besant should be elected president of the next Indian National Congress . . . . 22—24
The evil effects of separate representation granted to the Muhammadans 27

H 130—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

British Rule—*concluded*—
- The loyalty of educated Indians is greatly strained by the repressive measures of the authorities . . . 7
- The *Swadeshi* vow . . . 9.

Forest Department: Complaints about insufficiency of fuel at Bhatkal (Kárwár) . . . 56
Honours List: The Birthday — and Bombay Muhammadans . . . 54
India Council: Comments on the new appointments to the — . . . 45—47

Indians in the Colonies:
- Comments on the Draft Local Government Ordinance of the Natal Government . . . 52
- Comments on the reported death of an Indian in South Africa by being thrown out of a tram-car by a European . . . 51

Passport: Suggestion that Pardanashin ladies should be exempted from the obligation to attach copies of their photographs to applications for — . . . 50
Police: Alleged insult to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir by a — officer in Bombay . . . 53

Press Act:
- Comments on the security taken from the *Hindu Missionary* newspaper . . . 49
- Comments on the security taken from the *New Times* of Karáchi . . . 48

Public Works Department: Alleged dilapidated condition of the road between Kasarkod and Bhatkal (Kárwár) . . . 55
Sind: The — College principalship . . . 58
Vaccination: Alleged inconsistency of Government in dealing with people who have conscientions objections to — . . . 57

War:
- Comments on a recent speech of General Smuts . . . 36
- Comments on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report . . . 37 & 38
- Complaint about the tender treatment accorded to interned Germans at Belgaum . . . 44
- Complaint that subjects of Native States are refused admission in the Indian Defence Force . . . 40
- Frauds in the Supply and Transport Corps . . . 39
- Japan and the — . . . 42
- Retraction by the *Islámic Mail* of its opinion that Anglo-Indians were unwilling to fight for their country . . . 41
- The situation in Russia . . . 43

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay: Comments on the intention of the — City Improvement Trust to take in hand the improvement of slums . . . 59

NATIVE STATES—

Baroda: Complaint that a likeness of the Prophet Muhammad at Kamati Bág, —, is injuring the feelings of the Muhammadans . . . 60

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(As it stood on the 1st July 1917.)

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay East Indian	Bombay	Weekly	J. L. Britt ; East Indian ; 70	300
2	Commercial Gazette	Sukkur	Do.	Abdul Aziz Shaikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 41.	200
3	Indian Social Reformer	Bombay	Do.	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A. ; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin) ; 46.	525
4	Islámic Mail	Do.	Do.	Saiyad Mohomed Abdulla Khan ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 33.	1,500
5	Mahrátta	Poona	Do.	Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 44.	700
6	Message	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	2,000
7	New Times	Karáchi	Do.	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswani, M.A. ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 23.	400
8	Phœnix	Do.	Bi-weekly	Jáffar Faddu ; Muhammadan (Khoja) ; 63	425
9	Sind Advocate	Sukkur	Weekly	Pribhdas Kodanmal Gogia, Hindu ; 42	500
10	Sind Journal	Hyderabad	Do.	Karamchand Gurumukhsing Mirchandani ; 35.	500
11	Sind Moslem	Sukkur	Do.	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 41.	800
12	Sind Observer	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	J. Leonard ; Anglo-Indian ; 50	375
13	Sunday Tatler	Bombay	Weekly	C. S. Menon ; Hindu ; 60.	1,000
14	Young India	Do.	Do.	Jamnadas Dwarkadas Dharamsi ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 27.	750
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
15	A'ryă Prakásh	Baroda	Weekly	Motilál Tribhovandás, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Bania) ; 46.	1,000
16	Gujaráti	Bombay	Do.	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái ; Hindu (Bania) ; 34.	16,000
17	Gujarát Mitră	Surat	Do.	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala ; Hindu (Deolad Bania) ; 41.	1,200
18	Gujaráti Punch	Ahmedabad	Do.	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh ; Hindu (Mesri Bania) ; 40.	3,600
19	Hindi Punch	Bombay	Do.	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár ; Pársi ; 59	550
20	Hindusthán	Do.	Do.	Ratanlál Atmárám Sháh ; Modh Bania ; 36.	1,500
21	Hindusthán and Akhbár-e-Soudágar.	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	2,000
22	Indian Loyalist	Wadhwán	Weekly	Ganeshji Jethábhái ; Hindu (Khatri) ; 64	575
23	Jám-e-Jamshed	Bombay	Daily	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A., Pársi ; 41.	5,000
24	Kaiser-i-Hind	Do.	Weekly	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin ; Pársi ; 34.	5,000
25	Káthiáwár Times	Rájkot	Bi-weekly	Trikamji Govindji Kotak ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 37.	800
26	Pársi-Sansár	Karáchi	Weekly	Rustomji Kharsedji Sidhwa ; Pársi ; 32	500
27	Praja Bandhu	Ahmedabad	Do.	Jagjivandas S. Trivedi ; Hindu (Shrimáli Bráhman) ; 38.	2,700
28	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Bombay	Daily	Mihirjibhai Palanji Madon ; Pársi ; 57	3,000
29	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	1,700

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI—concluded.				
30	Rást Goftár	Bombay	Weekly	Dhanjibhái Jiváji Dhondi ; Pársi ; 48	825
31	Sánj Vartamán	Do.	Daily	Rustamji N. Vátcha-Gándhi ; Pársi ; 51	7,000
32	Suryá Prakásh	Surat	Weekly	Nagindás Dáyábhái ; Hindu (Nágar Bania) ; 71.	550
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
33	Chandrodayá	Dhárwár	Weekly	G. H. Honnapurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat); 47.	475
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARA'THI.				
34	Kanara News	Kumta (Kanara)	Fortnightly	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin); 46.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
35	Dnyánodayá	Bombay	Weekly	Alden Hyde Clark ; Christain ; 38	550
36	Dnyán Prakásh	Poona	Daily	Gopál Krishna Deodhar, M.A. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 45.	3,000
37	Dnyán Prakásh	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	4,000
38	Hindu Missionary	Bombay	Do.	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. ; Pátháre Prabhu ; 48.	100
39	Indu Prakásh	Do.	Daily	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu ; (Marátha); 55.	2,000
40	Pragati and Jinvijay	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Anna Babaji Latthe ; Jain ; 31.	300
41	Shetkari	Ahmednagar	Weekly	Ganesh Krishná Chitale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Brahman) ; 48.	200
42	Subodh Patrika	Bombay	Do.	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 41.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
43	O Anglo-Lusitáno	Bombay	Weekly	Dr. W. F. Pais, L. M. & S. ; Goanese ; 36	1,000
	ANGLO-SINDI.				
44	Frontier Gazette	Jacobabad	Weekly	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 35.	500
45	Hind Vasi	Hyderabad (Sind)	Daily	Jethmal Parsram ; Hindu ; 40	500
46	Lárkána Gazette	Lárkána	Weekly	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 28.	700
47	Sindhi	Sukkur	Bi-weekly	Mulchand Bhágchand ; Hindu (Baláni); 39.	1,000
48	Sind Patrika	Lárkána	Weekly	Devsing Shámsing ; Hindu (Amil) ; 30	500
49	Sind Upkárak	Shikárpur	Monthly	Bhai Mohandev Ghanshamdas ; Hindu (Bhátia); 55.	300
50	Sind Vasi	Hyderabad (Sind)	Daily	Vasomal Kishanchand ; 37	725
51	Sookhree	Karáchi	Weekly	Jámatmal Lálchand ; Hindu (Chapráo) ; 44.	500
52	Trade Advertiser	Shikárpur (Sukkur).	Do.	Teckchand Verhamal ; Hindu (Gokláni) ; 45.	800
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
53	A Luz	Bombay	Weekly	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 36	500
54	O Amigo do Povo	Do.	Do.	Sebastian Xavier Vaz ; Goanese ; 40	805
55	O Goano	Do.	Do.	M. A. Fernandez ; Goanese ; 44	900

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI.				
56	Ákhbár-e-Islám	Bombay	Daily	Kási Ismáil Kási Muhammad Parbundri; Muhammadan; 47.	2,200
57	Baroda Vartamán	Baroda	Weekly	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár); 47.	1,700
58	Bombay Mazah	Bombay	Do.	Sorab Sheriar Irani; Pársi; 30	500
59	Bombay Samáchár	Do.	Daily	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocheher-Homji, B.A.; Pársi; 42.	4,200
60	Broach Mitră	Broach	Weekly	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri); 35.	550
61	Broach Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Jehángirji Ardeshir; Pársi; 38	500
62	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Tuljáshankar Gawrishankar Yádnik; (Audich Sahasra Bráhman); 35.	900
63	Deshi Mitră	Surat	Weekly	Maganlál Kikábhai; Jain (Visa Shrimáli); 41.	1,300
64	Hind Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Dáyábhái Kasandás; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 51.	1,000
65	Hitechhu	Karáchi	Do.	Harilál Válji Thákur; Hindu (Audich Bráhman); 32.	100
66	Islámic News	Amreli (Baroda)	Do.	Abdulla Ismail; Muhammadan (Memon); 36.	550
67	Kaira Vartamán	Kaira	Do.	Somachand Panachand; Hindu (Jain Bania); 41.	500
68	Káthiáwár Samáchár	Ahmedabad	Do.	Bhaishankar Chhaganlal; Hindu (Bráhman); 47.	500
69	Loka Mitră	Bombay	Bi-weekly	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi; 42.	700
70	Navsári Patrika	Navsári	Weekly	Harivallabhdás Pránjivandás Párekh; Hindu (Bania); 43.	400
71	Political Bhomiyo	Ahmedabad	Do.	Nurkhan Amirkhan; Muhammadan; 62	...
72	Praja Mitră	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	Jaffar Faddu; Muhammadan (Khoja); 63.	375
73	Praja Pokár	Surat	Weekly	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala; Dásálád Bráhman; 41.	700
74	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania); 39.	4,100
75	Surat Akhbár	Surat	Do.	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel; Pársi; 42	750
76	Vivechak	Lachhras (Nándod, Rájpipla State).	Monthly	Chaganlal Naranbhai Mesri; Hindu (Bhavsár); 32.	800
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
77	Jain	Bháwnagar	Weekly	Devchand Damji; Hindu (Bania); 31	1,800
	HINDI.				
78	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Rámchandră Vásudeo Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30 and Shankar Narahar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Brahman); 41.	1,250
79	Jain Mitra	Surat	Weekly	Mulchand Kasandás Kapadia: Jain; 33	1,200
80	Shri Venkateshwar	Bombay	Daily	Pandit Chandulál Mehta; Hindu (Sáraswat Bráhman); 48.	1,000
81	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	10,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	KANARESE.				
82	Karnátak Vaibhav ...	Bijápur ...	Weekly ...	G. B. Mannur; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 50.	500
83	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayă.	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Krishnáji Hanumant Mudvedkar; Hindu (Vaishnav Bráhman); 44.	1,200
84	Lokă Bandhu ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Gururáo Rághavendră Mamdápur; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhman); 49.	300
85	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	M. N. Tembe; (Karháda Bráhman); 34 ...	600
86	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ..	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	600
87	Rasik Ranjini ...	Gadag (Dhárwár)...	Do. ...	Gaurishankar Rámprasád; Hindu (Kanoja Bráhman); 54.	50
88	Savigara ...	Agdi (Dhárwár) ...	Do. ...	(1) B. P. Kale; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhmin); 30. (2) R. T. Karpur; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 35.	500
89	Shubhodaya ...	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 50.	800
	MARA'THI.				
90	Alhad ...	Sátára	Weekly ...	Narayan Hari Apte; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 28.	1,000
91	Arya Vaibhav ...	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do. ...	Tulsidas Govind Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 27.	250
92	A'ryávart ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shankar Hari Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 29.	200
93	Bakul ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi; Hindu (Bania); 40.	400
94	Belgaum Samáchár ...	Belgaum ...	Do ...	Hari Bhikáji Sámant; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 55.	230
95	Bhárat Máta ...	Islámpur (Sátára)...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Sitárám Athale; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 31.	400
96	Chikitsak ...	Belgaum ...	Weekly ...	Abáji Rámchandră Sávant; Hindu (Marátha); 54.	540
97	Chitramayă Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Rámchandră Vásudev Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30 and Shankar Narahar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 41.	10,000
98	Daily Report ...	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly ...	......	...
99	Din Mitră ...	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do. ...	Mukund Ganpat Pátil; Hindu (Máli); 30.	600
100	Dnyán Ságar ...	Kolhápur ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Vithal Mantri; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 52.	600
101	Hasya Vinod ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Purshottam Pendharkar; Hindu (Karháda Bráhmin); 41.	1,500
102	Jagadádarsh ...	Ahmednagar ...	Do. ...	Káshináth Bahirav Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 66.	200
103	Jagad Vritt ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Ramrao Balkrishna Kirtikar; (Pathare Prabhu); 42.	13,000
104	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit.	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Govind Náráyan Kákade; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 60.	450
105	Karmanuk ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Hari Náráyan Apte; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 49.	3,400
106	Kesari ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Narsinh Chintáman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 44.	20,000
107	Khándesh Vaibhav ..	Dhulia (West Khándesh)..	Do. ...	Yádav Bálkrishnă Bahálkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 51.	500
108	Maháráshtra Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Ramchandra Balwant Bhosle; Hindu (Mahrátta); 33.	200
109	Mantri ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Gopal Dajiba Dalvi; Hindu (Mahrátta); 40.	1,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
110	Modă Vritt	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Dámodar Laxman Lele ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	50
111	Mumukshu	Poona	Do.	Lakshman Rámchandră Pángárkar, B.A. ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; [illegible]	1,700
112	Násik Vritt	Násik	Do.	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 37.	300
113	Pancham George Vijay	Belgaum	Do.	Balvant Ramchandra Sohoni ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 33.	1,000
114	Pandhari Mitra	Pandharpur (Sholapur).	Do.	Govind Sakharam Bidkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin) ; 55.	100
115	Prabodh Chandrika	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do.	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 54.	200
116	Prakásh	Sátára	Do.	Rámchandră Ganesh Soman ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 41.	350
117	Sahasrakar	Poona	Do.	Valchand Ramachand Kothari, B.A. ; Jain Humad ; 26.	850
118	Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 37.	5,000
119	Satyă Shodhak	Ratnágiri	Weekly	Krishnáji Hari Limaye ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 32.	1,000
120	Shivaji Vijay	Sholápur	Do.	Madvalappa Sangappa Deomule ; Hindu (Lingáyat) ; 32.	700
121	Sholápur Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal ; Hindu (Telgu Máli) ; 36.	400
122	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Bombay	Do.	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 55.	1,500
123	Shri Sháhu	Sátára	Do.	Váman Hari Dhavle ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) 36.	300
124	Shubh Suchak	Do.	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Chitale ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	250
125	Udyam Prakásh	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli ; Hindu (Teli) ; 30.	50
126	Vaidyak Patrika	Poona	Do.	Mahadev Sakharam Date ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 38.	500
127	Vichári	Kárwár (Kánara)	Tri-monthly	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 43.	450
128	Vinod	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Kulkarni ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 28.	200
129	Vrittasár	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Purushottam Ganesh Vaidyă ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 26.	90
130	Vyápári	Poona	Do.	Nána Dádáji Gund ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 61.	500
131	Wárkari	Pandharpur (Sholápur).	Do.	Vithal Keshav Limaye ; Hindu (Chitpâwan Bráhman) ; 45.	300
	SINDI.				
132	A'ftáb-i-Sind	Sukkur	Weekly	Sháms-ud-din *walad* Muhammad ; Muhammadan (Abro) ; 50.	500
133	Al-Amin	Hyderabad	Do.	Shahnavaz Pirzada, B.A. ; Muhammadan ; 21.	500
134	Al-Haq	Sukkur	Do.	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 41.	800
135	Bharat Vasi	Hyderabad	Daily	Viruram Vishindas ; Hindu ; 36	400
136	Khairkháh-i-Sind	Lárkhána	Weekly	Gurudinomal Tahilsing ; Hindu (Khatri) ; 44.	250
137	Mirpurkhás Gazette	Mirpurkhás	Do.	Gurudinmal Tahiling ; Hindu (Amil) ; 36...	600

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	SINDHI—*concluded.*				
138	Musáfir ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Weekly ...	Abdul Wahab Khan ; Pathan ...	900
139	Prabhát ...	Do. ...	Tri-weekly ...	Gopaldás Lekhráj Thadani ; Hindu (Amil) ; 29.	550
140	Sind Mail ...	Hyderabad ...	Weekly ...	Parmanand Rijhumal ; Hindu ; 60.	250
141	Sind Sudhár ...	Karáchi ...	Tri-weekly ...	Khánchand Rahumal ; Hindu (Amil) ; 49...	800
	SINDHI, DEV NAGRI AND SANSKRIT.			...	
142	Hindu ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Weekly ...	Lokram Nainarám ; 28 ...	400
	URDU.				
143	Islámic Mail ...	Bombay. ...	Weekly ...	Saiyad Muhammad Abdulla Khán ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 38.	1,500
144	Mufid-e-Rozgár ...	......	Do. ...	Hazi Munshi Mahamad Husein ; Muhammadan ; 46.	3,500
145	Muslim Herald ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 38.	1,200

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Indians are more fitted for *Swárajya* than Arabs, Turks and Afghans.

Shubhodaya (89), 29th June.

1. The great men of England who love liberty and the curious individuals with us, the Anglo-Indians, have expressed many a time their gladness at the progress of democracy in Turkey, Persia and China. Why are they then so suspicious at a time when India is likely to get a portion of that liberty? We no not know the circumstances that are against us. Are we not skilful and wise? Are we lower than the African Boer, the Russian peasant and the half-civilised Persian and Afghan? We are the sons of great men who have taught the world. Yet one year is wanting to make up a century after Marátha rule. Let that go. Are we not receiving education for three generations under British rule? When wild Arabs, uneducated Turks and Afghans selling asafœtida are fit to enjoy liberty without British education are we not fit to enjoy liberty, trained as we are for a century by the British? Did you not affectionately teach us to love liberty? Have we no education? We excel you as barristers and doctors. How many of you will come every year to rule us from England? How many are you put together, Civilians, Barristers, etc. At the most you are five thousand. We have tens of thousands of men more intelligent than you. Can we not conduct *Swarájya* together? Give us the opportunities to conduct the administration. When we have no conveniences we have extraordinary men like Mr. Basu, Sir Ali Imam and others. Let us admit that few Indians have received political education. But train us with affection. Do not call us henceforward seditious. We shall not say that you try to keep us in dependence for your own good.

Alleged evil effects of the present policy of Government against Home Rule on the public mind.

Chandrodaya (33), 2nd July.

2. British statesmen say that India will get *Swarájya* by steps. Indians want a definite declaration by Government that India will get *Swarájya* and the first instalment in the shape of some important rights. When the point of difference is this much only it is surprising and regrettable that Lord Pentland has dubbed the Home Rule movement as seditious and that he has treated Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues as enemies of the Empire. Let Government give the rights demanded by the subjects or refuse them; but it is very unjust to gag their mouths. We do not think that the local and Imperial Governments are justified in getting angry at the Home Rule movement. The Governor of Madras may have intended to suppress the Home Rule movement. The Imperial Government may have ordered him to take measures. But we do not think either Government will succeed in its object. Many Home Rulers have announced their intention of sticking to Home Rule in spite of Government. Some have begun to utter the words *swadeshi* and boycott again. Some engaged in recruiting men for the Indian Defence Force have stopped their work. People who wanted to pay for the War Loan have paid to the Besant fund. The Partition days are likely to recur. We think the King-Emperor should pacify the people and grant them some important rights as the first instalment of *Swarájya*.

Gujaráti (16), 1st July.

3. The officials, helped as they are by the law, the police and armed forces, commit a mistake in thinking that the Indians are of weak intellect. Government have spread education in this country and since the people get newspapers to read, how is it possible for them not to institute a comparison between their own condition and that of foreign countries? Must not a series of thoughts be suggesting themselves to them by the action taken by Lord Pentland, the silence of Lord Chelmsford and the support given by Mr. Chamberlain to the action taken by the Government of Madras in connection with Mrs. Besant? Indians are fully aware of what takes place abroad and the opinions expressed on current politics and the political situation in India in other countries; and they are not kept in the dark about the high principles that underlie England's relations with other nations. They know that while Australia has opposed conscription they have not been able to get liberal treatment in the matter of

voluntary military service and that while the Irish rebels who were tried and found guilty were set at liberty, in India people are interned without any specific charges being laid against them for taking part in a legitimate movement for raising the status of the country. They know that while Government help Ireland, Canada and Australia to effect their own advancement on the lines of self-help they place impediments in the way of India. Mr. Lloyd George has effected catastrophic changes in England and the Parliament sent congratulatory messages in connection with the triumph of democracy in Russia on the dethronement of the Czar. Is it not strange that the Anglo-Indian papers, who favour the democratisation of Germany, should support the action of Lord Pentland? Why should not Indians be allowed to participate in a perfectly legitimate movement? English statesmen express noble sentiments in praise of the democratic form of government but they want India to be contented with the bureaucratic form of government! Are not the bureaucrats aware that thoughts of liberty and freedom are gaining ground among the people in spite of there being no compulsory education in this country and that these ideas are strengthened by repressive measures like the Press Act and by contact with the thoughts of other nations? The current of public opinion should not be stopped by repressive measures, but it should be educated and properly directed by sympathy. A current well directed helps agriculture, but a wild current rushes onward by demolishing barriers in its way.

Government's duty in the present political situation.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 1st July; *Gujarâti Punch* (18), 1st July.

4. The meetings that are being held throughout the length and breadth of this country to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two associates go to prove that the discontent and unrest caused by the indiscreet order of the Madras Government are on the increase. The continuance of such a state of affairs is not desirable in the interests of good government and the prestige of the official classes. We hope the rumours about the impending internment of other advocates of Home Rule will prove to be false. The adoption of a policy of repression at a time when India has proved her loyalty to the Empire can never be considered as farsighted. The reply given by the Secretary of State for India in the matter of Mrs. Besant's internment seems to have been based on one-sided reports. [The *Gujarâti Punch* deprecates the internment of Mrs. Besant and believes that the reply given by the Secretary of State in Parliament would tend to increase the gloom already cast on the outlook of Indian politics. It adds:—It is quite clear that the Home Rule movement cannot be suppressed. The people of India are prepared to resort to passive resistance to secure *Swarâjya* within the Empire. We would ask His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to take care to see that the Provincial Governments do not harass those who are prepared to resort to passive resistance for the attainment of their goal and would request him to break his silence and to take the lead of the popular political movement and to carry it to its destined goal.]

England's policy in Ireland and India contrasted.

Mahrátta (5), 8th July.

*5. "The *Times of India* compares in a recent issue the treatment of Ireland by Britain with the treatment given by Germany and the Dual Monarchy to the nationalities under their rule. The *Times* has been led into this task by the plain-speaking of some people that if Ireland had been a constituent part of the German or the Austrian Empire, the Allied Governments would unquestionably have declared her liberation to be one of their war aims. This plain-speaking places Britain on the same level of 'civilised barbarism' on which Germany and Austria are trumpeted to be. We are not directly concerned with this controversy. One remark which the *Times* has made in pleading for Britain struck us particularly, and it is only to draw attention to this remark that we pen these few lines. The *Times* says: 'Where either in her laws or in the admintstration of them, is there anything in Ireland which has least resemblance to the systematic endeavours of the Government of the two monarchies to obliterate national feeling and national distinction in the Slav and other non-German and non-Magyar communities? Whatever

England has been in Ireland in our day, she has not been anti-national.' This comment of the *Times* may be taken as a condemnation of every *anti-national* endeavour on the part of the ruling powers in any country. The British rulers in India—what have they been doing, and what are they doing? The campaign of repression with which we are now face to face—what is it, if not a campaign to thwart the growth of *National feeling*? With the Defence of India Act in one hand and the actual and rumoured concessions in the other, is not a regular attempt made to divide the *Nationalist Camp*?......... While the *national feeling* in Ireland has now been invited to co-operate with Government in solving the problem of the government of Ireland, the *national feeling* in India is sought to be suppressed with a high-handedness unworthy of any rulers who would call themselves civilised."

Condemnation of the agitation of the Home Ruler party.
Muslim Herald (145), 6th July.

6. The *Muslim Herald* characterises the agitation set up by some Hindu members of the Home Rule League as funny and unreal, and inquires as to how much has been subscribed to the War Loan by those whose princely donations to the funds of the League have been recently announced. It regards the decision of the Allahabad Congressmen regarding their non-participation in the raising of the Defence Force as unwise and unpatriotic, and it condemns the boycott (of foreign goods) as highly dangerous in these critical times seeing that a similar movement proved mischievous in more peaceful times some years ago. It is at a loss to understand in what way the ladies who are being enrolled as members of the Home Rule League will be utilised in obtaining the Home Rule. It criticises adversely the alleged policy of opportunism followed by Government inasmuch as they encourage agitators by bestowing on them high offices and exalted titles, and discourage Muhammadans by ignoring their loyalty. Finally it points out that Mrs. Annie Besant is *pro*-Hindu and innocent of having done any good to the Musalmans, and advises the latter to desist from sympathysing with her particularly as some past mistakes of theirs have caused much harm to their community.

The loyalty of educated Indians is greatly strained by the repressive measures of the authorities.
Gujaráti (16), 1st July.

7. Indians have no reason to be disappointed with the present political situation. History proves that man perishes, but thoughts and ideals never perish. Those who have propounded noble ideals may have died a physical death; but they are still present with us. The bureaucrats, by their actions, seem to be urging Indians to persist in their adherence to their ideals. Lord Pentland's advisers could never possibly have dreamt that by restricting the liberty of speech and writing of three individuals they were giving an impetus to speech and writing all over India. Indians are helpless, but they will effect their own salvation by keeping the ideal of *swarájya* constantly before them and adhering to it tenaciously. No one can stop the current of righteous thoughts. We are constrained to say that the loyalty of educated Indians is greatly strained by the recent repressive steps taken by Government and they find it very difficult to keep their thoughts in check, for their inner self asks whether the steps taken by Government are an indication of their changed angle of vision.

Condemnation of certain Home Rulers for advocating boycott against English goods without consulting other Indian leaders.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 7th July.

8. It is evident that prominent members of the Home Rule League have decided individually to preach boycott although the League itself thinks it inadvisable to associate itself with the movement. They cloak their movement, however, under the name of *swadeshi*. An article in *New India* leaves no room for doubt that they preach boycott under a milder name only. The movement does not aim at encouraging indigenous industries, but at retaliating against the repressive policy of Government. *New India* admits that the movement is started for a particular political object. If, therefore, there is any name for this movement that is more appropriate than any other, it is

boycott and not *swadeshi*. We do not mean to say that boycott is illegal. We have every right to inaugurate it if we find it desirable and likely to attain the desired end. But we should like the Home Rulers to tell us whether it is right to preach boycott without giving the other leaders an opportunity of deciding whether it is desirable or feasible. We hold that the Home Rulers are acting improperly in preaching boycott on their own responsibility and without the approval of the other leaders.

The *Swadeshi* vow.
Hindusthán (20), 5th July.

9. The *Hindusthán* supports the suggestion made by *New India* to the young men of this country to take a vow for using *swadeshi* goods, but it at the same time exhorts young men to be reasonable and not to introduce the element of boycott of foreign goods in their propaganda. It adds:—The *swadeshi* vow will be productive of good if it is faithfully adhered to against all difficulties. We should find out the causes that contributed to the failure of the *swadeshi* movement some years ago and should try to remove them. Our failures have taught us lessons and we should now take steps with caution. The present times are favourable to the success of the *swadeshi* movement as we shall not have to contend against foreign competition.

How would Muhammadans fare if India obtained Home Rule?
Islámic Mail (4), 24th June, Eng. cols.

10. In the course of a lengthy article, the *Islámic Mail* says that Government are really in favour of the ideal of self-government, rightly conceived; that the services done by India during the war have brought about a change for the better in the views about India held by British and Colonial statesmen; and that the British character is not such as to yield to pressure and intimidation. It counsels patience and moderation to the Indians and assures them that a measure of self-government is sure to be granted in the very near future. It then continues:—"The most momentous question for us is whether we are prepared for the change. India is not like Ireland. It is a big continent with an immense population of divergent characters and temperament. So far as things go at present, the educated few hold an upper hand in the civil life and domineer the masses in the same way as Brahmins used to do in olden days. Minorities have no opportunity of taking their legitimate share of public life unless it be by the favour of the Government who safeguard their interests by special measures. What chance was there for the Muhammadans to get adequate representation on the Legislative Councils, if Government had not granted them the right to elect their own members? The Hindus have never treated the minorities in an indulgent spirit and the agreement arrived at between the Moslem League and the Congress has proved unacceptable to the bulk of the Moslem population. Past experience teaches us that an alliance with what is called the bureaucracy has been more advantageous to us than joining hands with the rival communities to be made a scapegoat. Sir Syed advocated the policy of an alliance with the rulers of the land and so long as we followed that policy we never came to grief. The question now is what is the best policy for us to adopt at the present juncture: to sit quiet and let the majority get the power with which to crush down the helpless minorities or to chalk out a separate course of action for ourselves in order to safeguard our communal interests. We leave a solution of this problem in the hands of those who claim to lead the community and who are responsible to God and to the people for right guidance and judicious action. It is a very serious problem that they have to solve and we call upon them in the name of their national honour and in the name of Islam to follow the dictates of their conscience and not the advice of their Congress mentors."

Comments on the internment of Mrs. Besant.
Young India (14), 4th July.

11. "The bureaucracy, pursuing its methods of unconscious friendliness to the popular cause, is doing its best to impress upon the people of this country that in the issue that has been joined there can be no compromise. So be it. We for our part are more than content that the air should have been so definitely cleared.

It is something to know that repression, naked and unashamed, stalks the land.......... That is far preferable to having to do with an intangible antagonist, with foes in the guise of friends, with half-hearted protestations of 'sympathy' which in practice work out in the opposite direction, with gifts from one hand which are snatched away with the other, with all the deviousness, in short, of the political game with which India is so familiar—to her cost.......... A more clear or flagrant misuse of powers could scarcely be imagined. Yet there has been no sign of reprimand or disapprobation from the Government of India whose function it is to supervise, and control, when necessary, the subordinate administrations. On the contrary, exemplifying the proverbial rapidity of evil contagion, the executive in other provinces of India have succumbed to the example of Madras.......... The people of this country may, no longer, even protest when their sentiments and rights are assailed; the newspapers of this country are peremptorily ordered not to publish even the proceedings of public meetings at which constitutional protests and representations are made! The enormity of such a campaign is too self-evident to need labouring.......... No leader or publicist in this country, no educated man, no self-respecting citizen can afford to rest content until the constitutional *status quo* in India has been restored. The internment of the individual known as Mrs. Besant is a great enough question: the internment of the principle which is identified with Mrs. Besant is infinitely greater. And it is to this latter point that we think the attention of the country should be drawn. It is not Mrs. Besant, but Home Rule that has been interned, said Mr. Gandhi in a pregnant phrase."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 8th July.

*12. "The *Pioneer* challenges the Members of the Imperial Legislative Council who have protested against the action of the Madras Government interning Mrs. Besant, to raise the matter in the Council when it meets for the autumn session. 'It is one thing', says our contemporary, 'to indulge in platform rhetoric at public meetings and quite another to put forward allegations where declamation can be met by facts'. Our contemporary well knows that the standing official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council will swallow everything put forward from the Government side irrespective of its intrinsic value either as fact or argument. It is, therefore, quite safe in challenging the Indian non-official members to raise any question in that Chamber. The effect of the standing official majority ready to be convinced of the rightness of anything which falls from the lips of the Government spokesman, on the matter and manner of the latter's oratory, is well described in the last batch of Mr. Eardley Norton's reminiscences in the *Looker-On*, the Calcutta fortnigthly. Commenting on the failure of retired Anglo-Indians in the House of Commons, Mr. Norton observes: 'Many men from India have in my time sat in the House of Commons. I cannot recall a single success.' 'It is one thing', Mr. Norton goes on to say in the manner of the *Pioneer*, 'to read out a string of platitudes and sonorous promises of favour yet to come to an assembly bilious for Khan Bahadurships and the ginger-bread toys of the Indian Empire......... It is very different to face an assembly in which every man is as free as yourself and unlike you is careless of red chaprasis and the Code of Civil Procedure.' Nevertheless, we trust, the Indian Members will accept the *Pioneer*'s challenge, so that, even if they are defeated by the standing majority of officials and their nominees in the Council, there might be a record in the proceedings of the fact that India protested, through her elected representatives, against the attempt to intimidate public opinion by interning some of its most prominent exponents."

O Anglo-Lusitano (43), 30th June, Eng. cols.

13. "The internment of Mrs. Annie Besant and her co-workers, Messrs. G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia, by the Madras Government appears to have sent a thrill of indignation throughout the length and breadth of this historic peninsula. Even those who hold moderate views seem to have been stirred by what is considered to be the high-handed procedure of the Madras authorities. Whatever may have

been the reasons of the Madras Government to act as it did, the blow is generally regarded to be aimed at Home Rule, and the unhappy expressions of Lord Pentland concerning self-government appear to confirm the view. The wound is perhaps bitterly felt because India has spontaneously given of her best towards the cause which has for its object the triumph of the forces of liberty and righteousness over those of despotism and corruption. Whilst pouring her life's blood on the altar of patriotism she does not forget the goal of her aspirations, *viz.*, self-government. The attitude of the Madras Government, therefore, has been rather unfortunate in that it has run counter to India's expectations and hence the profound indignation throughout the country as may be gauged from the protest meetings held in various quarters."

Comparison between the activities of General Hertzog and Mrs. Besant.
Message (6), 1st July.

14. "The South African nationalists are agitating for the establishment of a Dutch republic and instead of General Hertzog and his followers being interned or imprisoned for 'sedition' they are being seriously coaxed and persuaded by General Botha and his adherents not to embarrass the Government. While the South Africans were promoting a serious rebellion we were declaring from every housetop our loyalty to the throne and adherence to the Empire and striving by every means in our power to help that Empire; while the Dutch nationalists are crying against every little assistance in men and money, we were promoting the war loan and got for the Finance Member 45 crores instead of 15 which at the outside he had anticipated......... On second thoughts Lord Pentland says that the recent orders of internment were not directed against the ideal but against the methods, and Mr. Chamberlain has loyally endorsed that 'Mrs. Besant and her associates' were dangerous persons. Does Lord Pentland or Mr. Chamberlain say that General Hertzog with his anti-English propaganda is not dangerous and the perfectly constitutional propaganda of Mrs. Besant and her associates is! Or again, is it the opinion of these complacent authorities that General Hertzog's every attempt to frustrate the service of General Botha's Government was not dangerous and that Mrs. Besant's attempt to procure more money for the War Loan and recruits to the Defence Force was dangerous?"

Government and protest meetings against Mrs. Besant's internment.
Kesari (106), 3rd July.

15. Commenting on the alleged interference of the Tuticorin Police with the protest meeting regarding the internment of Mrs. Besant, the *Kesari* remarks:—If any one is breaking the peace, it is these rough Police officials and not loyal and peace-loving subjects. [The paper here deals with the order of the Punjáb Government prohibiting the publication of the proceedings of the protest meeting at Láhore.] It is the first blunder to suppose that discontent does not arise amongst the people even if the officials commit a repressive and unjust deed. To suppose that it does not add to the former discontent to disallow protest meetings and to prohibit publication of the proceedings constitutes the second blunder. Government may think that they should not be exposed by any speeches at the protest meetings and that America and other foreign nations should not hear of these things. But will not the Allies be prejudiced more by reading that even the proceedings were not allowed to be published than otherwise? What did the Punjáb Government gain by issuing such absurd orders?

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's opinion about Mrs. Besant's Home Rule movement.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 7th July.

16. In reply to Mr. Chancellor's inquiry whether Mrs. Besant's Home Rule movement transgressed the limits of the law, the Secretary of State replied that it was injurious and conducted on improper lines. This is no answer to Mr. Chancellor's question. The question is not whether the Secretary of State considers the movement proper or improper, but whether it is lawful or unlawful. If it is unlawful why do Government not have recourse to a court of law? It is our duty to warn Government that if they injure a movement which is conducted on constitutional lines, whatever opinion they may hold about it, they will meet with disapprobation from all sides.

*17. "Mr. Chamberlain does not seem to have been consulted beforehand in the matter of the internments of Mrs. Besant and her associates. Did this case fall under the class of 'grave cases' in which, according to Mr. Chamberlain, the Indian authorities 'must act in anticipation of consultation with him'? Every one knows that the internments recently effected were in the air for over a month before they actually took place.......... Mr. Chamberlain left the House under the impression that the Home Rule propaganda in India had already developed a grave situation, such as needed the prompt employment of repressive measures and rendered previous consultation with him unnecessary. This impression being absolutely contrary to the actual facts, Mr. Chamberlain has made himself responsible for a gross misrepresentation. Of course, he is in a safe position and can libel India with impunity."

Mahrátta (5), 8th July.

Comments on the order of the Punjáb Government prohibiting the publication of accounts of a public meeting at Lahore.

Praja Mitra and Párai (28), 1st July.

18. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes in a tone of severe condemnation about the order recently issued by the Punjáb Government prohibiting newspapers in that province from publishing accounts of the proceedings of the meeting held in the Bradlaugh Hall at Láhore to protest against the internment order passed by the Madras Government against Mrs. Besant and her two associates. It inquires why the speakers in the abovementioned meeting were not stopped in the course of their speeches or why the meeting itself was not dispersed if the speeches delivered there were calculated to endanger the public safety. The paper remarks that the action of the Punjáb Government would lead one to infer that the speeches were such as could not be proved to have trangressed the law and that in issuing the present order the Punjáb Government had arbitrarily used the powers vested in them under the Defence of India Act. Regard being had to the instinct of curiosity among human beings, it strongly believes that the object of Government in stopping the publication of these accounts would not be served and that on the contrary the public would get hearsay and consequently more unsafe information about the proceedings of the meeting. The paper observes that some authorities are not sufficiently far-sighted and seem to labour under the erroneous belief that they uphold the prestige of British rule in India by displaying the wide and arbitrary powers they hold and are in a position to wield.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 3rd July; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 8th July, Eng. cols.

19. Every one will be dismayed to learn that the Punjab Government has prohibited the newspapers, under the Defence of India Act, from publishing an account of the meeting held at the Bradlaugh Hall against the Madras internments. Do the Punjab Government suppose that all the speeches delivered at the Bradlaugh Hall come under the Defence of India Act? We do not think that the speeches made at Lahore were more violent than those made at Poona, Madras and other places. We fail to understand how the proceedings of the Lahore meeting could have endangered public safety when no such result ensued elsewhere. This shows what unlimited power the Defence of India Act has placed in the hands of the authorities. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"Newspapers published in other provinces are full of such reports and their circulation in Punjab does not appear to have been prohibited. What then is the practical use of the Order in question except to create bad blood?"]

Comments on the orders of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi prohibiting protest meetings against the internment of Mrs. Besant.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 7th July, Eng. cols.

20. Commenting upon the orders passed by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi regarding the holding of protest meetings in connection with the internment of Mrs. Besant, the *Prája Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"Now, similar meetings have been held everywhere. Local authorities did not like them and, as stated above, the Punjab Government went the length of prohibiting the publication of the proceedings of the meeting though the prohibition was withdrawn later on. But no local Government or authority went to the length of

prohibiting the holding of the meeting itself. Yet it has been done at Delhi which is the seat of the Government of India. Does that reflect credit on the Delhi Administration and, indirectly, on the Government of India? Meetings that are not interfered with in remote places are considered dangerous in the capital of India, for there is no getting over the fact that Delhi with its officials belonging to the time of the Great Mogul *is* the capital of India. The result will be that the discontent in Delhi will be deeper than anywhere else. In India statesmanship is at a discount, while repressiveness is at a high premium."

Criticism of the working of the Defence of India Act.
Mufid-e-Rozgdr (144), 1st July.

21. The *Mufid-e-Rozgdr* reproduces, without acknowledging it, a portion of an article on the abuse of the Defence of India Act from the *Hamdam* newspaper of Lucknow dated the the 23rd June 1917. The article in question reviews the state of affairs in Ireland since the war commenced and contrasts the generosity of the British Government towards Irishmen and the discretion of those authorities who are charged with the administration of the Defence of the Realm Act in England with the high-handedness of officials in India and their abuse of the provisions of the Defence of India Act. It recalls the circumstances in which the Defence of India Bill was passed into law and lays emphasis on the alledged pledge of Lord Hardinge that it would be set in motion against the agents of the enemy only. It maintains that it was not proper to utilise the provisions of this Act for suppressing popular newspapers or for interning leaders of the public who ought to have been put on their defence in the ordinary law courts of the land.

Suggestion that Mrs. Besant should be elected President of the next Indian National Congress.
Young India (14), 4th July.

22. "The various Provincial Congress Committees are busy suggesting names for the presidency of the ensuing session of the Congress.......... The final selection is yet far off. It is, however, interesting to know that public opinion is already asserting itself in favour of the unanimous election of Mrs. Besant to be the President. The country cannot show its disapproval of the reactionary tendencies of the Executive Government of India more emphatically than by electing her as President. A writer in the Lucknow *Advocate* has put forward a proposal to this effect. He suggests that Mrs. Besant may be formally elected as President and assuming that between now and the meeting of the Congress the executive will not reconsider and withdraw the order of internment a Vice-President should be elected, who will preside over the Congress and guide its deliberations. The *Message* has whole-heartedly commended the suggestion. The wonderful rally of the country round the Home Rule Flag, which was unfurled two years ago by Mrs. Besant, encourages us in the belief that it will readily respond to the suggestion, than which there cannot be a better way of showing its appreciation of her devoted services."

Mahrátta (5), 8th July.

***23.** "Who should preside over the session of the Congress this year? This question is very important. The Reception Committee of the Congress has sent out notices to the Congress Committees calling upon them to send in their nominations for the Presidential honour. It seems only proper, in view of the universal condemnation of the internment of Mrs. Besant, that this devoted lover of our country should be accorded the honour as a mark of our appreciation of her great services to our country and at the same time as a mark of our supreme indifference to what the authorities think of her and would have us think of her."

Message (6), 3rd July.

24. "The country is now face to face with a definite and single issue: Bureaucracy *versus* Democracy; and it is the duty of everyone to concentrate at this juncture over that one issue. The President of the Congress should be elected on that issue and none else. The names so far suggested are all excellent, and it would indeed be invidious to make a distinction between them. But considering the critical times through which we are passing, it is our bounden duty to see that only the

person best qualified for the position is elected. Now that the Bureaucracy has opened its campaign against Home Rule by interning Mrs. Beant, we cannot better convince the Bureaucrats of our earnestness of purpose than by electing her as President of the Congress. That will not only be a fulfilment of the votes of confidence that have been passed but also a vigorous reply to the challenge of the Bureaucracy."

Appeal to the Bombay Government not to prevent students from serving as volunteers at the Congress and the League and at Conferences.

Sind Advocate (9), 21st June.

25. In the course of an article in which it condemns the Bombay Government's circular about students and politics, the *Sind Advocate* remarks:—"Whatever the authorities do with regard to discouraging the active participation of students in politics, it would be a sad mistake and a sadder disservice to the country if students are forbidden to enrol as volunteers at Conference and Congress or League. What are the duties of volunteers at such functions? Purely personal and social. The young volunteers learn to serve distinguished visitors from the provinces and thereby to imbibe practical love of country and its great men, and this quite irrespective of this or that school of politics and certainly without mixing themselves up in political propaganda. Whatever part they may be said to be taking in the Conference or Congress politics by performing the specific duties assigned to them including their attendance at the meetings, that part is such that any wise Government and a broad-minded and tolerant Government like the British should not at all mind it."

Government's own educational policy is influenced by politics.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 3rd July.

26. Owing to the peculiar condition of India it is difficult to consider the question of education with an unbiased mind. Whatever Government and the people may say about the desirability of politics not stepping into the realm of education, they are so completely interwoven that the one cannot be divorced from the other. The Secretary of State justifies the order of Government prohibiting students from attending political meetings on the ground that politics may interfere with their studies. The educational policy of Government, however, is such as would hardly satisfy people with this explanation. Sir Narayen Chandavárkar conclusively proved in his address as President of the Educational Conference that although Government preach that politics ought not to be allowed to interfere with the student's studies, their own educational policy is influenced by politics. While all the higher educational appointments are monopolised by Europeans, only the lower appointments are given to Indians. Have Government made this differential arrangement with the pure motive of spreading education in India or is politics at the bottom of it? Such glaring injustice cannot escape the notice of students and is sure to engender such thoughts in their minds as no mischievous speaker in a political meeting can engender.

The evil effects of separate representation granted to the Muhammadans.

New Times (7), 26th May.

27. Discussing the "Principle of special representation" the *New Times* makes the following comments on the special representation granted to the Muhammadans:—"As long as Government persists in these crude methods of giving relief to important minorities inspite of the existence of better methods in the form of various schemes of proportional representation, it cannot entirely escape this suspicion [that separate representation is a device of Government to set one community against another]. That separate representation has created much distrust and disunion in the country nobody, least of all Government, ventures to deny. It has created two nations out of India, but what is not known is that it has done the greatest harm to the community which it is supposed to benefit. The unity of the Muhammadans is at once destroyed as soon as they are treated as a class apart with no external pressure to induce them to preserve a united front. Their unity at once dissolves as soon as there are two or more rival Muhammadans bidding for the favour of the community, which is exactly what happens under separate representation... ...... It encourages those insincere religious benefactions which have figured so largely in the recent Muslim election petitions. Fanaticism is encouraged at the expense of moderation with the result that the task of Government becomes difficult when the extreme representatives meet in the common council. These *a priori* deductions are borne out by facts of recent Muslim history. The Muslim disunion dates from the day on which they got special representation in the Councils."

Comments on the extension of terms of Their Excellencies the Governors of Bombay and Madras.

Young India (14), 4th July.

28. "That Mr. Chamberlain, with the approval of His Majesty, should have invited these two 'distinguhished' statesmen to remain at the helm of affairs in Bombay and Madras is not at all extraordinary. They have shown themselves ready to stand by the policy which now is in so much favour with the India Office and the present *personnel* of the Government of India. A Secretary of State, who has from the very beginning of his career at the India Office, been out for dispensing his patronage among obscurantist politicians and mediocre Tory, lordlings, would not certainly like to part with Governors who have readily subscribed to the Chamberlain creed of autocracy in respect of Indian government. People are crying themselves hoarse for the recall of Lord Pentland, and in a smaller measure they are longing for the retirement of Lord Willingdon. These are added reasons why the Secretary of State should retain them in their present posts lest, forsooth, bureaucratic—and not British—prestige should suffer."

Message (6), 4th July.

29. "So far as the Indian public is concerned, in the two Presidencies in particular, it will receive the news with mixed feelings and will view the unwarranted extensions with grave apprehension. When the cry from all sides is directed to the immediate recall of Lord Pentland, the all-wise Mr. Chamberlain has sprung a sudden surprise on the devoted heads of the people.......... While this act of Mr. Chamberlain will greatly add to the sourness of public feeling at the shabby treatment that has hitherto been accorded to it, it will not certainly enhance its confidence in the impartiality or fair-mindedness of the presiding deity at the India Office. .... If such an act as this, which avowedly proceeds in the direction of alienating the sympathies of the people from the administration, ultimately tends to make every form of true and zealous co-operation between the public and the administration impossible, one may well rejoice at the decision of Mr. Chamberlain."

Kesari (106), 3rd July; *Sandesh* (118), 5th July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 4th July; *Mantri* (109), 5th July.

30. If Lord Willingdon really thinks that the rights of *Swarájya* should be given to Indians he should resign even before his time as a protest rather than spend the remaining days of his administration in milk-and-water sympathy, because he knows that such a desire has no chance of being fulfilled. Possibly Lord Willingdon can support the Home Rule movement more freely in England than in India. We have no objection if his term is extended, for who can guarantee that we shall have a better Governor after him? But we request him not to forsake Home Rule if he leaves India without any extension. [The *Sandesh* is in favour of Lord Willingdon's extension, but it strongly objects to any extension being given to Lord Pentland. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—No one can object to the extensions granted to Lords Willingdon and Pentland as they were given because of the restrictions on travel. It would have been necessary to criticise if any one had said that the extensions were given because people asked for them or because of the extraordinary merits of the administration of these Governors. Their *regimé* is quite barren. It is necessary to record a protest if one wants to convey the idea that the step taken by the Secretary of State is in consonance with public opinion. The *Mantri* accords its approval to the extension of Lord Willingdon's term.]

Hindusthán (20), 3rd July; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 8th July, Eng. cols.

31. Referring to the Simla telegram announcing that Lords Pentland and Willingdon will continue to act as Governors of Madras and Bombay respectively after the close of their present terms of office, the *Hindusthán* writes:—Who in India does not know Lord Pentland now? And how did the movement that was made in the matter of the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office end in Bombay? These facts reveal what the public opinion is with regard to these two Governors. Howsoever good Lords Pentland and Willingdon may be personally, they have not done all that was necessary for the welfare of the people and for acquiring popularity. We have, therefore, to say that it is not a good thing that their terms have been extended. This extension is said to have been due to the difficulties at present attending a voyage to England. Was it not in that case possible for their being kept on in India as guests for some time more? Is it quite necessary that one should leave the shores of this country as soon as he finishes his term of office as Governor? In the face of the fact that the period of Lord Carmichael's Governorship was not extended and the term of Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty was extended only by six months, it is not proper that the terms of Lords Pentland and Willingdon have been extended and that too for an indefinite period in spite of the public opinion not being in their favour but rather against them. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"In the case of Lords Hardinge and Carmichael the appeal for extension went forth from the people of India; but in the case of Lords Pentland and Willingdon it is His Majesty that has invited them to serve on in India. No one has a right to question the Royal prerogative but those who are not aware of the existence of such prerogatives may be inclined to think that in the case of Lord Pentland the extension granted is a veritable infliction on the people of the Southern Presidency."]

Comments on the alleged absence of Europeans in the funeral procession of the late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Gujaráti (16), 8th July, Eng. cols.; *Indian Social Reformer* (3), 8th July.

***32.** "We feel it our painful duty to observe that the vast concourse of people that had assembled to pay their last respects to the deceased patriot noticed with no small regret the absence of the representatives of the European community even on an occasion when political and racial differences must be forgotten and it becomes the duty of all to do honour to one who had for more than half a century served his country with splendid devotion and loyalty and whose distinguished virtues, both public and private, would have shed lustre upon any politician in Great Britain and elsewhere. The incident made many thoughtful minds feel that appeals for mutual toleration and co-operation, trust and confidence, are, after all, mere conventional phrases." [The *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"The immense concourse which walked behind the bier which bore all that was mortal of him to the Towers of Silence, there to mingle with the dust of two score generations of his ancient race, was symbolic of the sentiments of his countrymen. It was remarked that Englishmen were conspicuous by their absence in the gathering which assembled to do honour to the illustrious dead, Mr. Horniman's presence only making the fact more glaring. The warmly appreciative notices of Dadabhai's career, which have appeared in the English Press here and in England, preclude the idea that Englishmen are unable to appreciate greatness of character in an Indian. Probably it was the national diffidence to entering into social relations with strangers, which kept them from attending. Such diffidence is a serious drawback in a people who find themselves charged with the duty of consolidating an Empire."]

Death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Indu Prakásh (39), 2nd July, Eng. cols.

33. "Dadabhai's personal example and his writings and speeches will continue to operate as living forces, shaping minds and building characters.......... We are now perfectly familiar with the fact that a class of Anglo-Indian journalists and politicians are completely upset and thrown off their balance whenever they hear an Indian speak of the poverty of India. Well, the poverty of India is a fact, it was a fact when Dadabhai wrote about it, and it is a fact still, no economic miracle having in the meanwhile occurred, banishing poverty and making India flow with milk and honey."

Controversy about the application of the term *mlechchha* to Muhammadans.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 6th July.

34. The *Political Bhomiyo* reproduces a letter written by one Mr. Joshi which appeared in the *Arya Prakásh* dated the 17th of June, wherein the writer attempts to show that the application of the terms *mlechchha* and *yavan* to the Muhammadans is in no way objectionable and calculated to create bad blood between community and community as has been stated to be the case in a letter headed "Advocates of *swarájya* and *mlechchhas*" noticed in paragraph 10 of the Weekly Report No. 20 of 1917. Mr. Joshi goes on to quote passages from a book entitled "Bhadrambhadra" written by R. B. Ramanbhai Nilkanth with a view to show that the term *mlechchhas* connotes nothing else but non-Hindus or followers of an alien religion. He also remarks that books like *Chhatrapati Rajaram* are not likely to create unpleasantness between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities. Their publication is necessary for the information of the present and future generations as to how much particular communities had to suffer in the past as a result of the oppression caused by others. [Elsewhere the paper publishes a very lengthy letter from a correspondent styling himself a "lover of peace" wherein he tries to refute Mr. Joshi's views. He remarks that no good purpose can be served by opening up the old sores by referring to the various acts on the part of the Muhammadans in the past, *e. g.*, the destruction of the idol at Somnath, the levy of Jazia, the destruction of Hindu temples and cities like Benares, etc. He observes that if Mr. Joshi cannot forget such matters and incidents that have taken place in the remote past he should plainly declare that the Hindus and Muhammadans will not be able to pull on well together and that the Hindus will not rest satisfied till they have wreaked vengence upon the Muhammadans for the sufferings of their forefathers at the hands of the latter. The writer then goes on to inquire whether the fact that some Hindus address the Muhammadans as their 'brethren' and (thus) induce them to combine with themselves for obtaining *swarájya* is only empty talk. He also remarks that even if the term *mlechchha* ordinarily means a non-Hindu, it has been used in the passages quoted by Mr. Joshi from "Bhadrambhadra" and elsewhere to indicate contempt for those to whom it has been applied. He goes on to argue that the Muhammadans should, on the same analogy, be allowed to apply the word *kafir* to the Hindus since that term in Arabic only means a non-Moslem. The correspondent advises Mr. Joshi not to advocate the use of words which are calculated to degrade others and to be in favour of the use of more polite language in public writings.]

Alleged use of disrespectful language in connection with the Prophet Muhammad in a certain *Guzerati* almanac.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 6th July.

35. Addressing a letter to the *Political Bhomiyo* from the village of Dasán, district Broach, one Abhram Asmál Patel draws the attention of the paper to an almanac for Samvat 1973, published by Mr. Girijashanker Harishanker and printed at the Dnyán Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad, on the ninth page of which appears a passage which, rendered into English, would run thus:—The Prophet Muhammad was an inhabitant of Mecca. On his claiming to be a Prophet, the people of Mecca resolved to attack him. He, consequently, left for Medina and got estranged from his native place Mecca. [The objectionable element in the above passage seems to be the use of verbs and pronouns in the third person singular instead of the plural used in the Indian vernacular as mark of respect to the persons spoken or written about. The writer requests the paper to move in the matter with a view to preventing the use of such impolite language in connection with the Prophet in the next edition of the almanac.]

Comments on a recent speech of General Smuts.
Message (6), 3rd July.

36. "General Smuts was in mail week the guest of a Committee of people associated with South Africa. Lord Selborne presided at the dinner, which was given at the Savoy Hotel, London. On that occasion the most idolised of South Africa's soldier-statesman made a speech which should open the eyes of all liberty-loving and just people to the prospect of a new menace to the coloured world. The sentiments expressed by General Smuts are by no means unprecedented for their extreme selfishness. The policy which he advocated for being pursued in Africa is to practically demoralise the 'black continent' and reduces the natives of the soil to the status of coolies, whose sole business would be to minister to the needs of the superior white adventurers who might go there to seek their fortunes. General Smuts said that they were not aware of the military value of the natives until this war and now that this war had demonstrated that value, he pleaded for absolutely forbidding the military training of natives. His most ingenuous plea was that if the natives were properly trained and equipped they would become a danger to civilisation itself. Comment is indeed superfluous. If the General's policy is to hold water with British statesmen, it is better that they should abandon, what Lord Salisbury so neatly phrased as 'political hypocracy,' about the justice and righteousness of 'our cause in this war'. We trust that General Smuts' impolitic and unrighteous speech was merely the outcome of a temporary mental aberration."

Comments on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report.
Sandesh (118), 4th July.

37. Grant of any new rights to Indians is always subjected to the official powers of control, supervision and veto on the plea that we are inexperienced. This trio of control, supervision and veto is in evidence in the Legislative Councils, the Municipalities and all other places. But strange as it may seem, mistakes are made by the Secretary of State or the Government of India which is the fountain-head of this triple control. It appears from the cabled summary of the Mesopotamia Commission's Report that the Secretary of State, the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief are all responsible for the failure of the first Mesopotamia expedition. We have, of course, nothing to say about their mistakes. We would only point out that mistakes are occasionally possible in the discharge of one's duty. Why should then the plea that Indians are liable to make mistakes be always trotted out?

Hindusthán (20), 4th July.

38. The *Hindusthán* remarks that one of the defects disclosed by it in the administration of India is the very great confidence reposed in subordinate officers without proper deliberation or due inquiries, as was done in the case of Sir John Nixon, and it observes that bad consequences are sure to follow the continuance of such a policy in India in the future. It maintains that the fact that the Commission was opposed to dividing the responsibility for the temporary setback to the British arms in the Mesopotamia campaign between the British and the Indian Governments points to the impracticability of dividing between these same Governments the responsibility with respect to the internal administration of India. The paper declares that while the Government in England located at White Hall cannot carry on the administration of this country, the hands of Government at Simla also cannot be left free and unfettered. From the fact that the Commission has not thrown any responsibility in the matter on the members of the Imperial Executive Council it infers that the Council was not consulted in the matter of the Mesopotamia Expedition, and it raises the question why the members should have borne such insult without any protest and allowed Lord Hardinge to override the rules governing the constitution of the Council. To remedy such a condition of things the paper suggests that members of the Executive Council of the Government of India should be made responsible to the British Parliament as well as the Indian public.

Frauds in the Supply and Transport Corps.
Sind Observer (12), 15th June.

39. "We trust the Commander-in-Chief does not think that the publication by him of details regarding the members of the Supply and Transport Corps, recently convicted of fraud and dishonesty, terminates his duty in connection with this mattar. It is true that, with the exception of the officer concerned in the cases referred to, severe punishments have been awarded, and the publicity now given to the disgrace which has fallen on these men will act as a warning to others, but neither the enquiry nor the *communique* issued by the Commander-in-Chief touches the root of the evil which is the pernicious system for which Government are responsible. The scandalous conduct of persons belonging to the Supply Services has been widely known and openly spoken of for months past, and now that details of the crimes and punishments have been announced, the authorities appear inclined to believe that everything necessary has been done. But it seems to us that the question now at issue is how Government expected inadequately paid warrant and non-commissioned officers to resist the temptation to acquire wealth by dishonest means when the temptation placed in their way was so great......... When the outbreak of war suddenly called upon the Supply and Transport to handle enormous quantities of stores for the expeditionary forces, the duties, responsibilities and temptations of these subordinates increased tremendously. But what did Government do for them? Their pay remained the same, and while their *confrères* in the other services were advanced to commissioned rank, the warrant and non-commissioned officers of the Supply and Transport Corps saw inexperienced men from all paths of civilian life pitchforked into the department as officers......... We cannot conclude this article without referring to the employment by the Supply and Transport of Agents, one of whom we see was convicted of dishonesty as a result of the recent enquiry. These Agents draw a paltry amount as salary, and what their functions are we cannot say, but what we do know is that their position in the inner circle of the department enables them to secure contracts for themselves directly, or indirectly through their friends, and the batten on the wicked system which called them into being......... The Commander-in-Chief would be well advised to take up the question of the employment of Agents by the department. What use are they, and does any business concern with a keen eye to its own interest tolerate such parasites? The whole matter needs urgent attention, and we hope Sir Charles Munro will leave no stone unturned till he arrives at a perfected system of payment and control of the Supply Services."

Complaint that subjects of Native States are refused admission in the Indian Defence Force.
Kesari (106), 3rd July.

40. A correspondent from Sángli writes to the *Kesari*:—Five persons had applied for admission into the Indian Defence Force, but they were refused as they were subjects of a Native State. It is a sample of British justice that while recruiting is energetically carried on in the Native States and while money for the War Loan is accepted from State subjects, they are not admitted into the Indian Defence Force.

Retraction by the *Islámic Mail* of its opinion that Anglo-Indians were unwilling to fight for their country.
Islámic Mail (4), 24th June, Eng. cols.

41. "We were wrong in stating that more that half our Anglo-Indian friends are unwilling to fight for their country. An examination of the applications for exemption shows that, with the exception of a small minority, they were made, not by individuals on their own behalf, but by their employers, who were unwilling to spare them. In the great majority of cases their employers were either Government or a Railway Company, and it is obvious that, however much Europeans employed by these agencies may wish to serve, it would be impossible, in the best interests of this country, to relieve them from their ordinary duties. Similar considerations apply in the case of many employees of Banks and big commercial con-

cerns. Finally, we may note that the great majority of exemptions for which application has been made have been exemption from general service only, ... We can only repeat our expression of regret that our former article ignored these facts."

Japan and the War.
Islámic Mail (143), Urdu edition, 25th June.

42. Commenting on the report that Japan will send troops to France through America should Russia make a separate peace with the enemy, the *Islámic Mail* says that the alleged desire for greater co-operation seems to be based on self-interest inasmuch as a peace between Russia and the enemy would endanger Japan's position from Harbin to Vladivostock. It acknowledges with gratefulness the valuable assistance which the Japanese Navy has rendered and is still rendering to the Allies, and urges Japan to take part in land-warfare as well, instead of waiting for the Russians to first fall out of the struggle before she takes up arms.

The situation in Russia.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 3rd July.

43. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the speech made by the Premier at the time when the freedom of the City of Glasgow was conferred upon him and endorses his wish that Russia may soon come to the right path now and may be in a position to do her duty by the Allies. It maintains that Russia seems to have forgotten that France sided with her because at the time the war broke out her prestige was at stake and that but for France not only would she have lost her prestige but she would have suffered great harm. The paper then refers to the demands made upon the Provisional Government by the Congress of Russian soldiers for making laws enabling the different nationalities composing the Russian Empire to determine their own political future in such way as they might choose. It regards this as startling news and believes that these soldiers have completely lost their heads in thus making demands for a dismemberment of the Empire instead of desiring to maintain its solidarity. The paper is very doubtful if Russia would any longer be in a position to render any substantial help to the Allies if this delusion on the part of the Russian soldiers is not soon dispelled from their minds.

Complaint about the tender treatment accorded to interned Germans at Belgaum.
Sind Observer (12), 5th June.

44. Referring to the complaint about the tender treatment accorded to the interned Germans at Belgaum, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—" *Truth* will, we have no doubt, be surprised to learn that tenderness to the Boche does not in Belgaum end with providing interned Germans with the best quarters available to the detriment of British troops, but extends to allowing Huns of military age to reside with their families, which are rapidly increasing, as a direct result of this benign treatment. But the best part of this arrangement is that the children born in the internment camp become British subjects according to the curious law of October 1914. There is something unfathomable in the policy of favouring the German. Some of the men permitted to live at Belgaum did not enjoy when at large in India before the war the very best of reputations, and there does not appear to be any reason why they should be specially favoured now. We notice that there is a great hubbub in Rangoon over a naturalised German who has been permitted to reside and trade in Rangoon, and an indignation meeting was held the other day to urge Government to put a stop to the scandal. We hear that the German who ran a hotel in another large city and who for months passed as a Swiss, though the Swiss subjects repudiated him, has been interned. We have not, however, been told about the hidden hand which kept this man in his lucrative position so long."

Comments on the new appointments to the India Council.
Young India (14), 4th July.

45. " Sir P. D. Pattani is appointed in succession to Raja Daljit Singh, who has resigned and we should say unhesitatingly that Mr. Chamberlain could not have netted a better substitute for the Raja whom Dame Fortune has thrust on the State of Kashmir. In regard to Mr. Basu, however, matters stand on a different footing.......... That he should forsake at this time both his profession and his politics for the obscurity of the India Council is rather extraordinary and it is not certainly worth the sacrifice which it involves. In an interview with which he favoured an Associated Press representative he was so modest that he would not dwell on the heavy sacrifice he will have to bear. But such was his sense of patriotism that he would not hesitate to push to the background personal matters and accept the Secretary of State's offer of a place on the India Council—a body whose abolition the Congress and the Moslem League have consistently urged! If Mr. Basu is consistent and true to the Congress traditions, his first business, as an honest Indian, of character and fearless independence, is to throw up the job and rest contented with the high position he has already attained in Indian politics."

Kesari (106), 3rd July; *Subodh Patrika* (42), 1st July.

46. The appointments made by Mr. Chamberlain will not make repression less oppressive and bearable. We thank him for increasing the number of Indian appointments and for appointing a popular leader like Babu Bhupendranath Basu. But he will be disappointed if he thinks that the demands of Indians will be satisfied with this concession. We do not think that these appointments will give a turn to the policy of the administration favourable to Indians. Our chief demand in the present circumstances is that the Executive Council should be reponsible to the majority of the Legislative Council. We cannot guarantee that Indian interests will be properly guarded even if the number of Indian members is raised to five. The Congress, therefore, has suggested that such an irresponsible Council having no powers like the India Council should be abolished. We do not think that the appointment of an *ex*-president of the Congress to the Council is a desirable one. The Congress now should not depend upon Babu Bhupendranath Basu and should arrange to send its deputation to England. [The *Subodh Patrika* remarks:—We do not think that Sir Prabhashankar Pattani can represent the side of Indians in the Council. We do not know how he performed his duties as a Member of the Bombay Executive Council, but this we know that in the Legislative Council he did nothing more than occupy his chair. What more will this gentleman achieve in the Secretary of State's Council?]

Gujaráti (16), 1st July.

47. Sir Prabhashankar who has earned fame by erecting a statue to Lord Curzon in Calcutta has been appointed to the India Council. Sir Prabhashankar is a favourite child of fortune and his former appointments on the Executive and Legislative Councils go to prove the influence he wields. We heartily congratulate him on his elevation to the India Council, and hope he will exert his influence for the good of the country and the Government. Mr. Chamberlain has taken a bold step forward by appointing a Congressman of the type of Mr. Basu to the India Council. The honour has come to Mr. Basu unsought and has, therefore, taken the people by surprise. The appreciation of such men will tend to do good to the people and Government alike. Mr. Basu has been appointed to the India Council at an opportune moment, for his advice will reflect public opinion and be very useful to the Secretary of State in the reorganisation of the constitution of the Government of India. We hope three seats will now be reserved for Indians in the India Council.

Comments on the security taken from the *New Times* of Karáchi.

Sind Journal (10), 28th June; *Sind Advocate* (9), 28th June.

48. "It was, no doubt, within the discretion of the Executive to have taken security from the *New Times* when the declaration of its publication was first made by the publisher. But to have allowed the paper to be started without the deposit of security and then to have brought it within the meshes of the Press Act is a different thing. It means that the editorial policy of the paper is repugnant to the authorities. Had the security been taken at the start, no such presumption could have been drawn. Further, it is really strange that no warning was given to the Editor before demanding security from him. This is pre-eminently a fit case for the Press Association of India to take up......... So far as we have been able to judge of the writings of our esteemed contemporary, we would say that if the *New Times* has erred at all, it is on the side of moderation. To have demanded security from such a paper shows that the authorities in Sind are becoming intolerant of even healthy public criticism which should be encouraged instead of being penalized." [The *Sind Advocate* writes:—"Other papers were receiving warning, but the *New Times* was being severely dealt with without a warning......... We have not the least doubt that the order is unjust, that the *New Times* has written nothing of an objectionable character. This is the opinion of the public, who rather think that the *New Times* is sometimes not sufficiently outspoken and strong. But perhaps personal offence has been given to some one high in authority and not trained to bear effective criticism."]

Comments on the security taken from the *Hindu Missionary* newspaper.
Mantri (109), 6th July.

49. Though we cannot say why security was demanded from the *Hindu Missionary*, started to propagate Hinduism, we shall describe the tradesman's trick resorted to in demanding the security. Mr. Vaidya tendered the security in Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500 bearing 9½ per cent. interest (*sic*). But it was pointed out to him that he should pay the difference between the market rate and the nominal value of the paper in cash and he paid Rs. 170. The editors will have to bid goodbye to their profession if they are obstructed in such manner. The executive officer should have, moreover, borne in mind that Government lower the value of their own paper by such a step. No one seems to have frankly pointed out to the responsible officials the effect of such a step on the public mind. We do not still think that responsible Government officials whether Imperial or Provincial will make themselves a laughing-stock in such a way. We beg, therefore, to bring this matter to the notice of His Excellency the Governor.

Suggestion that Pardanashin ladies should be exempted from the obligation to attach copies of their photographs to applications for passports.
Islámic Mail (4), 24th June, Eng. cols.

50. "Those who desire to go out of India must provide themselves, according to the orders of the Government of India or rather of the Home Government, with a passport which is to bear their photograph. Residents of Bombay cheerfully comply with this and attach their as well as their women's photo to their passports. But upcountry peeple observe the strictest Purdah, so that some of them consider it a sin for their women folk to be seen even by women whom they do not know, not to speak of female strangers and under-age children. We know of some families in the United Provinces where no stranger women nor a child of 7 or 8 years is allowed to go in......... They say that no political mischief can emanate from Indian women who know nothing of the world and the thumb impression is enough for purposes of identification. We have every sympathy with those people and would be glad if the Government of India could see their way to modify their rules in regard to Pardanashin ladies. The Local Government have not failed to place these objections before the Government of India and we shall be glad if out of regard for a foolish Indian sentiment Government will allow only the thumb impression to be taken of Purdanashins."

Comments on the reported death of an Indian in South Africa through being thrown out of a tram-car by a European.
Kalpataru (104), 1st July.

51. Referring to a report from South Africa regarding the alleged pushing out of a moving tram-car of an Indian by a European which resulted in the man's death, the *Kalpataru* remarks:—The culprit has not yet been arrested. This incident has created a great stir among the Indians in South Africa. After a good deal of agitation a preliminary inquiry was held before a Magistrate during which several persons deposed that they witnessed the occurrence. The man is still at large although the Magistrate has given an assurance that he would be arrested. This shows what value is attached to the life of an Indian in South Africa even now when we are freely contributing men and money for the defence of the Empire. Is this a sign of the changed angle of vision?

Comments on the Draft Local Government Ordinance of the Natal Government.

Mahrátta (5), 8th July.

*52. "Natal Indians are being exorcised over the Draft Local Government Ordinance.......... It shows the temper of the Colonials. Even a European paper, the *Natal Mercury*, objects to this Ordinance on the ground that it is conceived on lines too drastic inasmuch as it proposes the erection of an absolute colour-bar. The paper warns the authorities that the Colonies cannot solve the racial problem in South Africa by a segregation policy which would consign the natives to permanent barbarism, nor by decreeing that the non-European shall in no circumstances be admitted to any citizen rights. It has been proved time and again that the white Colonist has developed a curious *grabbing disease* which does not permit him to think, *in human ways*, of the non-whites, who unfortunately have no Governments of their own anywhere in the world strong enough to take their side. The talk about 'Free development of communities' applies, according to the white man, only to white communities. Any 'black' community that, owing to misfortune, has come under the thumb of the white man may never hope to rise to the *human* level of Freedom, so long as the white master can help it. The white creed is twofold. The black dependant is not able to take care of himself and therefore must bow to the rule of the white brother. That is one principle. And if the black man cannot be proved to be incapable of taking care of himself, there is another principle employed to keep him in his lowly position. This principle barefacedly asks the black man to be content with what position might be settled for him by the white master, because *the latter cannot afford to raise the blackie beyond a certain level, as such a step would endanger the white interests*. Controlled by these two principles, the fate of the unfortunate Indian and his brothers, the black men of other races under the white dominions, is not and is not likely to be in any degree endurable. Where is the remedy? As far as Indians are concerned the remedy lies in their acquiring their natural Rights of Freedom in their own Native land. When these rights are gained, it would not be so difficult to deal with Colonies that choose to pass laws shamefully inhuman in their intention, wording and working......... It is to be remembered that the services of the Indians in this war have not served to awaken any feeling of true sympathy in the minds of the white Colonist. We cannot blame him very much, when we see the white Britisher in India holding the reins of office, or owning a plantation or a paper, etc., no wise changed for the better by the knowledge of our sacrifices in the service of the Empire."

Alleged insult to His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir by a police officer in Bombay.

Indu Prakásh (39), 6th July.

53. Referring to the alleged insult at the Apollo Bunder to His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir (*vide* paragraph 36 of Weekly Report No. 25 of 1917), the *Indu Prakásh* remarks:—Was the policeman instructed to demand passports only from those who were dressed as Indians and not to interfere with those who donned European clothes? If the reported account be true, it constitutes a deliberate insult not only to the Maharajah but to all Indians. We hope that the necessary steps will be taken to see that such incidents are not repeated. The present incident, if true, shows how racial distinctions are made as between blacks and whites in actual practice.

The Birthday Honours List and Bombay Muhammadans.

Islámic Mail (4), 24th June, Eng. cols.

54. "A correspondent complains that while the Honours List contains the names of Hindus and Parsis, there is no Muhammadan name there to get any honour in this Presidency. The fact is, we have no ground for complaint on this score. Government never leave unrewarded any public service rendered by any public man. Sir Dinshaw Watcha and Sir Mahadeo Chaubal have rendered conspicuous public services and they fully deserve the honour bestowed on them. But no Muhammadan names occur to us as having deserved a distinction by virtue of their service and left unrecognised. It is a matter for regret though that eminent leaders such as

Mr. Salebhoy Barodawala, Mr. Sharif Dewji, Mr. Mohomedbhai Hajibhoy, Mr. Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer have been left without any recognition. They deserve greater titles than that of 'Honourable' which Government have bestowed on them. Mr. Salebhoy has worked well in the Corporation and amply deserves some recognition."

Alleged dilapidated condition of the road between Kasarkod and Bhatkal (Kárwár).
Kánara News (34), 27th June, Eng. cols.

55. "The road from Kasarkod to Bhatkal along the sea-shore is as bad as bad could be. It is practically washed away by the rains in many places and many of the culverts are in such a delapidated condition that some have already given way and some more want to follow suit—to the great inconvenience and discomfort of the travelling public and the cart traffic. We have personally visited the line and can specify and even quote the numbers if necessary of culverts totally or partially broken. The double gutters between miles 61 and 64 are not cleansed and repaired. Will the authorities concerned enquire into the matter and set matters right for the good of the public? We hope they will."

Complaints about insufficiency of fuel at Bhatkal (Kárwár).
Kánara News (34), 27th June.

56. Before fuel depôts were started people used to buy head loads. But depots have been started on the plea that forests are spoiled by permission being given to carry head loads and that people do not get a sufficient quantity of fuel. Whatever be the price of fuel, it is the duty of Government to supply fuel and to look to the convenience of the public. The Bhatkal (district Kárwár) depôt is managed this year by Government themselves. It is situated at a distance of 9 miles from the town in the heart of the forest and the way to it is full of steep ascents. In the town there is only one shop and the store of fuel in it cannot suffice for the needs of ten families for a day or two. We suggest to Government that they should now at least set matters right.

Alleged inconsistency of Government in dealing with people who have conscientious objections to vaccination.
Sind Journal (10), 28th June.

57. "B. G.", writing to the *Sind Journal* on the subject of the conviction of two teachers of Karáchi under the Vaccination Act, remarks:—"The situation thus created is very ridiculous. One year conscientious objection is respected and the next it is absolutely disregarded. Does the grant of exemption depend upon the whims of officers or on some principle? If on principle, why should not exemption be granted in the present case? It appears to be the intention of the Government to wait for a proof of conscience. But how did they know last year that the objection of Messrs. Jethmal and Vaswani was conscientious? Every reasonable man will recognise that in the present case we have genuine conscientious objectors. For more than four months the gentlemen have struggled against subjecting their healthy children to an operation which is regarded by them as an infusion of disease and a sin. Both are schoolmasters who are ever anxious to see that they do nothing to incur the displeasure of Government. To know that their objection to vaccination is not agreeable to Government and still to dare to object, indicates the strength of their conviction. They have, moreover, decided to pay up the fine and suffer other penalties rather than trifle with their conscience. This should convince the Government that their objections are conscientiously held."

The Sind College principalship.
Sind Journal (10), 28th June; *Sind Advocate* (9), 21st June.

58. "The Government of Bombay is to be congratulated on the just decision which it has apparently arrived at for not lending the services of Professor Hampton of the Gujarat College to the D. J. Sind College Board to take charge of the Principalship of the Karáchi College. That Professor Hampton is not at all suited for the appointment has been made abundantly clear by those who know the educational needs of the College. It is rumoured that a ludicrous movement is on foot to approach the Bombay Government on behalf of the Sind Muhammadans to appoint a European as Principal of the Sind College, as otherwise the interests of Muhammadan students would be jeopardised. To charge Principal Shahani with any communal or religious bias is the most flagrant instance of serving one's ends by any means fair or foul. But we are sure that such manœuvres would not hoodwink any one, as Principal Shahani has established a reputation for catholicity which cannot be easily destroyed, the calumny of the *Sind Moslem* notwithstanding." [The *Sind Advocate* writes:—"If there is any truth in the reports that the Government of Bombay have declined to send Mr. Hampton to fill the temporary principalship of the Sind College and have directed that the present arrangement should continue, then Lord Willingdon will have further enhanced his reputation for broad statesmanly instincts apart from the innocuousness and expediency of allowing an Indian of such experience and capability as Professor S. C. Shahani to act as Principal during the pendency of the war notwithstanding the arbitrary rule that the Principal has ordinarily to be a European. We hope that Lord Willingdon will not allow the arrangement to be disturbed till after the war, and that he will exercise an independent and watchful control over the affairs of Sind."]

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the intention of the Bombay City Improvement Trust to take in hand the improvement of slums.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 5th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 6th July.

59. Referring to the announcement recently made by the Chairman of the Bombay City Improvement Trust that he was prepared to commence utilising the aggregate sum of one crore and twenty-seven lakhs of rupees, that he expects to remain at the disposal of the Trust by the end of the next twelve years, in the improvement of slum areas brought to its notice by the Bombay Municipality as requiring immediate attention, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, while observing that the accumulation of the abovementioned sum is after all a matter depending upon future conditions, characterises the present change in the attitude of the Chairman towards the question of the improvement of slum areas, the urgency of which he was not prepared to recognise up till now, as revolutionary. It attributes this change to the effect of the public agitation against the attitude he had hitherto assumed and to the sympathy of the Bombay Government. The paper considers the order stated to have been made by the local Government for appropriating towards the improvements of insanitary areas the sum of fifty lakhs of rupees granted by the Government of India to the Trust, to be a further proof of their sympathetic attitude towards the demand of the public. It regards the present phase in this matter as a victory of public voice and declares that the people will thank Government for the justice they have done to them. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also expresses agreeable surprise at the change in the attitude of the Chairman of the City Improvent Trust. It, however, sarcastically remarks that it hopes that a decade may not pass away before the work of improving the congested areas is effectively taken in hand.]

NATIVE STATES.

Complaint that a likeness of the Prophet Muhammad at Kamati Bág, Baroda, is injuring the feelings of the Muhammadans.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 4th July; *Akhbar-e-Islam* (56), 4th July.

60. In the course of a letter addressed to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* "*Khádim-e-quom*" makes mention of a portrait of the Prophet Muhammad that has been placed in the picture gallery at Kamati Bág, Baroda, with the words 'Muhammad's journey to paradise' inscribed on it, and remarks that the making of a likeness of the Prophet is contrary to the tenets of Islam and, consequently, is calculated to injure Moslem feelings. He believes that the placing of the abovementioned portrait is the result of inadvertence on the part of those concerned and requests His Highness the Gáekwár to get the portrait removed from the place in question as soon as possible and thereby put a stop to the Moslem feelings being further injured. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* cursorily mentions the fact of its having received the above communication and feels surprised that the Moslems of Baroda should have until now observed complete silence over this matter. The paper desires the latter to send it correct information in the matter in order to enable it to make a suitable request to His Highness the Maharaja on the subject.]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 12th July 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

B 130—8 CON

Brown Paper Cover
& Label please

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 28 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 14th July 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to sent Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Advice to Muhammadans not to hanker after *Swardjya* 1
Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's reply to an interpellation in Parliament regarding Mrs. Besant's internment . . . . . 4 & 5
Comments on the alleged prohibition by the Collector of Lárkána of a public meeting at Lárkhána to protest against the Madras internments 6
Comments on the alleged repressive acts of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi . . . 7
Comments on the extension of the terms of Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon . . . . 11—13
Comments on the suggestion for the election of Mrs. Besant as President of the Congress . . . . 8 & 9
Condemnation of the agitation for Home Rule 2
Hindu females should be made to observe the *Swadeshi* vow during the four sacred Hindu months 14
Inamdars in the Central Provinces are being threatened with confiscation of their vatans for joining the Home Rule League . . 15
India's determination to secure *Swardjya* under British suzerainty at all costs 3
It is a mistake on the part of Governors to treat Indians as mere children 16
Parsis and high posts in the public service 17
Sir R. Tagore on the Madras internments 10
Spread of revolutionary tendencies in India 18
Students and political meetings 19
The Commerce Member of the Government of India in Bombay . 20
India Council: Comments on the new appointments to the— . . . 21 & 22
Indian Press: The policy of the *New Times* newspaper 37

Police:

Comments on the recent case of assault by a Pathan on a woman at Charni Road 39
Immediate action should be taken by Government against the Pathan terrorism and the Bombay slave traffic 38
Press Act: Comments on the taking of security from the *New Times* and the *Hindu Missionary* 40
Revenue matters: Government should be asked to disclose its policy as regards the rights of Khots 41

H 137—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Sind : Report of a meeting at Hyderabad (—) to popularise *Swadeshi* . 23

War :

Alleged reign of terror at Dádar (Bombay) . . . . 24—27
Comments on Lord Hardinge's statement with regard to the Mesopotamia Commission's Report 35
Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's resignation 28
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Cadell's speech at the Mahar recruiting meeting at the Bombay Town Hall 29
Comments on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report . . . . . 30—34
Comments on the proceedings of the Bombay Exemption Tribunal . 36

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill . . 42

RAILWAYS—

Railway grievances of Indians 43

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Advice to Muhammadans not to hanker after *Swardjya*.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 13th July.

1. In the course of a letter addressed to the *Political Bhomiyo* a correspondent disapproves of the action of a section of Muhammadans in participating in the present agitation for *Swardjya* and Home Rule and remarks that these members of the community fail to consider whether they would continue to enjoy the same measure of freedom in the matter of the profession of their faith after the grant of *Swardjya* to India that they, together with their countrymen professing other faiths, now enjoy under the independent (impartial?) British rule. He remarks that if *Swardjya* were granted to India, Muhammadans, being very backward in education, would have very little voice in the administration of the country and their position, consequently, would be untenable. He then goes on to write:—Will the Moslems be able, after the grant of *Swardjya*, to make the sacrifices of the cow and the goat in accordance with the tenets of their faith as they can do freely now? Will they be able, after *Swarajya* is granted, to build mosques and open *Madressas* where they like and deliver discourses on the beauties of their religion as they can do now? Is there anybody in India manly enough to give or make others give the assurance that after the securing of *Swardjya* the Muhammadans would be allowed to perform the sacrifices enjoined by their religion as at present? [The writer then reminds Muhammadans of the instance of Junagadh, a Moslem State, where the old established practice of sacrificing goats at the temple of Bhairavnath was put a stop to as a result of the agitation of the preponderating Hindu element there although the administrative head of the State was a European. He therefore, advises those Moslems who are fond of *Swardjya* to be more far-sighted and asks them to consider in what way the British rule is bad, so far as their own interests are concerned. Elsewhere the paper remarks that Muhammadan rulers like the Aurangzeb and Tippu Sultan are unnecessarily reviled by the Hindus because their glory is greater than they can bear. It maintains that it is futile to hope for a unity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans as long as mutual hatred, born of differences of religion, exists between them and adds that till that unity is brought about, to hope to secure *Swardjya* is to build castles in the air. The paper wishes that harmony between the Hindus and the Muhammadans may be soon established and they may be able to obtain and enjoy *Swardjya*, but it dubiously inquires when, if at all, such a consummation would be realised.]

Condemnation of the agitation for Home Rule.

Surat Akhbdr (75), 9th July.

2. Under the heading "India is not fit for Home Rule at present" the *Surat Akhbdr* remarks that comparing India, the people of which are divided into 2,400 castes and follow not less than ten religions, with Ireland and demanding Home Rule for her on the basis of that comparison is not consistent with far-sightedness. It expresses satisfaction with the present system of British rule in India in spite of being conscious of some defects in it. It compares each of the Civilians in India to a fort which can protect from five to ten lakhs of people. [The paper then goes on:—Under the auspices of British rule, trade and business is carried on peacefully. The people can sleep at night with perfect ease. They are enjoying even now the same measure of tranquility and comfort that they used to enjoy three years ago before the outbreak of the present bloody war. The sacrifice of men and money the British people are making in Europe is not merely for their own sake but for the protection of the lives and property of the people of India.......... What hardships have the Indians had to bear as a result of the present system of administration that they should make a demand for Home Rule? Where is the defect in the administration which is grave enough to justify the uproar that has now been raised throughout the country? The paper next goes on to compare the economic condition of the people of India in pre-British days with their present condition and remarks that the present increased economic prosperity of the people and the much larger measure of peace and happiness they

enjoy are the direct results of British rule. It denies the utility of the present political agitation which is calculated to promote disaffection among the people and distract the minds of students from their studies and strongly vindicates the action of the Bombay Government in issuing the recent circular prohibiting students from taking part in political meetings.]

India's determination to secure *Swarajya* under British suzerainty at all costs.

Gujdrati (16), 8th July.

3. Is it not strange that England should participate in celebrating the 4th of July, the anniversary of the declaration of independence by the United States of America from the British sway? Indians should feel confident that England will behave in a similar manner towards them. The repressive policy now pursued in India will conduce to the ultimate good of the nation. Indians need not be cowed down by repressive measures like the Defence of India Act. The officials who declare themselves to be against political awakening, excitement and eagerness are themselves causing an awakening among the people and stirring excitement among them. The whole of India is becoming Home Ruler in consequence of the internment of Mrs. Besant. Let us see what steps Government are going to take against the whole country. Mr. Chamberlain's statement in Parliament that Mrs. Besant's movement is mischievous and likely to bring Government into contempt is as ridiculous as the opinion expressed by Justice Stratchey in the Tilak case to the effect that criticising acts of Government was tantamount to exciting sedition among the people. Can any political changes be effected without proving the defects of the existing Government and showing that it is harmful and undeserving of respect? Is Mrs. Besant's criticism directed against the British administration or is it against the centralisation of the bureaucracy? Mr. Chamberlain might for the time being succeed in defending the misuse of the Defence of India Act by the local authorities just as Lord Morley regarded the Partition of Bengal as a 'settled fact'. Indians believe in the certainty of the triumph of the movement of the popular party against the bureaucracy in India with as much certainly as they believe in the ultimate victory of the Allies against the militarism of Germany. We Indians are on the right path though others may differ with us as to the pace with which we should move on the long and weary path. Indians do not share their apprehensions. If the way is long, instead of going on foot we might use a bullock cart, or instead of a bullock cart we might use a carriage drawn by horses, or instead of a coach we might use a motor car. If the way is thorny we shall put on shoes and clear the way, if the way is intercepted by mountains we shall either cross them or make a way by blasting operations, but we shall never break our pledge of endeavouring to secure *swarajya* for India under the suzerainty of the British. Unite and move forward with patience and perseverance! Public opinion will surely achieve a triumph against the bureaucracy at an early date. We are approaching the victorious day and England will take delight in celebrating the anniversary of that victory.

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's reply to an interpellation in Parliament regarding Mrs. Besant's internment.

Hindusthdn (20), 7th July.

4. While commenting upon the reply given by Mr. Chamberlain to the question put in the House of Commons regarding the internment of Mrs. Besant by Mr. Chancellor, the *Hindusthdn* tries to show that the aims and objects of the Home Rule League are identical with those of the Indian National Congress, which the authorities have declared to be legitimate, and avers that Mr. Chamberlain's reply is vague and misleading. It wishes Mr. Chamberlain had clearly declared on what grounds he considers Mrs. Besant's movement to be mischievous and hopes that either the Madras Government or the Government of India will make a clear statement of their policy with a view to allaying misunderstanding and satisfying all concerned.

Kesari (106), 10th July; *Sandesh* (118), 10th July.

5. Mr. Chamberlain does not object even to extreme demands but he attacks the methods of Mrs. Besant. If anyone blames the existing system of administration while making demands, Government are discredited! As the temper of Government has become very deli-

cate they may not tolerate criticism that speaks evil of them and discredits them. But to treat such criticism as seditious would be going beyond Justice Strachey who defined disaffection as absence of affection. It is necessary to point out the defects in the existing system of administration when a change is demanded. Nobody considers this seditious. It is necessory to expose the fallacy underlying Mr. Chamberlain's contention and Pandit Motilal Nehru has already done it in his telegram to the Premier. [The *Sandesh* says that the attempt of Mr. Chamberlain to misrepresent facts, to evade a straightforward reply and to lessen his own responsibility is improper. It further remarks that India has made a definite demand and that Goverment also should publish a definite scheme. It holds that many Anglo-Indian newspapers took up the cry of Lord Pentland like foxes raising a cry in unison and that the big fox of England, Mr. Chamberlain, also opened his throat and supported Lord Pentland.]

Comments on the alleged prohibition by the Collector of Larkana of a public meeting at Larkana to protest against the Madras internments.
Sind Journal (10), 5th July.

6. "It is impolitic to suppress the feelings of the people which must find an outlet any how. It is, therefore, strange that the Collector of Larkana should have thought it fit to prohibit the holding of a protest meeting in any public place in Larkana.......... The *Larkana Gazette* publishes the whole account as to how the meeting came to be held in a private garden after all. The attendance at the meeting was necessarily thin, but speeches were made and resolutions were passed which would get publicity through the medium of the Press. The attitude adopted by the Collector was quite unwarranted, as we cannot believe that Larkana is totally different from the other parts of India where protest meetings have been held without any dire consequences. The interference of the officials with the legitimate activities of the people only creates bitterness of feeling which should be the aim of statesmanship to avoid."

Comments on the alleged repressive acts of the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjáb and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi.
Gujaráti Punch (18), 8th July, Eng. cols.

7. Referring to the alleged repressive action recently taken by the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi the *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—"These two noble Knights of the Order of the Civil Service, with the intent of out-doing Lord Pentland, have made use of the handy instrument the Defence of India Act and put an unwarranted restraint on the liberties of the people. Mr. Hailey has under powers vested (or assumed to be vested) in him under section 3 of the Defence of India Act, 1915, stopped a meeting of the Citizens of Delhi to express their feelings with respect to the recent internments. And Sir O'Dwyer has issued a notice to the press not to publish reports of or reference to the public meeting held at Bradlaugh Hall to protest against the action of the Madras Government interning Mrs. Besant. His subordinate, the Deputy Commissioner, Láhore, has addressed a letter to the heads of the Colleges and educational institutions saying that 'as it would be inadvisable for students to attend the meeting, I shall be glad if you will advise the students of your college not to attend. *I would suggest that a master of each unit be deputed to attend and see that your orders are obeyed.*' A great honour to the teaching profession to be put on a level with the officers of that eminent service, the C. I. D. We think the Act has been sufficiently abused and it is now high time that the Government of India would direct that its provisions be applied within its legitimate and narrow bounds."

Comments on the suggestion for the election of Mrs. Besant as President of the Congress.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 14th July.

8. Referring to the suggestion made by Sir Subramania Iyer that Mrs. Besant should be elected President of the forthcoming Indian National Congress, the *Dnyán Prakásh* points out that the *Hindu* and the *Leader* deprecate the suggestion as unwise and opposed to the best interests of the country although they recognise Mrs. Besant's invaluable services in connection with the *Swarájya* movement, and expresses the hope that the view expressed by those two influential organs will be shared by all.

Rast Goftar (30), 15th July, Eng. cols.

*9. "Attractive as Sir Subramania Iyer's proposal may appear in view of the forced attention which this gifted old lady has been made the subject of by a faulty and injudicious step on the part of Government, it has the elements of short-sightedness which was never expected from a gentleman of Sir Subramania's reputation for political acumen and forethought. The question of the internment of Mrs. Besant can be fought out on its own intrinsic merits, but whatever sympathy that is easy to feel for her and whatever resentment that may be honestly entertained at the temporary check that has been imposed on her public activities may be expressed by other means than by proposing her for the presidentship of the Congress,—a course which is certain to bring that body into direct open conflict with Government and to complicate matters quite unnecessarily for those who guide the affairs of the Congress.......... We do not see what great purpose would be served by electing an individual for the Presidentship of that body on whose liberty of movement and speech an embargo has been placed by Government which may continue to be in force when the Congress is in sessions.......... We do not believe that the suggestion of Sir Subramania would find favour with any large number of the men with whom the election finally rests."

Sir R. Tagore on the Madras internments.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 15th July.

*10. "Sir Rabindranath Tagore has added his voice to the many voices throughout India which have been raised in protest against the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant and her two lieutenants......... Government must see from the singular unanimity evinced by all shades of opinion in this matter, that they have been misled into committing a big blunder. We earnestly hope that they will have the courage to rectify it at once by revoking the order of internment against Mrs. Besant and her friends.......... Mrs. Besant interned is a more formidable personage than Mrs. Besant at large has ever been or can ever possibly be."

Comments on the extension of the terms of Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon.

Praja Bandhu (27), 8th July, Eng. cols.

11. Commenting upon the extension of the terms of office of Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"While Anglo-India will welcome it the same cannot be said of a considerable section of the Indian public. It is said that Lord Willingdon has by his suavity and charming manners won over the hearts of the people of this Presidency. This is true to some extent, but it cannot at the same time be denied that some recent measures of the Government have disappointed a considerable section of the Indian public. The case of Lord Pentland is much worse. His last indiscreet speech in the Madras Legislative Council followed by the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two co-workers under the orders of his Government has practically set the whole indigenous India ablaze. As is well known protest meetings have been already held in several places not only in the Madras Presidency but in other parts of the country as well, and a demand for Lord Pentland's immediate recall to England has been urged upon the Secretary of State for India from some quarters. Instead of paying any attention to it the Secretary of State has invited Lord Pentland to serve on in India."

Kesari (106), 10th July; *Shubhodaya* (89), 6th July.

12. Commenting on the extensions granted to Lord Willingdon and Lord Pentland, the *Kesari* says that the arguments that have been advanced for the extension are very ridiculous and shallow. It goes on:—We do not know whether we are to weep or to laugh at the reason that restrictions on travel made extension for an indefinite period necessary. If that was the real reason some arrangements could have been made for their voyage. It was proposed to Mrs. Besant that she would be safely escorted to England if she would go out of India. If any one but Mr. Chamberlain had spoken in this fashion he would have been sent to the Bedlam. The extension granted is an answer by the higher officials to the Indian agitation. We should be ready to face the trouble, trusting in God. [The *Shubhodaya* remarks:—The arrangement may be convenient to Government in a way, but

we cannot say whether it will turn out good or bad for us. Lord Willingdon and Lord Pentland were such nice gentlemen till recently. Only for the last three or four months they have been subjected to public criticism. Have they taken action according to Simla orders? But the new Governors also would be controlled from Simla. So the old hands are preferable. They have been subjected to severe criticism and they may try to wash off the stain on their names. But the new men may deny all responsibility and argue that everything has become a settled fact.]

Gujarâti (16), 8th July; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 8th July.

13. The *Gujarâti* expresses surprise that the term of office of Lord Willingdon and Lord Pentland should have been extended because of the restrictions placed upon travelling by sea. It significantly observes that these restrictions did not come in the way of Lords Hardinge and Carmichael when they left India. It remarks that the belief of the people is that if these restrictions had operated in the case of Lord Hardinge's retirement no need would have been felt for putting the Defence of India Act into action. People cannot understand, observes the paper, why restrictions on voyages should have affected the exit of Governors when the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha went to England and have returned, when Lord Ronaldshay came to India along with his family, when Sir Frederick Blake came in connection with the manufacture of munitions in this country and when Sir Prabhashanker Pattani and Mr. Basu will be shortly going to England for taking their seats in the India Council. The paper thinks that the real reason for these extensions is that suitable members of the English aristocracy are either not willing to come over to India or that they are not available on account of the exigencies of the war. It is not surprised that Lords Willingdon and Pentland should have given their consent to Mr. Chamberlain to continue to serve in India. For are they, it inquires, ill off in any way in this country? Referring to the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office, the paper remarks that the people inquire what His Excellency has done during the last 4½ years of his *regime* in the matter of education, local self-government, sanitation and the reform of the local Legislative Council for them to remember his name with affection. It also considers it to be odd that Lord Pentland should have been continued at the helm of affairs in Madras when he himself has declared his ignorance about the resolutions passed in public bodies like the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League which are the exponents of the aspirations of the people. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, on the contrary, welcomes the extension of Lord Willingdon's term of office. It, however, remarks that but for this extension His Excellency would have left behind him feelings of estrangement and, to some extent, bitter memories. It expresses the wish that His Excellency will avail himself of the unusual opportunity now afforded to him accidentally of taking public leaders into his confidence and removing the feelings of variance caused by the expression of some of his political views. The paper also doubts if the people of Madras will relish the extension of Lord Pentland's term of office as Governor of their Presidency.]

Hindu females should be made to observe the *Swadeshi* vow during the four sacred Hindu months.

Sandesh (118), 13th July.

14. A 'Home Ruler' makes a suggestion in the *Sandesh* that during the *chaturmas* (the four sacred Hindu months) which has just commenced, boys and girls should be made strictly to observe the *Swadeshi* vow and people should make it a point not to touch food before praying to God everyday to grant Home Rule to India.

Inamdars in the Central Provinces are being threatened with confiscation of their vatans for joining the Home Rule League.

Kesari (106), 10th July.

15. **The officials seem to have pledged themselves to excite the minds of the people of the country. We have already commented on the Tuticorin and Lahore meetings. The Commissioner of Delhi disallowed the meeting itself. In the Central Provinces officials have been threatening the Inamdars that their vatans would be confiscated if they joined the Home Rule League. It is not illegal to join a Home Rule League, and**

moreover, these Inamdars are not Government servants. Zamindars take a leading part in political agitation in Bengal and Madras. Why, then, these threats in other provinces? The question will of course come up before the Central Provinces Council. No one should take any notice of the Police warnings. If Government confiscate vatans, the matter may be taken to court for decision. But till that question arises the best way is to pursue our path without minding the threats or growls of lower officials.

It is a mistake on the part of Governors to treat Indians as mere children.
Gujaráti (16), 15th July, Eng. cols.

*16. "In India the people are every now and then treated to *candid* homilies. But this candour is often of an interested and one-sided character. It commands no genuine respect and does not add to the diginity and moral influence of those who think it their peculiar right and privilege to deliver such sermons in the belief that educated Indians are mere school-boys and deserve to be treated as such. This is altogether a mistaken belief and the sooner it is dispelled the better. Simply because a peer, who whatever else he may be, certainly does not belong to the first rank of British politicians, happens to be placed by a stroke of good fortune in an exalted position in India, that is surely no reason for him to put on superior airs and look upon the people under his sway as children who every now and then stand in need of so-called candid and friendly homilies."

Parsis and high posts in the public service.
Rást Goftár (30), 8th July.

17. Referring to the appointment of Sir Prabhashanker Pattani and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu as Members of the India Council and expressing gratification at capable Indians being thus placed in high Government posts the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—But how is it that the Parsis are not included among persons appointed to such positions? In the Bombay High Court, after the appointment of one Parsi judge, no other Parsi has been elevated to the Bench; not a single Parsi has been appointed member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Bombay, nor has the name of any competent Parsi been mentioned in connection with the Council of the Secretary of State for India. Why should it be so? Does the Parsi community not contain men competent enough to fill such posts? How is that the sons of a community which has up till now taken the lead in education and progress, commerce and industry, are left out in the cold so far as high Government positions are concerned? If they are intentionally kept in the back-ground, it will be looked upon as a piece of gross injustice; but if competent Parsis are not now really available, the Parsi community must be regarded as having fallen on evil days. It should be ascertained which is the real state of things. But the Parsis have become so very indifferent in this matter that nobody even raises the question. On the contrary it looks as if the Parsis acknowledged that only the Hindus and the Muhammadans are fit to become Councillors. What a disgrace to the community if that be the case! But is it really so?

Spread of revolutionary tendencies in India.
Young India (14), 11th July.

18. In his third article on Home Rule Mr. B. C. Pál writes:—"The Government frankly admit the presence of very serious revolutionary tendencies in the country. These have actively affected only a very insignificant section of our youthful intellectuals. The larger and saner public stand aloof from all this midsummer madness. But it would not be true to say that the central ideal of the revolutionaries is not equally shared by the general body of their countrymen. Stated in the most general terms, this ideal means the desire of the people of India to be in their own country as other civilised peoples of our time are in theirs. It means the desire for national autonomy.......... But the decisions of the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference indicate the commencement of an insiduous but carefully organised movement to deprive India, for an indefinite period, of this irreducible measure of national freedom and self-fulfilment. It will kill all hope of real national autonomy for India. And we shudder to think what this may mean. The most serious aspect of the situation is the spread of revolutionary tendencies even among the masses. This has been seen in the Punjáb. German intrigue may, as it is believed, be largely responsible for the troubles in the Punjáb. But no enemy intrigues can succeed where the people have no secret sense of wrong or irritation against the Government."

Students and political meetings.

Young India (14), 11th July.

19. "The gospel of reaction preached in Madras was repeated with flaunting impunity at Dacca. The chorus of popular protest, remonstrance and condemnation aroused throughout the country has been treated with studied and insolent disregard.......... The Government of Bombay have issued an order that no student may attend any meeting held under the auspices of the Home Rule Leagues or where Home Rule for India may be advocated. In other words by arbitrary coercion the young Indian is to be restrained from learning about his country, and loving his country.......... Would Lord Willingdon be prepared to penalise a young Irishman from attending meetings where Home Rule for Ireland was advocated, or a young Canadian or young Australian in similar circumstances supposing they had not already Home Rule? Being an English Liberal and an English gentleman, we know he would not. The order against students participating in Home Rule meetings is both impolitic and immoral. Its principle is utterly un-British. It must be cancelled."

The Commerce Member of the Government of India in Bombay.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 13th and 14th July; *Sánj Vartmán* (31), 11th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 12th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 12th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 14th July, Eng. cols.

20. Referring to the informal discussions that recently took place between Sir George Barnes, Member for Commerce and Industry of the Government of India, and the leading representatives of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce and of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the *Bombay Samáchár* congratulates the Commerce member and the said representatives for the various suggestions made by the latter and for the sympathetic replies given by the former. It expresses its sense of intense gratification at the policy of Government, as declared by Sir George, of making India more self-supporting in future than she has been in the past and of giving an impetus to the growth of indigenous industries by placing Government orders with Indian concerns, and wishes that Government might see their way to carrying out this policy without delay. In the light of its experience about the commandeering of steamers in England by Government which has not had the effect of marring the prosperity of the steamer companies, the paper believes that the manufacturers of cement in India need have no such anxiety as was given expression to by the Honourable Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas in the course of his address. It remarks that these manufacturers should, in fact, welcome the present arrangement of Government purchasing the whole of their produce inasmuch as it tends to gratify the long-expressed desire of Indian manufacturers for Government patronage. It wishes that the hope of the Government of India of having a satisfactory settlement of the vexed subject of the Viramgam customs line at an early date may be soon realised. The paper also expresses satisfaction at Sir George Barnes assuring the Indian Chamber that no unnecessary restrictions will be placed upon the bleaching powder and other chemicals manufactured from salt in Káthiáwár on their entering the British territory. [In the subsequent issue the paper remarks that the appointment by Government of the Selection Committees will help greatly to minimise the disturbance of trade likely to be caused by the military training for Europeans under the Indian Defence Force scheme. In connection with the suggestion made by Mr. Hogg for the issue of Premium Bonds conjointly with the ordinary form of loan if Government thought it necessary to raise another loan next year, the paper expresses its belief that the issue of such bonds will prove very attractive to a section of Indian investors. The *Sánj Vartamán* thinks that if a fresh loan were to be raised next year the terms and conditions attached to it should be such that the raising of it may not injure the interests of the investors in the Terminable Loan of the current year. It thanks Sir George Barnes for his assuarance that Government would not allow the indigenous cement industry to suffer from unequal foreign competition, which, it declares, can be best secured by imposing a sufficiently high import duty on foreign cement. The paper also observes that the news about the pros-

pective abolition of the custom duties at Viramgam will spread great satisfaction among the people of Káthiáwár. The *Hindusthán* warmly welcomes Sir George's declaration that the policy of the Government of India was to make the country more self-supporting in future than it had been in the past by promoting the rapid growth of new Indian industries. It wishes that the fact should not be lost sight of that the economic advancement of India is a source of great help to the Empire. It declares that the people of Gujarát and Káthiáwár will be grateful to Lord Chelmsford if the levy of the custom duties at Viramgam comes to be abolished in the near future, as it is expected to be. *Apropos* of the action of Government in purchasing all cement manufactured in India at a fixed rate the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the authorities should not forget that once foreign competitors become established in the trade in the Indian markets, it would be difficult to oust them afterwards. It, therefore, suggests that Government should allow 25 per cent. of the cement manufactured in India to be sold in the open market. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"Indian companies can have no objection to tendering cement requisitioned by Government for military purposes. What they contend against, however, is that it should be taken up under the Defence of India Act even for semi-public bodies like the Municipalities, Railways, etc.......... We welcome the desire of the Government to make the country self-supporting, but care must needs be taken that in the process she does not get even some of the existing industries crippled.......... The Viramgam grievance is now nearing its end and the Indian public will feel deeply grateful to Government for paying heed to the appeals of the Indian public, though after so long a time. We are glad to learn from the Honourable Sir George Barnes that 'His Excellency the Viceroy has taken and is taking the keenest personal interest in this question'.......... We feel that His Excellency Lord Willingdon also deserves not a little credit for he must have impressed on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford the harassing nature of these customs duties."]

Comments on the new appointments to the India Council.
Indian Social Reformer (3), 15th July.

*21. "Sir Prabhashankar Pattani has been appointed in succession to Raja Daljit Singh, and the Honourable Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu has been nominated as an additional Indian Member of the Secretary of State's Council. Both the nominations are satisfactory, but we are afraid the time is past when this kind of concession will be regarded by Indian opinion as of any weight or value. As a matter of fact, the additional membership has fallen flat, and, indeed, it is resented by some advanced sections of opinion as an attempt to put off the essential demands of reform with an empty concession."

Hind Vijaya (64), 11th July.

22. We have grave doubts as to whether Sir Prabhashanker, who has risen in life through the grace of God, has made a deep study of Indian questions. He owes his present appointment to the India Council also to the favour of Government. He will be deserving of our congratulations if he, like Mr. Basu, makes a detailed study of Indian polity and raises his voice to acquaint the Secretary of State with the real state of affairs in India. We hope Sir Prabhashanker will take up our suggestion and endeavour to make his tenure a success.

Report of a meeting at Hyderabad (Sind) to popularise *Swadeshi*.
Sind Journal (16), 12th July.

23. "Under the auspices of the local branch of the Home Rule League a crowded public meeting was held at the Holmstead Hall, Hyderabad (Sind), to popularise the *Swadeshi* idea on Sunday last. Diwan Partabrai Manghirsing was voted to the chair. Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, Misir Lokram and Mr. Jethmal Parsram made eloquent speeches, explaining the urgent need of carrying out the *Swadeshi* programme under the present conditions. Seventy persons signed a pledge on the spot to use *Swadeshi* goods as far as possible and even at a loss."

Alleged reign of terror at Dádar (Bombay).

Mahrátta (5), 15th July.

*24. Under the heading "Struck out", the *Mahrátta* writes :—"In deference to the wish of the District Magistrate, Poona, we have struck out the matter which occupied this space. We print here the letter of the Magistrate *in extenso* in order that our readers and especially certain correspondents who pressed us to oblige them may be in possession of the facts which have come in our way. We have an idea that we shall be in a position to enlighten our readers next week regarding the alleged reign of terror at Dádar, for we hope that the District Magistrate may be brought to see the futility of our being silent on the Dadar matters when they have been published and commented on by Bombay dailies." [Here follows the District Magistrate's letter asking the Editor to abstain from any reference to the subject in his papers, the *Kesari* and the *Mahrátta*.]

Message (6), 14th July.

25. "We have since received a number of complaints from the Dadar and Matunga public confirming in various degrees the allegations that have previously come to our knowledge. We now feel that the time has come for drawing the pointed and immediate attention of the military authorities as well as of the Local Government to the extremely agitated condition of feeling among the peaceful and helpless populations of these areas. The Labour Recruiting agency stationed there has become an object of terror and the depredations of gangs of labour recruiting agents have spread among the poor people a sense of despair. Unless the authorities take immediate steps to bring under better control the Labour Depôt, its agents and its methods, the only alteranative before the people is to emigrate elsewhere and abandon the place to the tender mercies of fate. Another source of nuisance is the visitation of the Japanese and Chinese hordes who have contributed in no small measure to make the conditions hopelessly bad.......... We note with great pleasure the appeal of Mr. Mashruwala for volunteers who are prepared to give their time and service for protecting the poor and helpless people of these localities. We are not quite so sanguine about the success of Mr. Mashruwala's idea of doing work, having special regard to the apparent indifference or apathy of the police to come to the rescue of the affected public. But still, the matter is worth a trial."

Indu Prakásh (39), 13th July; *Sandesh* (118), 14th July; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 13th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 14th July.

26. Under the just rule of the English there are rare instances of criminal assault on women. It is very painful, therefore, to have to record some such instances of exasperating character that have occurred during the last few days. Recently a ruffian tried forcibly to carry away a young school-girl in a thickly populated part of the city and the police only arrived on the spot when the girl had somehow already escaped from his clutches. Similar instances have occurred at Dadar and in Girgaum. Are the vigilant police of Bombay asleep and is the C. I. D. meant to watch the Home Rule movement only? What do we pay taxes for if the Police do not afford the necessary protection to our women? If they are unable to do their duty we should organise volunteer units to guard the honour of our women folk. [The paper then refers to the letters published in the *Bombay Chronicle* complaining about the alleged mischievous activities of men of the Labour Corps encamped at Dadar and remarks that these events add fuel to the fire when the public are already agitated by the repressive policy of Government. It indignantly asks whether the police have in their cowardice decided to give us a taste of the horrors committed by the Germans on the people of France and Belgium. In conclusion it invites the attention of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon to this matter and prays for early redress. The *Sandesh* writes :—We have received complaints that soldiers harass the people at Dadar, Parel, &c., and some mill-hands have consequently struck work. We also learn that female mill-hands leave work early in the evening as they are afraid to move in the streets after dark. One Mr. Mashruwala who is convinced about the truth of these allegations has called for volunteers to defend the honour of the female labourers. It is undesirable for the people and the authorities alike

that matters should come to such a pass. We request the police and the military, therefore, to make early inquiries into this matter and remove the grievances of the people. The *Sanj Vartamán* publishes at length the details of an interview granted to its representative by the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, wherein Mr. Vincent declared that there was no foundation for the rumours about the alleged murder of an Indian woman at Matunga and the abduction of another in a motor car and that there was no truth in the reports of women and school-girls being molested by the members of the Labour Corps at Dadar as no complaints were made to the police in the matter. The Commissioner of Police is reported to have given an assurance to the representative that he was prepared to render all possible assistance to the public in redressing their grievances, if they had any, provided the aggrieved party lodged a complaint at the nearest Police station. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* publishes a *communiqué* issued in the Press by Mr. Vincent to the above effect. Other papers also publish Mr. Vincent's *communiqué*.]

Indu Prakásh (39), 12th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 12th July.

27. Mr. A. M. Syed writes to the *Indu Prakásh*:—Many new people who have come down to Bombay in connection with the several military establishments have been causing much annoyance to ladies in the streets. On Tuesday last at about 3-30 P.M. about 15 of these low-paid employés tried to stop three school girls near the Prarthana Samaj Building in Girgaum. I intervened and the girls were able to go away, but in the meantime those brutes turned their attention to about ten ladies who were standing near a post-office pillar close by. These ladies, however, escaped by running to the other side of the street. There was no policeman on the spot, but I found some high class people idly looking on! I trust the Police and the Military will take steps to prevent similar incidents in future. [The *Hindusthán* refers to the letters appearing in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the same date complaining about molestation of women by members of the Labour Corps encamped at Dadar and asks the authorities to investigate into the matter and to remove the causes of complaint as also allay the panic that has been caused by rumours among the illiterate classes by apprising them of the true state of things with regard to this matter by beat of drum as had been done in the case of the panic that had spread among the people at the beginning of the war.]

Comments on Mr. Chamberlain's resignation.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 13th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 13th July; *Prája Mitra and Pársi* (28), 14th July.

28. No one will be grieved at the news of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation. His career as Secretary of State for India has proved a failure. The public have been greatly disappointed by the attitude assumed by Mr. Chamberlain towards the policy of repression adopted by local Governments in India. He has supported Mrs. Besant's internment by the Madras Government without inquiring into the matter and has come into disfavour by giving an extension, to Lord Pentland. His resignation will under the circumstances, be received with delight in India. We hope a liberal-minded statesman, who will do justice to the claims of India, will be appointed to succeed Mr. Chamberlain. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—Mr. Chamberlain has done nothing remarkable for India and has disappointed all the high hopes entertained of him at the time of his appointment and has taken no steps to conciliate the opinion of educated Indians. The *Prája Mitra and Pársi* writes:—Mr. Chamberlain's resignation has caused neither surprise nor sorrow among the people. He has done nothing remarkable. He put blind faith in his subordinates and was led by them.]

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Cadell's speech at the Mahar recruiting meeting at the Bombay Town Hall.

Indu Prakásh (39), 10th July, Eng. cols.

29. "We do not know how the adoption of the class-company system led to the exclusion of the Mahars. Even now, the Mahars are to be formed into a separate battalion, and we fail to understand how it was necessary not 'to take the Mahars for the army in deference to the prejudices of other castes'. Mr. Cadell, before making this gratuitous attack on the 'other castes', should have at least thought out how he should *express himself*, if it was not necessary for him to state the facts about this apparent imputation. We cannot for a moment think that Lord Willingdon is responsible for the manner of Mr. Cadell. Lord Willingdon has equal sympathy 'with all classes included within the sphere of his governorship'. It was only one of Mr. Cadell's civilian arguments to the Mahars. Mr. Cadell thought that if he told the fact to the Mahars about Government's apathy to the repeated requests of the Mahars, it would be essentially unbureaucratic. Therefore, he must conceal the fact that Government were apathetic because the only problem before Government was to keep the peace of the country, and Government were always sure, and rightly sure, of the peaceful nature of the people, and that they could safely leave that business to the ordinary Police.......... That is the case, true and convincing as well as noble. But Mr. Cadell must not make out that case. He thought that under any circumstances Government must have granted the Mahars' petitions, and if Government did not, he must throw the blame on 'other castes'. Blasphemy of the 'other castes' is not, Mr. Cadell ought to know, the only way to enlist the Mahars in the army. They want to enlist, and straightway give them an opportunity. His Majesty's Government give it, and Mr. Cadell should have only congratulated himself on being the Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government when His Majesty's Government are giving that privilege to the Mahars."

Comments on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report.
Message (6), 8th July.

30. "It is a mistake to blame Lord Hardinge for the sins of commission and omission which are more directly traceable to the outlived system of government practised in this country and to the ignorance and incapacity of the Secretary of State. Our own opinion is that the blame rests *primarily* on Mr. Chamberlain and his military experts in London, India and Mesopotamia. It rests in a large measure, too, on the War Council of the Asquith régime, which allowed itself to be influenced by the opinions of the Secretary of State, who has justly earned the nice name of 'know-nothing.'......... It is impossible not to sympathise with Lord Hardinge that a cruel irony of fate should have found him in office at a time when the environments of that office were uncongenial. There can be no doubt that he behaved throughout his viceroyalty with a splendid sense of duty, courage and statesmanship. But for his presence at the helm of affairs in India at a critical juncture like the opening months of the war, Great Britain might have found a far from encouraging prospect in this country."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 15th July; *Mahrátta* (5), 15th July.

*31. "The responsibility for any mishaps rests, therefore, not with the Government of India, but with the Secretary of State and the Government of which he was a member. That there were not more serious mishaps was solely and wholly due to the implicit confidence reposed by India in Lord Hardinge as the custodian of her honour and her aspirations. No other Viceroy enjoyed in the same or anything like the same measure the confidence and goodwill of the people of India. It is surely an irony of fate that instead of being thanked for his magnificent services to India and the Empire in this great crisis of our history, this noble-minded statesman should be called upon to defend himself before his countrymen......... The telegram which the Bombay Presidency Association has sent to the Prime Minister very aptly embodies the universal feeling of the people of India regarding the Mesopotamian Commission's ill-conceived comments on Lord Hardinge's share of responsibility for the mistakes of the campaign." [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"The Mesopotamia muddle—is it not a proof that the Bureaucrats with all their vanity are no gods, but poor-brained mortals who will make mistakes, nay, blunders, grave and even criminal? Does it lie in the mouth of such men to tell us that we are unfit to rule ourselves?"]

Indu Prakásh (39), 11th July, Eng. cols.

32. "We are seriously afraid the Council of India in love with their pliable tool Mr. Chamberlain had determined to knock down the noble Lord Hardinge who was too tough a nut for them. The Commissioners

that sat to inquire into the failure of the Mesopotamian campaign seem to have paid little heed to the supreme fact that the Parliament has created as an oligarchy over the head of the viceroy that cabalish body, viz., the Council of India, a body that is responsible to nobody and is able to hatch mischief in the cells of darkness.......... Lord Hardinge pathetically refers to his past honourable service for thirty-seven years. He does this merely on account of his supreme sense of duty. Had his Lordship been as unblushing as Mr. Austen Chamberlain he would not have shown so much submission. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in fact, does not show any. In spite of the fact of the Mesopotamian failure and reprobation of the Commission, he sticks to his office with a supreme imperturbability......... On no account must Lord Hardinge come by any trouble. All the greater responsibility rests on Mr. Chamberlain. Not only did he fail in the Mesopotamian compaign, but also has he kept himself culpably ignorant of Indian affairs and criminally subservient to the desires of the Council of India. *He* must go out of office."

Kesari (106), 10th July.

33. Every one regrets that Lord Hardinge has been censured in the Mesopotamia Commission's report. It is a glaring instance of England's ingratitude that the noble statesman who served her faithfully for 37 years in important positions has had piteously to appeal to his former record of services. We assure Lord Hardinge that we are gratefully thankful to him for his services to India. We need not travel far to see the difference in the effect produced on the public, firstly by the utterances of the Viceroy who warned the I. C. S. that it was necessary to reinvest Indians with the rights of *Swarájya* and then by the orders of the official who asked Indians to cease thinking about *Swarájya*. During the *regimé* of the first, three lakhs of men could be sent out of India while under the *regimé* of the latter, 6,000 men could not be recruited for the Indian Defence Force.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 7th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 9th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 8th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 10th July; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 8th July; *Indian Loyalist* (22), 12th July; *Young India* (14), 11th July; **Sunday Tatler* (13), 15th July.

34. The allegations made against Lord Hardinge in the report of the Mesopotamia Commission are quite unfair. The people of India are at one in regarding Lord Hardinge as free from blame. It is not Lord Hardinge but the administrative machinery of India that is responsible for the failure of the Mesopotamia Expedition. Lord Hardinge was bound down by the military policy which gave the sole authority in such matters to the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Hardinge's statement in the House of Lords goes to enhance our respect for his statesmanship. He has vindicated the honour of India and thrown light on the help given by her in the war. The administrative machinery that is responsible for the failure of the Mesopotamia Expedition should be overhauled. The whole of India should support Lord Hardinge and thank him for his spirited explanation. [The *Bombay Samáchár* refuses to regard Lord Hardinge as responsible for the failure of the expedition and calls upon the people of India to assure both Houses of Parliament of their confidence in the *ex*-Viceroy. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, the *Hindusthán*, the *Shri Venkateshwar* and the *Indian Loyalist* dwell on the services rendered by Lord Hardinge to India and express their admiration for the explanation given by him and thank him for enumerating the valuable services rendered by India. All of them express hopes that Lord Hardinge will come out of his troubles unscathed. *Young India* writes :—"It is after all the governed alone that have the last word, and in their considered judgment, Lord Hardinge is free from the base insinuations and malicious attacks that have been made on him as an administrator and statesman." The *Sunday Tatler* writes :—"For the rest, nothing has been shown to cast the slightest blame on Lord Hardinge as Viceroy in war time. Indian opinion is emphatic on the point and herein it is supported by the best Anglo-Indian opinion, in which latter category Calcutta opinion cannot be included."]

Comments on Lord Hardinge's statement with regard to the Mesopotamia Commission's Report.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 9th July ; **Rást Goftár* (30), 15th July, Eng. cols.

35. Commenting upon the statement made by Lord Hardinge in the House of Lords with regard to the Mesopotamia Commission's Report, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks :—"How many rulers have we now in India who are prepared to say what Lord Hardinge did and to tread in his footsteps ? Nevertheless, it is the verdict of India that counts so far as the position of a ruler in India is concerned. Lord Ripon, Lord Reay claimed to be judged by the verdict of the people of India. Lord Hardinge has followed their example, and holds a place in the hearts of the people of India very near theirs. .... The complete reversal of his great and wise policy, repression rampant in word and in deed, this is the order of the day in India and it fills all loyal well-wishers of Government with grave misgivings. Lord Hardinge's place is not at the bar of Parliament or English public opinion, but back to the Viceroyalty of India to restore general confidence and help India in moving along the appointed path to the goal of full partnership in the Empire." [The *Rást Goftár* writes :—"The statement which Lord Hardinge made in self-defence against the sweeping allegations of the Mesopotamia Commission was at once so satisfactory and conclusive as to render his anxiety for a verdict of India on his alleged failure an act of supererogation. Since, however, India has been asked by His Lordship to pronounce its verdict, it is summed up in the predominant sentiment in this country which regards Lord Hardinge as the saviour of India and of the Empire. That verdict was pronounced in no mistakable manner when in the midst of his administration India with one voice appealed for a prolongation of his term of office."]

Comments on the proceedings of the Bombay Exemption Tribunal.

Message (6), 11th July.

36. "In the course of its work, the Bombay Exemption Tribunal has propounded some wonderful ideas regarding 'work of national importance'. We pointed out some time ago that this body summing up in itself the highest wisdom of mankind had come to the conclusion that distillery work was one of the utmost national improtance, and that, therefore, those who are engaged on it must be exempted from joining the Defence Force. Next in importance only to this is the Gramophone Trade. At its sitting yesterday at the Town Hall the Tribunal had before it the consideration of an application from a Mr. Sutherland of the Gramophone Company.......... Captain S. T. Sheppard, representing the General Officer Commanding Bombay Brigade on the Tribunal, interposed with the remark that gramophone business was not work of national interest. But the Honourable Mr. W. C. Shepherd sympathised with Mr. Sutherland and agreeing with the view that the closing down of the business was not desirable in the national interests, granted the application. We wonder if there is a Maharaja of Bobbili in this Presidency, who might take us to task for our impertinence and disloyalty if we approve of the Honourable Mr. Sheppard's view and also suggest to him to bear in mind that fiddling also is a matter of vital national interest. If a fiddler turns up to-morrow before the Tribunal, we trust Mr. Sheppard will not deny him exemption."

The policy of the *New Times* newspaper.

New Times (7), 3rd July.

37. After announcing that it has received from a gentleman who wishes to be unknown a gift of Rs. 1,000 towards the *New Times* Fund, the paper remarks :—"We are anxious to take, in all matters, an independent opinion of men and measures. One is our God, the Universal Father, one our Scripture, the Truth of Conscience and History : one our Passion, the service of the Mother Immortal. So it is we regard the cause of the *New Times* as sacred ; and every expression of sympathy coming from our readers is to us a source of comfort and strength in the work on which we are engaged. We wish to heal the wounds with which is wounded the Nation that we love ; we wish to reconcile people and the Government one to the other ; we wish to serve the King and the Empire. And if our efforts are opposed and our work embarassed, we still stand sure upon the path of service without a halt, withour a fear, knowing the truth of History that the Good and the Right, and the Pure and the True are Immortal and will vindicate themselves one day."

Immediate action should be taken by Government against Pathan terrorism and the Bombay slave traffic.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 12th July.

38. "Since the public conscience was rudely aroused to the shocking abuses of slave traffic in Bombay, by the hideous facts of a murder case in the Bombay High Court in April last, there has been a great deal of agitation and discussion over this question, and the allied subject of Pathan terrorism. But we do not see that, except for a halting proposition brought forward in the Corporation, there has been any practical result of that agitation. In the meanwhile, fresh evidence of the extent and intensity of this evil is being brought to light in the proceedings of our criminal courts. Only within the last few days several cases concerned with this traffic, have come up for trial before the courts. Two of them are pending in the Police Court, and one was disposed of before Mr. Justice Kajiji in the Criminal Sessions of the High Court on Monday. This last was a shocking and pitiable story of how the local slave-market is being supplied and kept running.......... It seems to us that the most strenuous measures are needed, and that too promptly, to hunt down from our midst this race of vampires. If the dreadful murder case in last April has not been sufficient to rouse the Government and the public, we think that in the light of what is now being daily revealed, further inaction is almost criminal. The whole question must be thoroughly investigated. There must be a commission immediately appointed to go into the conditions of the local slave-market. Sections 372 and 373 of the Penal Code are sufficiently wide and comprehensive. But it is now common knowledge that they are being constantly evaded."

Comments on the recent case of assault by a Pathan on a woman at Charni Road.

Indu Prakásh (39), 13th July.

39. Commenting on the case of assault on a woman by a Pathan at the Charni Road Tramway Jnnction, the *Indu Parkásh* says that the woman was saved from further ill-treatment by the timely arrival of a European Inspector of Police. It remarks that a large crowd including some policemen assembled on the spot, but no one attempted to rescue the woman. It asks whether the Pathans are allowed to assault with impunity their debtors who fail to repay them in time and whether the police have instructions not to arrest the Pathans.

Comments on the taking of security from the *New Times* and the *Hindu Missionary*.

Kesari (106), 10th July.

40. Officials often charge political agitators with committing breach of the public peace. But it is surprising to note that many a time they themselves do things consciously or unconciously that go to excite the people. Of the sentences objected to while demanding security from the Karáchi *New Times* the following was one, 'Government are attempting to put down Home Rule agitation by interning Mrs. Besant'. Now is this sentence more likely to excite the people or the demand of security from the paper that wrote it? The Magistrate ordered that security should be taken from the paper without taking any notice of the explanations of the editor. But the Karáchi *New Times* is at least a political paper. But the *Hindu Missionary* which has recently been started in Bombay only for religious discussion had to pay a security of Rs. 500 at the very beginning. Mr. Vaidya quietly submitted to the order requiring him to pay down money and presented G. P. Notes of Rs. 500 in accordance with the Press Act. Who knows whether the officials themselves have ceased to care for the credit of Government? The Magistrate plainly told Mr. Vaidya to pay Rs. 170 more as the market value of the G. P. Notes was only Rs. 330. Should not the higher officials ask him to explain why he discredited the G. P. Notes and why he dishonoured the law? The clause permitting the deposit of G. P. Notes was introduced by the Select Committee and much was made of the concession by Government at that time. But where lies the concession when an additional sum of Rs. 170 had to be paid along with the G. P. Notes? It is really shameful that while one thing is said while enacting a measure, the lower officials should resort to hair-splitting while giving effect to it and that the Government officials themselves should lower the value of the G. P. Notes in the market.

Government should be asked to disclose its policy as regards the rights of Khots.

Satya Shodhak (119), 8th July.

41. The Khoti Sabha of Chiplun is said to have come into existence as the result of an inquiry by the Assistant Collector, Northern Division, Ratnágiri, of the Khots whether they were willing to part with their rights in exchange for an amount twenty times the Khots' profit. On the other hand, Government stated at the last meeting of the Legislative Council that the question of extinguishing Khots' rights was not under consideration. Under the circumstances, we would suggest that some elected member of the Legislative Council should interpellate Government on the following points at the ensuing meeting of the Legislative Council:—Do Government desire to extinguish the rights of the Khots? If not, how is it that the inquiries of local officials, while on tour, support the general belief that some such step is contemplated? Has there been any demand that Government should determine the value of the Khots' rights to allow the tenant to have the option of purchasing his land? Are not inquiries of the character referred to by local officials likely to create further ill-will between the Khots and their tenants?

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Honouable Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill.

Prakásh (116), 11th July.

42. The Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill does not require all Municipalities to make primary education free and compulsory, but only provides that those Municipalities who are able to bear the necessary expenditure may introduce it with the permission of Government. Thus the Bill has a very limited scope as very few of the existing Municipalities will be able to avail themselves of the benefit of its provisions. The Koimbatore Municipality has had the bitter experience that Government oppose even a small measure of this kind. The Government of Madras showed by their attitude that they would neither make primary education free and compulsory themselves nor would they allow any Municipality under their jurisdiction to do so. Our own Presidency has had no such experience, but the attitude of the bureaucracy is the same everywhere. The object of the present Bill is that Government should not come in the way of a Municipality if it desires to make primary education free and compulsory even if they do not wish to take that step themselves. We would request His Excellency Lord Willingdon to take advantage of the extended term of his office and make his regime memorable at least to a small extent by showing that he did not oppose the demand for free and compulsory primary education in some small areas of the Presidency.

RAILWAYS.

Railway grievances of Indians.

Hitechhu (65), 1st July.

43. In the course of a letter addressed to the *Hitechhu*, Mr. Jivraj Gokuldas Nensi, Honorary joint-Secretary of the Indian Passengers and Traffic Relief Association, Bombay, dwells on the arbitrary and insolent attitude displayed by railway officials of all denominations of the different railway administrations in India not only towards the poor and illiterate but even towards educated and well-to-do passengers and on the hardships they have to undergo while performing railway journeys. He particularly lays stress on the hardships suffered by those who are bound for places of pilgrimage. [He then goes on as follows:—Alas, what is the condition of the children of holy Ind! Oh, mother Bhárat, how canst thou bear the tyranny perpetrated by thy sons born on thy soil on the mothers, sisters and daughters of their own country? Fie upon such railway servants who are not ashamed of being called Indians! The writer then refers to the question of the right of railway administrations to reserve compartments for Europeans and Anglo-Indians and tries to establish the unsoundness of the Government plea that the practice of reserving railway compartments was adopted in response to the demand made by the Hindus for some such separate arrangements on account of the differences between them and the Europeans in the matter of taking of food, etc., by inquiring why the Parsis and the [illegible] are not allowed to enter those reserved comartments. He regards it as a sort of trick to deceive the people. The writer praises the efforts that are being made by the Karachi Citizens' Association in the direction of either starting a branch of the Bombay Passengers and Traffic Relief Association or having a similar institution on an independent basis. He also appeals to the people in Sind to help themselves and their countrymen by becoming members of his Association in Bombay on payment of the annual fee of one rupee. The paper elsewhere endorses the suggestion made by Mr. Jivraj for the starting at Karáchi of a branch of the Association in Bombay and also supports his appeal to the Sind people to become members of his Association. It remarks that if there had been any such Association in Karáchi a case like the recent one in which Mr. Durgadas B. Advani was concerned would not have suffered in importance as it actually did because he had to take up the whole burden of it on himself.]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 19th July 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 29 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 21st July 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to sent Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Advice to the Parsis to keep aloof from the Home Rule movement . . 25
Allegation that the Viceroy appealed to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to induce the Congress and the Moslem League to moderate their proposed scheme of reforms 23
Comments on the appointment of Mr. E. S. Montagu as Secretary of State for India . . . . 7—10
Comments on Sir James Meston's remarks before the United Provinces Legislative Council regarding the political situation in India . 11—13
Comments on the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain . . . . . 1—6
Comments on the withdrawal by the Punjab Government of the order prohibiting newspapers from publishing accounts of the meeting at Lahore to protest against the Madras internments . . . 21
Controversy on social matters among the Borah community . . 30
Creation of "men on the spot" 20
Disapproval of *Swadeshi* that is not honest and the boycott of foreign goods 24
Duty of Government to enact legislation for the better control of Muhammadan *Wakf* funds 29
Interned persons are not given the privileges which convicts enjoy . 22
Need of political reforms in India at an early date 15
Plea for an intellectual *entente* between England and India . . . 19
Reflections on the present political situation in India . . . . 16 & 17
Students and politics 27
The forthcoming Hindu-Muhammadan Conference at Bombay . . 26
The Lord Bishop of Bombay on Indian polity 14
There should be no misrepresentation about the political agitation of the Indians 18
What is the best way to inculcate the Imperial idea in Indian schools and colleges 28
Complaint about inadequate ferry arrangements at certain places in the Ratnágiri District 52
Indian students in England: The Students Department in England and Indian students 49
His Excellency the Governor: Comments on —'s letter explaining the absence of his representative at the late Dr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee's funeral 31

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded*.

Judicial matters :

Comments on a Bombay case in which a Pathan who was punished slightly for offering public insult to a Hindu woman 50

Complaint that papers produced in civil suits are not returned to the parties for days together 51

Police :

Comments on the — Commissioner's explanation with regard to the alleged "reign of terror" at Dádar (Bombay) . . . . . 39—41

Contradiction of the reported "reign of terror" at Dádar 42

Many villages in the Ratnágiri District are unable to guard against depredations of wild beasts owing to want of firearms 44

The — and the stoppage of public meetings 43

Press Act :

Comments on the demand of security from the *Sanjibani*, a Calcutta newspaper 46

Comments on the security taken from the *New Times* of Karáchi. . 45

Public Service :

Alleged grievances of the Public Works Department Upper Subordinates in the Bombay Presidency 48

Vatandar kulkarnis should sue the Secretary of State in the matter of the commutation of their vatans 47

Sind :

Alleged unreasonableness and harshness of the decision of the Judicial Commissioner in Sind to debar non-graduates from appearing for the — Pleaders' Examination 57

Government should take notice of the mischievous nonsense being daily poured out by the vernacular press in — 55

Suggestions for the improvement of Muhammadan education in — . 56

The duty of the Hindus and Muhammadans of — to unite closely and co-operate together for the welfare of the province . . . 54

Vaccination : Complaint about injurious effects of old vaccine lymph being used in Poona 53

War :

A review of the — situation 36

Alleged Pro-German tendencies of Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway 37

Comments on the Bombay Town Hall meeting to encourage the scheme for a Mahar battalion 33

Comments on the Government of India's *communiqué* about their acquisition of imported silver 35

How the — has humbled John Bull 32

Lord Hardinge and the Mesopotamia report. 34

Manifesto of the German Majority Socialists 38

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Patna University Bill 58

RAILWAYS—

Suggestion that the various Railway Administrations in India should appoint leaders of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities as visitors if they want to know thoroughly the grievances and requirements of Indian passengers 59

MUNICIPALITIES—

The recent fire in Prag Mahal, Bombay 60

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain.

Young India (14), 18th July.

1. "One of the topics of the week is the flight of Mr. Chamberlain from Whitehall. The "event" has aroused considerable interest among people in this country; and if all do not rejoice over the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain, no one does at any rate regret that he who had proved a fifth wheel in the Juggernath of Indian progress has, meteor-like, disappeared from the Indian horizon. That is the outstanding fact and the rest is a matter of small consequence.......... Mr. Chamberlain was an out and out failure at the India Office. There is not a single act of his, whether in dispensing the large and lucrative gifts of patronage or in determining the administrative policy of India, which gives evidence of a large-minded, if not liberal, and also generous appreciation of his very great responsibilities. His first and sole care after coming to office was to eliminate from the responsibilities of Indian Administration men of known sympathies with the people and replace them by the Tory lordlings of minor political talents and to win back to the ways of reactionarism those who still possessed any liberal tendencies at all. We are not very much concerned here with the immediate cause leading up to the resignation of the man who seemed to have regarded himself as quite indispensable for the safety of the British Empire in India. We should, however, be glad to learn that it was as much due to his errors of judgment in regard to the Mesopotamia Expedition as to the Imperial Government's disapproval of his blundering and floundering policy in this country."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 22nd July.

*2. "It looks very chivalrous for him to stand up in the House of Commons and take upon himself the responsibility for the actions of the Governors in India. But, as a matter of fact, it is nothing of the kind. It is merely playing to the official gallery at the expense of the people of this country. His duty is to carry out the intentions of the British Democracy towards the people of India, intentions which are not infrequently frustrated by the action of the local authorities. If Mr. Chamberlain had not the strength to hold his own against his advisers in military matters, it is just possible he may have not got it where the larger aspects of Indian administration are concerned. We have reason to think that Mr. Chamberlain was not at all reactionarily disposed towards Indian aspirations, but there can be no doubt that he was pre-disposed to the hypnotic fascination of the men on the spot and was afraid to take responsibility. Under the circumstances, it is perhaps as well that he has resigned."

Message (6), 15th July; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 14th July, Eng. cols.; **Gujaráti* (16), 22nd July, Eng. cols.

3. "The whole country will breathe a sigh of relief that the regime of incompetence and ineptitude has for once ended at the India Office.......... Since he was foisted upon the destinies of 'the vast inarticulate millions of India', by the terrestrial providence of the Asquithian Government, Mr. Chamberlain has tenaciously clung to his high office through fair weather and foul and with a *Savoire faire*, which was as astonishing as remarkable. No amount of condemnation whether in the public press or on the platform turned him from the steady purpose which he had set to himself, first of dispensing the gift of patronage among the lordlings of the Tory party, and second, of placing immeasurable faith in the infallibility of the men on the spot." [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—"If, however, Indians have not been able to dislodge him, the British democracy has been able to, though in connection with an affair not directly connected with the governance of India. We are not glad about his resignation merely because we cannot stoop to being glad over anybody's fall.......... By the bye we congratulate Mr. Chamberlain on his being able to do at least one good thing, viz., laying down an office which he

never deserved." The *Gujaráti* writes:—"Mr. Austen Chamberlain's resignation called forth feelings of regret and uncertainty, not unmixed with a feeling of satisfaction at least in some quarters. With all his talents and force of character the traditions and principles of his party prevented him from doing as much for this country as he could have done. Nor is that all. His presence at the head of the India Office and that of Lord Curzon as a member of the Cabinet were generally believed to have encouraged the adoption of a reactionary and even repressive policy in this country."]

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 15th July; *Sandesh* (118), 15th July.

4. No one will say Mr. Chamberlain was particularly sympathetic towards India. He ably upheld, however, India's cause in the matter of the increased import-duty on cotton goods. In other respects he did not either try to acquaint himself with the trend of public opinion or else having done it, purposely ran counter to it. In the beginning of his *régime* as Secretary of State he frankly avowed his ignorance in many matters; but even when he could not plead this excuse he did not try to curb the high-handedness of the Indian and the Provincial Governments. But however little he sympathised with the political aspirations of the Indian leaders, he had come to realise since he came into contact with His Highness the Maharajah of Bikanir and Sir S. P. Sinha that it was imperative to introduce important changes in the administration of India to meet popular demands. Although his *régime* so far was not a promising one, we cannot say that his resignation will necessarily benefit unless either Mr. Montagu or Mr. Charles Roberts, both of whom have Indian experience, is appointed to succeed Mr. Chamberlain. The British Government are well aware of the effect produced by the repressive policy inaugurated in India. They have now a good opportunity of checking that policy and pursuing one of conciliation instead. [The *Sandesh* writes:—Mr. Chamberlain's resignation is the most satisfactory news of the week. Indians do not think Lord Hardinge is in any way to blame for the failure of the first Mesopotamia expedition. Mr. Chamberlain exhibited want of statesmanship by backing officials of the type of Lord Pentland. The joy felt by Indians at Mr. Chamberlain's resignation will be increased hundredfold if Lord Hardinge is appointed to succeed him. The present form of government does not conduce to the contentment of the people and it is neither wise nor statesmanlike to disguise this fact which is as clear as daylight. It is absolutely necessary for the British Government to give an assurance by means of a proclamation that the rights of *swaráјya* would be conferred on India within a stated period.]

Kesari (106), 17th July.

5. Indians have protested against the censure passed on Lord Hardinge by the Mesopotamia Commission, but they are glad at the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain. One encouraged as far as possible Indian aspirations and the other gave a free hand to repression in this country. Not only that, but he persisted in supporting the policy of repression. Mr. Chamberlain charges Mrs. Besant with insolence, but the published account of her interview with Lord Pentland which has not been questioned by Lord Pentland does not contain a single insolent word. Even admitting the truth of all the charges made by Mr. Chamberlain against Mrs. Besant, we fail to see how the Defence of India Act is applicable in her case. Mr. Chamberlain is gone and we hope he will not be succeeded by one who would out-Chamberlain Chamberlain.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 16th July; *Indian Loyalist* (22), 19th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 16th July.

6. The *Bombay Samáchár* takes an appreciative review of Mr. Chamberlain's term of office as Secretary of State for India and lays special stress on the sympathy shown by him towards the Indian people and his anxiety to deal justly with them, as was evidenced by his appointment of Indians as representatives on the Imperial Conference, the increase of Indian members on the India Council from two to three and the appointment to the posts of such persons as would voice the opinion of the Indian people and his staunch support of the import duties

on foreign cotton goods without effecting any corresponding increase in the Excise duties on Indian yarn in spite of the strong opposition of Manchester. It expresses a hope that a man of the type of Lord Morley may be appointed to the post. [The *Indian Loyalist* also writes in appreciation of Mr. Chamberlain's services. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* on the other hand opines that Mr. Chamberlain has done nothing for India.]

Comments on the appointment of Mr. E. S. Montagu as Secretary of State for India.

Hindusthán (20), 19th July; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 19th and 20th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 21st July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 19th and 20th July.

7. Referring to the appointment of Mr. E. S. Montagu as Secretary of State for India in succession to Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and quoting the views recently expressed by the new Indian Secretary to the effect that though England has done well in India her mission is not yet over and that since the Indians have joined the British people to fight the common enemy they should be prepared to give the people of India what they want, the *Hindusthán* inquiries whether there is any one in India who will not rejoice at the appointment, as Secretary of State, of a statesman with such liberal views. It remarks that the Indian people should thank Mr. Llyod George for this happy choice. Dwelling upon the likelihood of persons like Lords Curzon and Milner in the Cabinet endeavouring to check the liberal policy of Mr. Montagu, the paper, at the same time, hopes that the new Secretary will fully acquaint himself with Indian matters before placing great reliance on the men on the spot in India and that the alleged policy of repression now inaugurated will undergo a change. [The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that India receives with cordial acclamation the appointment of Mr. Montagu as the new Secretary of State for India. It observes that the Indian people have confidence in him and that India builds high hopes on him. The paper is inclined to believe that the appointment has been influenced by the present agitation of the Indian people against the policy of Mr. Chamberlain and maintains that by means of this appointment Mr. Llyod George has done justice to India. It then goes on to dwell on Mr. Montagu's liberal and sympathetic attitude towards Indian aspirations and expresses the hope that though he will meet with opposition in the Cabinet from Conservative statesmen he will find a supporter of his policy in the present Premier. In the subsequent issue the paper adversely criticises the action of Anglo-Indian newspapers in disapproving of Mr. Montagu's appointment and regards the advice given to him by the *Pioneer* of not interfering with the Indian authorities in the administration of the country as detrimental to the interests of India. It remarks that by such adverse criticism the Anglo-Indian papers not only do not render any service to the Empire but merely mislead the British public. The *Bombay Samachár* expresses its approbation of Mr. Montagu's appointment and remarks that since this appointment and the speeches of Messrs. Chamberlain and Montagu and the statement of Sir James Meston have disillusioned those who read in some of the recent speeches and actions of provincial authorities an inauguration of a policy of repression in India, they should now lead the people in the right track and should now do their duty by encouraging Indians to make up the force of 6,000 volunteers required by Government for the Defence of India Force. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* remarks that the alarm expressed by the Anglo-Indian papers in this country at the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain was significant of their apprehension lest a statesman having sympathy with the Indian Home Rulers might be appointed to the vacancy. Expressing its hope that Indian aspirations will receive a great support from the new Indian Secretary, the paper observes that the latter should without any delay direct his attention to securing an announcement by the British Government to the effect that *swarájya* would be granted to India in the near future. In the subsequent issue the paper hopes that Mr. Montagu will not follow the misleading advice of the Anglo-Indian Press of trusting completely "the man on the spot". It exhorts Mr. Montagu to follow the policy of Lord Hardinge of hearing both the officials as well as the public leaders before arriving at a conclusion in respect of Indian matters.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 20th July, Eng. cols.; and 19th July.

8. "We have now practically a Secretary of State of our own choosing. Had the appointment rested with the people of India they would have nominated Mr. Montagu, and as a matter of fact he has been appointed. This appointment is significant of a great deal. .... No Secretary of State for India was so fully equipped for his high office. Mr. Montagu knows all the details of the working of the India Office and he has an intimate knowledge of Indian affairs. He personally knows many Indians and has openly supported their aspirations. His appointment has not been made as a venture or as an experiment. It has been deliberately done with the intention of improving the situation in India, for every day the country was being brought nearer to an *impasse*." [In the Gujaráti columns of its previous issue the paper expresses gratification at the new appointment and believes that the Indians will thank Mr. Chamberlain for resigning his post. It interpretes the words uttered by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons in connection with the Mesopotamia Commission's Report wherein he urged the policy of greater responsibility on the part of the Indian Government towards the people of India as an advocacy on his part for laying the foundation of *swarájya* in India.]

Indu Prakásh (39), 19th July, Eng. cols.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 20th July; *Sandesh* (118), 20th July; *Mantri* (109), 20th July.

9. "The peculiar merit of his appointment is this, that it is the appointment of a man of firm and settled convictions. These convictions are not a sealed book to the world. They have often been declared in and out of the House of Commons in terms clear and definite, and altogether divested of that ambiguity which modern diplomacy has raised almost to the rank of a science.......... But a few days ago, in the course of the Mesopotamia debate, Mr. Montagu put in a strong plea for 'a policy of greater responsibility on the part of the Indian Government towards the Indian people and, consequently, less responsibility at Home'. This is exactly what Indians mean by their demand for *responsible* Government. Such a remarkable concurrence of views between a Secretary of State and the people of India is indeed a landmark in the history of British rule and a good augury for the future." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* congratulates the Ministry upon the appointment of Mr. Montagu. The *Sandesh* also welcomes the appointment and calls upon the people to carry on persistently the agitation for self-government to strengthen the hands of the new Secretary. The *Mantri* believes that Mr. Montagu's appointment will put a stop to the policy of the authorities in India which has been causing discontent among the people.]

Message (6), 20th July; **Indian Social Reformer* (3), 22nd July; **Mahrátta* (5), 22nd July; **Gujaráti* (16), 22nd July, Eng. cols.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 22nd July, Eng. cols.; **Rást Goftár* (30), 22nd July, Eng. cols.

10. "So far as one can see, the charge has been entrusted to one from whom hope has not yet fled, and in whom we can still hope for a better ordering of things. Mr. Montagu is not the 'dark horse' that Mr. Chamberlain was. He is known in India, he is respected by India; he knows India and respects India.......... If his recent speech does not belie the promise of the future, we may reasonably hope that as Secretary of State he will make India his own and look at the India Office not as an exploiting ground in the interests of the political party to which he belongs, but as a 'sacred trust' to be held and administered in the interests of those who go to make up that trust." [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"There has been great relief throughout the country at the appointment of Mr. E. S. Montagu as Secretary of State for India in place of Mr. Austen Chamberlain.......... The *Times*, criticising his appointment, mentions that in the course of his speech Mr. Montagu almost ridiculed the India Council. This is, of course, a hostile version. But if Mr. Montagu had departed from the attitude of superstitious veneration of this ancient institution for the old and weary veterans of the Indian Civil Service, the people of India, at any rate, will not view his action with dismay.......... The situation has perceptibly lightened since the announcement of the appointment."

The *Mahrátta* writes :—“ Love of their country is to Indians something more imaginative, something more religious than anywhere else in the world. Mr. Montagu realises this and from such a man we may indeed expect solid help in our progress. The ‘ crush-it ’ policy that has been set on foot by the predecessor of Mr. Montagu cannot commend itself to the latter, if he honestly and sincerely believes that we do worship our Land as we worship our Mother with a devotion literally religious in all its aspects.......... Mr. Montagu has great hopes formed about him. And those who have formed hopes about him have not done so without a proper basis. Mr. Montagu’s sympathetic and emphatic utterances in regard to India and his good work as Under-Secretary for India constitute this basis. Will he belie the hopes formed upon this basis ? ” The *Gujaráti* writes :—“ Mr. Lloyd George has done a great service to India and also to the cause of British rule in this country by appointing Mr. Montagu Secretary of State for India.......... Momentous questions will come up before him for solution and it is a matter of the utmost satisfaction that the Council of the Secretary of State for India will have at its head a gifted and sympathetic statesman like Mr. Montagu to look after and guide the affairs of India.” The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—“ The appointment of Mr. Montagu to succeed Mr. Chamberlain as the Secretary of State for India will be received with unqualified satisfaction by all classes of His Majesty’s subjects from one end of India to the other. A change from Mr. Chamberlain to Mr. Montagu means much particularly in view of the crisis to which matters have been pushed by the repressive and reactionary policies of the bureaucracy in this country. Unlike Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Montagu is familiar with the Indian problems, and what is more, he can, if he is so inclined, solve such problems without the help and co-operation of the so-called men-on-the spot.” The *Rást Goftár* remarks :—“ Mr. Montagu’s appointment is a great concession to popular sentiment and the country is grateful to Mr. Lloyd George for his attempted reconciliation. The appointment of another Secretary of State of the reactionary tendencies of Mr. Chamberlain would have spelled a grave mistake. As it is, Mr. Montagu’s selection is a brilliant stroke of policy which would go a great way—at least for the present—in appeasing the passions that have been aroused and in reconciling the people to their Government.”]

Comments on Sir James Meston’s remarks before the United Provinces Legislative Council regarding the political situation in India.

Message (6), 19th July.

11. “ We should be extremely happy to flatter ourselves that Sir James Meston’s statment to his Legislative Council yesterday marks the beginning of a returning sense of responsibility in the higher councils of the Government of this country.......... Government have failed to bring statemanship to bear on the problems conducing to the vigorous prosecution of the war. And while eager to see the world freed from the clutches of a domineering insolent German culture and the Prussian sabres, it has, doubtless unconsciously, tried to set up in this country something like a replica of it.......... Sir James Meston seemed to regard the present state of affairs in India with anxiety. Certainly, no friend of the Empire could afford to remain complacent in the face of the tragic tale which the last few weeks have laid bare. Where Government and the people ought to be pulling together, we have had the gloomy spectacle of the two pulling asunder, because certain good people who held the reins of power in this land did not know how to live in amity, peace and goodwill with their neighbours.......... May we not ask where was all the need for it ? Is it no small consolation to be told, in the face of accumulating evidence of reaction and repression, that the Imperial Government was giving careful attention to Indian suggestions regarding political reforms in India ?......... Sir James Meston seems to think that it is all the fault of the people that there is excitement and restlessness in the country. All that we can say of him is that he has sadly missed the truth.”

Rást Goftár (30), 22nd July, Eng. cols.

***12. “ We are thankful to Sir James for his sympathetic utterances and hope to see his example followed by his confrérs of the other Provinces. As it is, he is almost alone among Provincial satraps to allay as he attempted the popular apprehensions. ‘ There**

seemed to be a fear' he said, 'that the Government was in some way preparing a policy of reaction'. We wish we can take Sir James at his word in his assurance to the contrary; but the policy which has been followed since the departure of Lord Hardinge from India does not permit, we daresay, of this optimistic survey thereof by Sir James.......... The appointment of Mr. Montagu to the office of the Secretary of State might improve things even in India itself and there would be no longer then the suspicion and mistrust in the public mind which Sir James tried to assail in his speech."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 15th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 19th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 20th July.

13. Instead of decrying the present political agitation in this country, Sir James Meston has given expression to sympathetic views calculated to encourage the Indian people. We feel sure his speech will act as a soothing balm on many a drooping heart. What the Indian people want is that Government and the official classes should sympathise with their movements and should be enthusiastic about their success. But short-sighted people like Lord Pentland have adopted repressive measures and have helped to spread discontent in the country. People of this country will, however, heave a sigh of relief at the announcement made by Mr. Chamberlain that the Imperial Government will soon make a pronouncement with respect to political reform in India. [The *Hindusthán* thanks Sir James for the views he has expressed showing his sympathy with the political aspirations of Indians and opines that his speech will greatly tend to dispel their misgivings about the future and fill them with hope. It asks His Excellency the Viceroy to make a pronouncement with respect to the future of India and thus take the people in his confidence. The *Bombay Samáchár* is of opinion that Sir James Meston's speech throws some light on the nature of the reforms that are under contemplation by the Imperial Government and would, therefore, go a great way in reassuring the Indian public on the question. It believes that Sir James' speech and the announcement made by Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament about Indian reforms will help the people to keep their heads cool and facilitate the task of the popular leaders.]

The Lord Bishop of Bombay on Indian polity.
Indian Social Reformer (3), 22nd July.

***14.** Commenting on a letter from the Lord Bishop of Bombay on the political situation in India, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"We have said above that the faith of the Indian people in the good intentions of the British democracy has been unfailing and absolute. But—and this is a factor which His Lordship has left out of account—the Indian people also feel that the bureaucracy in India has not been and cannot, in the nature of things, be a true and ready interpreter of the intentions of the British democracy towards the Indian people. His Lordship himself realises this in a way when he says with evident disappointment that the Government of India for reasons which are as unknown to him as to any of us utters no word calculated to allay the excitement in the public mind in India. We assure the Lord Bishop that the main reform which Indian leaders are anxious to see immediately carried out, is to make such breaches in this huge Chinese wall of bureaucracy as will afford a readier view to Indians of the intentions of the British democracy and to the British democracy of the intentions of its Indian fellow subjects." [Referring to His Lordship's exhortation to Indian youths to join the Indian Defence Force, the paper writes:—"Owing to certain technical considerations, which the Government of India insist on maintaining even in these spacious times, an Indian gentleman cannot rise above the rank of a Subedar or Havildar while a Goanese Christian, who might have been his butler in civil life, is qualified to become a commissioned officer. Of course these distinctions had always existed, but the constitution of the Indian Defence Force brings them into sharp prominence. We have ourselves urged every young man within our influence to join the Force and shall continue to do so. But we know what their difficulties are and have not the heart to blame them if they do not join, as they ought to and would, in sufficiently large numbers, if their feelings were treated as of some account.......... Some time back the *New Statesman*, if we remember, had an article on what would happen if the Germans conquered England. Our contemporary thought it not improbable that there might be more efficient administration, but all else

which makes life worth living for Englishmen would be gone. The Indian bureaucracy is efficient in a sense, but what is its effect on the soul of the people?"]

Need of political reforms in India at an early date.
Gujarâti (16), 15th July; *Kâthiâwâr Samachar* (68), 18th July.

15. Important political changes were recently effected in England and now the question of giving Home Rule to Ireland is being mooted. It would be foolish to expect the Indians not to compare the attitude of Indian officials towards their aspirations with the attitude of British statesmen towards the Irish question. The Indian people naturally ask why public opinion is not respected in India when grave political changes are contemplated in England. Delay in answering the question is fraught with danger and a belated reply will detract much from its worth. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has done well in asking Government to make an early announcement of the political reforms they mean to effect. The Mesopotamia Commission has found the military machinery of India defective and has found out that no adequate provisions exist in India for the preparation of stores and munitions. These revelations will have some influence in effecting political reforms in India. Suggestions are being made to decentralise the power now vested in the Secretary of State. The Indian Government want that power while the Indians want to have it for themselves. Should the power now vested in the Secretary of State be transferred to the Government of India, the existing evils will not be removed. Provincial Governments want local autonomy but the people do not want any enhancement in the powers enjoyed by them. The power enjoyed by the Secretary of State should be transferred to a Council representative of the people so that it might control the actions of the Executive. This cannot be effected without freeing the Legislative Councils from official control. The popular representatives should be directly elected by the people themselves. We feel sure Mr. Lloyd George will spare no pains to make the scheme of Indian reforms as complete as possible. [The *Kâthiâwâr Samâchâr* on the other hand expresses the opinion that the grant of self-government to India at the present stage of its development will be detrimental to its real interests.]

Reflections on the political situation in India.
Praja Mitra and Pârsi (28), 19th July, Eng. cols.

16. In the course of an article headed "Indian Leaders and Indian Affairs", *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* quotes the views of Indian leaders like Sir S. Iyer, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Sir Rabindranath Tagore and, referring to Sir K. G. Gupta's metaphor about the ship, the captain and the men on the bridge, remarks:—"This is an excellent metaphor, but how is it to be pursued? Who are the men on the bridge and how are they guiding the vessel of our national and sacred aspirations? We can think only of constitutional methods, but those methods must become more and more vigorous. One thing, however, is as clear as the noonday sun, and that is that the present repressive policy in India bids fair to alienate even men who have been greatly honoured by Government and on whose support Government should always count. If the distinguished men we have quoted use this kind of language, what must be the feeling of less cautious and discriminating men? What is the feeling among students, those who will soon become the driving power of the national vessel? There is a clear and unmistakable cleavage of opinion between the best national forces of India and the present Government. Who can tell what forces are at work lower down in the different strata in the country? It is high time for statesmanship to come to the aid of the administration of the country and to close the chasm which is becoming wider every day."

Islâmic Mail (143), Urdu edition, 2nd July.

17. Referring to the agitation set up by a certain section of Indian publicists, the *Islâmic Mail* relates the story of a lion and a fox in which the latter having once the audacity to attack its powerful companion and supporter, was in the end killed. It enumerates the reforms and concessions made to the Indians in recent years such as the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, and points out that these were granted in peaceful times when the power of the British Government was absolute. It also refers to the grant of Self-government to the Boers of South Africa, and states that British statesmen as well as the politicians of Canada and South Africa lose no opportunity of publicly admitting the value of the assistance rendered by India in the prosecution of the European War. It then continues thus :—In such circumstances if a statesman were even to err and prevent a violent extremist from creating excitement, is it expedient to oppose him with the result that our old services might lose their value? Will those persons who have sacrificed the lives of their brothers and sons for the glory of the country be pleased if their sacrifices are stultified by political agitation? Will they admire the loss of a right to greater political privileges owing to the charge of disloyalty? Men are apt to act thoughtlessly and impulsively when fired by political or religious fervour, but they repent afterwards. "He is good who forsees the consequences of his act."

There should be no misrepresentation about the political agitation of the Indians.

Rást Goftár (30), 15th July.

18. The *Rást Goftár* refers to the steps that are being taken by the various provincial Governments to suppress political agitation and adds :—There is no doubt that we shall get substantial political rights after the war and that there will be a great improvement in our political status. But a long time must elapse before we get or are able to get self-government on colonial lines. But the people of India cannot be said to be doing anything wrong if, during that interval, they carry on constitutional agitation and take steps to educate public opinion as also to bring their demands to the notice of the authorities. Lord Pentland, Sir Michael O'dwyer or Lord Sydenham need not be unnecessarily alarmed at the demands of the Indian people so long as they carry on their agitation in a loyal manner and in a spirit of friendliness. There is no cause for alarm or fear at the demands of the Indian people. No good purpose would be served by creating a misunderstanding about the political agitation of the Indian people.

Plea for an intellectual *entente* between England and India.

New Times (7) 9th July.

19. The *New Times* thus concludes an article in which it pleads for a better understanding between England and India, mutual study of each other's civilization, culture and literature and the mutual adoption of what is best in each :—"India and England have given one to the other, the hand of fellowship on the fields of Death; let this friendship, forged from sacrifice in a common cause, be not a memory of the past when the strain and the agony are over; let the friendship continue; let it eternal be; and in the spirit of friendship let India and England study one the other, on the higher planes of thought. They will be prouder, each of the other; they will be gladder of mutual knowledge; they will find each other circled by a greater confidence; they will be worthier servants of Humanity; and the twain tegether will lead the world through the clang and clamour of armies to where the Great Musician harps for the healing of the Nations."

Creation of "men on the spot".

Young India (14), 18th July.

20. Mr. L. G. Khare writes in *Young India* :—"The fact is that the Englishman when he comes in contact with a people of a mentality higher than his own, often makes a fool of himself although he may mean well. This will become increasingly notorious as in India the children of the soil, who have always recognised administration as a science, will come to take part in the management of their own affairs with an insistence that knows no delay......... One of the standardised tricks of a Bureaucratic Government is to create more 'men on the spot' while apparently yielding to popular clamour. A case in point is the over-advertised Chamberlain concession to Indian feeling of the addition of an Indian to his Council, over and above the usual two. I hope it is recognised that the three Indians will now serve as safe men, the 'men on the spot' in London, to whom can be credited initiation of the meagre 'reforms' we may be promised. The appointment of two white beards, the one well-known for his *native* Statecraft, the other for his deftness in fighting for Zamindari rights, should be assessed by young India at its true value."

Comments on the withdrawal by the Punjab Government of the order prohibiting newspapers from publishing accounts of the meeting at Lahore to protest against the Madras internments.

New Times (7), 5th July.

21. Commenting on the withdrawal by the Punjab Government of the order prohibiting newspapers from publishing accounts of the meeting held at Lahore to protest against the Madras internments, the *New Times* remarks:— "Wisdom comes late to the official mind: but better late than never. 'The English'; wrote Sir Bartle C. Frere in the *Times* of London, 'are, I suppose, the stupidest race that was ever created'. This certainly is an exaggerated view and coming from a great Englishman has the virtue of good humour but it also embodies an element of truth without which the humourous becomes the grotesque. And the truth is that several of the officials in India lack a sympathetic understanding of the situation in India. It is the imperative need of sagacious wide-visioned statesmanship in India today which we wish to emphasise as strongly as we can; such a statesmanship will rebuke the apprehensions of officials, will understand the psychology of the present situation and will, without an hour's unnecessary delay, give response to India's call for self-government which is the call of democracy and civilization all over the world."

Interned persons are not given the privileges which convicts enjoy.

Mahrátta (5), 22nd July.

*22. "In the Bengal Legislative Council the Honourable Babu B. C. Ray put a series of questions on internments in Bengal. The replies that he elicited will astound people who expect that an enlightened Government will act in a manner not scandalising to the reason of the average human being, at any rate. The replies show that Government gives no formal intimation to the families of interned persons of their place of internment or the change of their place of internment. The interned have the opportunity of writing letters and the relatives have the opportunity of seeking information! So the Government does not consider it necessary to send a formal intimation to the relatives! The relatives can interview the interned on applying for such an interview and getting permission, which they may or may not obtain—'there is no general prohibition of such interviews' was the official reply. The *A. B. Patrika* rightly asks: 'Why should not Government intimate the fact to his guardian as soon as a person is taken under custody under the D. I. Act and grant him immediate permission to see his ward? Would such a concession result in the collapse of the Empire?' The concession will not result in the collapse of the Empire, but it will result in the Bureaucracy being praised for its humane consideration—and such praise is apparently hated by the Bureaucracy in these days of its glory......... Further, when asked whether there was any arrangement for non-official visitors visiting persons dealt with under the D. I. Act, while under detention, as in the case of ordinary prisoners in jail, the Government replied that no special arrangements were made. Thus the interned who are mere suspects, many of them absolutely innocent, are not given the privileges which a hardened jail convict is allowed to enjoy."

Allegation that the Viceroy appealed to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to induce the Congress and the Moslem League to moderate their proposed scheme of reforms.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 17th July.

23. Referring to the interview the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is alleged recently to have had with the authorities at Simla in connection with the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant and her colleagues, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* observes:—We have not yet come to know what has been the result of that interview, but it is likely that His Excellency the Viceroy may have declared his inability to do anything in the matter of Mrs. Besant and may have pressed the Pandit for his co-operation with Government in the matter of the demands made by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League. It appears that Government having found the demands made by the Congress and the League for the introduction of political reforms in India in the direction of *swarájya* to be extremely immoderate, have requested Pandit Malaviya to help Govern-

ment during the present crisis, by revising those demands, in consultation with other Indian leaders, and so moderating them as to be in keeping with the present condition of things, because moderate reforms of some such kind have received sanction from His Majesty's Government and they are going to be shortly made public. The abovementioned interview with the Viceroy terminated with the exchange of the usual formalities as the Honourable Pandit declared his inability to secure any change in the scheme of reforms jointly formulated by the Congress and the League.

Disapproval of *Swadeshi* that is not honest and the boycott of foreign goods.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 20th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 15th July.

24. Referring to the agitation which is being conducted at present in Madras and other parts of the country for educating public opinion in favour of Home Rule and to the meetings which are being held for urging people to take a vow to use *Swadeshi* goods only, the *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while advocating the use of Indian made articles by the people of this country as a means to facilitate the development of Indian industries, condemns the policy of taking vows for using home made articles only under the present political conditions. It remarks that before substantial efforts are made in the direction of reviving the decaying Indian industries and starting new ones, the taking of vows for using *Swadeshi* articles only even at a sacrifice is like putting the cart before the horse and is likely to prove calamitous to persons with limited means. The paper is of opinion that the best way to bring about the economic regeneration of India is for the richer classes to come forward with capital, for the intellectual youths to go to foreign countries to acquire industrial training and to start new industries on their return to India and for Government to encourage them. It believes that the advancement of the country only lies in the joint co-operation of the *swadeshists* and Government in this matter. [While admitting the necessity and desirability of keeping up public agitation for awakening and promoting a spirit of nationality among the people, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* observes that the agitation should not be of a nature which would lead others to believe that the public leaders are influenced by feelings of enmity towards British rule and that they are desirous of spiting that rule. It expresses regret at suggestions made in some quarters for boycotting foreign goods and for ceasing to co-operate with Government in the administration of the country, by the elected members resigning their seats in the Legislative Councils and in the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and characterises the latter suggestion as suicidal to the best interests of the country. The paper also advises Indians not to confound the *Swadeshi* movement with the "boycott" of foreign goods. Regard being had to the comparatively poor condition of the Indian people, the paper urges the necessity of Government and the people working hand in hand in the matter of the development of industries in India.]

Advice to the Parsis to keep aloof from the Home Rule movement.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 15th July, Eng. cols.

25. "Whatever may the attitude of a handful of Parsis be towards the Home Rule movement, we are of opinion that should the community desire prosperity and not destruction it would do well to keep itself where it is under the British Rule. The union of the Muhammadans and the Hindus and with them the union of the Parsis no doubt look very well on paper, but alas! how ghastly and impracticable is such a scheme. The very talk of it smells hypocrisy. Have the Parsis forgotten the treatment accorded to the late Sir P. M. Mehta at the Surat Congress even though every Indian used to worship him as his revered Guru? How preposterous, how silly, it is even to dream of a united body of Hindus, Muhammadans and Parsis!......... We seriously ask, is it possible, is it natural, for a Parsi to compromise himself in the heart of his heart with typically a different soul? As long as the English sword and the English fist continue to exercise their functions effectively in India, so long one can indulge in idle talks of such a union, but the moment the British leave our shores the union will end in bloodshed and anarchy."

The forthcoming Hindu-Muhammadan Conference at Bombay.
Rást Goftár (30), 22nd July, Eng. cols.

***26.** "The forthcoming United Conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the Moslem League in Bombay will be held under the happiest auspices. The shadow of repression was brooding over the whole country; it has been lifted by the mere appointment of Mr. Montagu. The Hindu-Muhammadan understanding is complete and will become stronger every day. We hope the attendence will be full, though we regret to hear very few of our countrymen will be coming from Bengal."

Students and politics
Young India (14), 18th July.

27. "Our school and college students are not being educated. They are being circularised; but they cannot be debarred from reading the news of the day, from participating in private political discussion; and their spirit will not, we are sure, brook any further restriction on their liberties. To achieve that desirable bureaucratic consummation, the Indian Educational Departments will have to be converted barefacedly into an auxiliary of the C. I. D.......... Evidence can be multiplied to show that the new spirit demands mental food of a higher kind. Even the Students' Brotherhood, which under the patronage of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar cannot possibly be considered as having been 'tainted with the poison of Home Rule' doctrines' has issued a programme of lectures, which proves that the student-world of Bombay is anxious to read the signs of the times. We notice that a European member of the Indian Educational Service is going to give a series of lectures on 'some aspects of Prussian History'......... We understand further from the same programme that Mr. K. N. Natrajan who in his *Social Reformer* has been latterly taking a dispassionate survey of recent *political* and internment activity in India, has promised a dissertion on 'India in Evolution'......... Now it must be apparent to every sensible citizen of India that if intellectual activities of the kind noticed above are permitted in one quarter, it is absurd and futile that a bureaucracy will not permit just similar activities in another. Is it not yet clear to the authorities, that such an insensate proceeding only means spoiling the morale of the Indian youth ?... It may be hoping against hope, but we do hope that the Government of Lord Willingdon will once again come to look on students in this Presidency as potential gentlemen, and not as potential criminals."

What is the best way to inculcate the Imperial idea in Indian schools and colleges.
New Times (7), 5th July.

28. Referring to the recommendations of the Committee, appointed by the Burmah Government to report on the methods to inculcate the Imperial idea in schools and colleges, to the effect that the Principals of Government Anglo-Vernacular High Schools should be officers of the Indian Educational Service and that the Superintendents or Head Masters of aided High Schools should be of British nationality, the *New Times* remarks:—"Strange recommendations these! Why should the appointment of Indian heads lead to a suppression of Imperial sentiment? The recommendations rest on an antiquated irrational conception that the man who is patriotic cannot be loyal to the Empire: but there is no conflict between patriotism and loyalty.......... The best way to inculcate the Imperial idea in schools and colleges is to do away with the foolish distinction between the Indian and the European and to develop among schoolboys and youngmen the vision of humanity which rises above the limit-lines of race and religion. Those of the Englishmen in the East who constitute a separate caste—a caste of the white Brahmins of the West—and refuse to rise to the Vision Human, are just the men who undermine the foundations of the Empire: for the Empire stands for justice and freedom and the evolution of self-government in every nation-group and the conservation and consolidation of many cultures and race-ideals."

Duty of Government to enact legislation for the better control of Muhammadan *Wakf* funds.
Islámic Mail (4), 1st July, Eng. cols.

29. The *Islámic Mail* dwells on the misuse of *Wakf* funds by the trustees and remarks:—"Every *Wakf* is more or less mismanaged and it will be a great day when the Government would have introduced some law to check the abuse.......... A trust is public property and Government have as much right of control over it as on any other public property, but the wonder is that they see the *Wakfs* wantonly misused without so much as raising a finger to stop it. The one great good that Mr. Jinnah ever tried to do to the Mussalmans was his *Wakf* Bill; but unfortunately it could not come out and local Governments are debarred from taking action in the matter. We hope zealous Muhammadans like Sir Ebrahim Rahimtulla or Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan will rouse up the Government of India to action."

Controversy on social matters among the Borah community.

Akhbár-e-Islám (56), 10th and 17th July.

30. From the middle of the year 1916 letters purporting to be written by some members of the Borah community commenced to appear in the columns of the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* adversely criticising the alleged apathy of the Mullaji and those surrounding him towards the educational advancement of the community and particularly towards English education, the extravagance with which money was spent on feasting and conviviality and in the entertainment of the Mullaji Saheb, the highhandedness exercised by the associates of the Mullaji and those of his subordinates, *e.g.*, Amils and others whose duty it was to administer the affairs of the community, the alleged issue of orders by the Mullaji fixing particular curricula of studies with respect to certain *Madressas*, orders directing the use of the turban instead of the *phenta* (a sort of headgear), etc. These contributions (the views expressed and the complaints raised in which it seemed to endorse) continued to appear in the above-mentioned paper up to the month of May of the current year, when the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, in its issue of the 20th May 1917, published an account of an interview its representative was stated to have had with the Mullaji Saheb. During this interview the Mullaji was represented to have declared that he was not against the spread of education among the community, that occasional feasting was not without its benefits inasmuch as it promoted unity and feelings of brotherhood among the community, that the use of the turban was recommended from considerations of economy and with a view to inculcating the virtue of simplicity among the members of the community, etc. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* then commenced publishing a series of leading articles in successive issues in the course of which it tried to uphold the cause of the Mullaji Saheb on the lines adopted by him in vindicating himself during the above-mentioned interview and while so doing attacked the writings appearing in the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* in this connection and stated that the reforms the new party was seeking to introduce in the community were not real ones and that their attempt to shake the authority of the Mullaji over the community was attended with grave peril. It also expressed its belief that the communications appearing in the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* seemed to have been written by non-Moslems rather than Muhammadans. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* then thought it fit, as a Moslem organ, to express its views in connection with this controversy which was agitating the community for a long time. In some of its earlier issues it advises the Mullaji Saheb not to remain content with moving in the old grooves, but to introduce suitable reforms that may be in keeping with the present progressive times, in administering the affairs of the community, and also warns the party of reform against the undesirable results that might follow the weakening of the authority of the Mullaji over the Borah community. In its issue of the 10th July it strongly condemns the action of the *Kaiser-i-Hind* in representing that its belief was that the writings appearing in the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* were the product of some non-Moslems. The paper believes that such a move on the part of the *Kaiser-i-Hind* is calculated to create bad blood between different sections of the Borah community. It remarks that the defence of the Mullaji in the manner in which it has been made by the weekly paper is entirely uncalled for, that it bespeaks the ignorance of the editor about the constitution of the Borah community and that the account of the interview above referred to was published against the express wish of the Mullaji Saheb. The paper regrets that the *Kaiser-i-Hind* has unnecessarily excited the community by publishing the account. It then goes on to declare that from inquiries made it is able to state that those who wrote on the subject in the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* were none else but Muhammadans. The paper, while expressing its approbation of the passages quoted from the Koran and statements made by ancient spiritual leaders like Amir-ul-Momnin, by "Abdul Karim" in his contributions appearing in the issues of the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* dated the 30th and 29th June

1917, respectively, in indirect support of his criticism of the Mullaji Saheb, disapproves of the discourteous manner in which those quotations have been applied against a personage like the head priest of the Borah community. In the subsequent issue the paper regrets that the alleged well-wishers of the Mullaji Saheb should have, in the shape of correspondence appearing in the *Kaiser-i-Hind,* supported the action of a publicist who has not refrained from making a lame defence of the Mullaji by using vulgar language and by publishing matter calculated to produce unlawful excitement among the Borah community. It, however, expresses gratification that it has latterly refrained from such mischievous tactics as were adopted by him in the beginning. It then refers to the words used in the humourous columns of the *Kaiser-i-Hind* making fun of the way in which the Borahs pronounce the Gujarati language and remarks that it considers it its duty to bring that fact to the notice of the authorities with a view to preventing bad blood being created between community and community. The paper supports the quotations from religious books by correspondents whose contributions appeared in the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* for securing the removal of the evils affecting the Borah community and attributes the hostility displayed against the use of such quotations to a desire to keep the members of the community generally in ignorance of those evils.

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's letter explaining the absence of his representative at the late Dr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee's funeral.
Subodha Patrika (42), 15th July, Eng. cols.

31. Referring to His Excellency the Governor's letter to the Honourable Sir D. E. Wacha explaining why His Excellency was not represented at the late Dr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee's funeral, the *Subodha Pătrika* remarks:—"We all know that ever since his arrival in this country, His Excellency's one anxiety has been to move among the people and cultivate the acquaintance of every leader of every community; and we believe he had on this ground even got the usual budget allowance of the Governor's household considerably increased. No one will therefore think of accusing His Excellency of any neglect to pay his last tribute of respect to our great citizen whom he had taken the trouble to visit in his own home during his lifetime: and every one will sympathise with His Lordship in the quite natural human feeling of 'very great concern' that he had no representative at the funeral. But what will astonish every one is the fact stated by His Excellency that he 'heard nothing of Mr. Dadabhai's death till Sunday afternoon through Reuter, and then it was too late." Are we to understand that none of their officers in the city is charged with the duty of informing Government in time of all happenings of any importance? It is simply inconceivable in view of the boast flaunted by the Imperial and Provincial Governments in the face of the public that their agencies are all pervading as well as all-knowing. If so, the only explanation seems to be that whoever is charged with the duty, did not think it necessary to be in any great hurry to report the death of one who was after all a native citizen though he may be great in the eyes of the Governor...... Under these circumstances, however much we may sympathise with His Excellency personally for the awkward situation in which he was placed by his own men, he cannot blame the public if they suspect that such incidents become possible because of the feeling encouraged by tradition or experience that they rarely mean anything particularly untoward to the defaulter in matters affecting the interests or prestige of Indians."

How the war has humbled John Bull.
Sind Observer (12), 6th July.

32. **"Foreigners talk of the intolerable arrogance of John Bull, but the war seems to have altered his character considerably and to have made of him a most humble being. He went round the United States in a mendicant manner obtaining opinions on the Irish question and how best to settle it. The Yankees freely expressed themselves on the subject. Next an American Admiral is appointed to command the British Naval forces in Irish waters and the stars and stripes is hoisted over the admiralty headquarters in Ireland. But who would have expected that the 4th of July, Independence Day, would be celebrated with *eclat* in England and the American flag flown over both Houses of Parlia-**

ment, in commemoration of our fatuous methods with the Colonists, of their successful resistance against our ineptitude, and our final expulsion from the country? Much as the French love and admire us, and though they are an intensely demonstrative people, they could not make themselves do anything so magnificent. The American public must be hugely pleased with the show, which appeals to their vanity. We are Allies now in the great cause of freedom and it is becoming to say nice things of each other. We trust, however, for the sake of that cause that John Bull does not in a weak movement tender any advice to Uncle Sam on matters concerning the internal policy of the United States, nor expect him to forget that U. S. A. worsted us every time we tried conclusions with him. Some Englishmen have made the useful suggestion that an American should be appointed as chairman of the Irish Conference. An attractive proposal indeed and quite in keeping with the new character of John Bull."

Comments on the Bombay Town Hall meeting to encourage the scheme for a Mahar battalion.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 14th July, Eng. cols.

33. Referring to the recent Town Hall meeting at Bombay to encourage the scheme for a Mahar battalion the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks :—"By reopening the military service to them, Government have provided them with an honourable occupation which will erase from them the sense of servility, and will make them self-respecting and self-reliant......... Centuries of servility and subjection have rendered them docile and deferential. If these millions were given a fair chance in life, they will make good and useful citizens, and will be a valuable asset to the State and society. We do not think that the Mahar regiments will be formed simply for service during the war and will be disbanded after peace is restored. There can be no objection to regiments composed exclusively of men of this community, and they are sure to give a good account of themselves. If there were more of the genuine sympathy and humanity that is felt for them by Sir Narayen Chandavarkar, the prospect of their regeneration will not be so dim and distant.......... The enlistment has offered them a splendid opportunity, and we believe they will freely avail themselves of it."

Lord Hardinge and the Mesopotamia report.
Mahrátta (5), 22nd July.

***34.** "Lord Hardinge is one of those who have been impugned by the Mesopotamia Commission. In his statement before Parliament, Lord Hardinge said that his administration ought to be judged in the light of the opinion which India formed of it.......... The *ex*-Viceroy's appeal to India for its verdict on his administration has a special significance in these times when the Bureaucracy of India acts as if there is in this country no such thing as public opinion that a ruler ought to take respectful notice of. Lord Hardinge has as it were set himself in opposition to the Indian Bureaucracy and proclaimed to the people of the world that there is such a thing as *Indian opinion*, organised Indian opinion, which the rulers of India ought to respect, though according to the constitution of the day they may ride rough-shod over it with perfect impunity."

Comments on the Government of India's *communique* about their acquisition of imported silver.
Indu Prakásh (39), 14th July, Eng. cols.

35. "The Simla *communiqué* (11th instant) referring to the Government acquisition of silver contains what, in our opinion, is a flagrant misrepresentation. When speaking of the reasons that led to the adoption of this policy the *communique* has the words :—'Owing *inter alia* to the prosperity of India at the present time, etc.' We are absolutely at a loss to understand the word 'prosperty' unless India means Anglo-Indian community. If Government cares to make the least inquiry into the matter, every household will be found bending under the weight of increased expenditure.......... When the middle class men are in doubt as regards their capacity merely to feed their wives and children, how does a statement about India's prosperity sound to them! We do not know who is responsible for thus deluding and defrauding the Government. We guess he is somebody that knows only the Anglo-Indian community who form the only group of human beings on the face of this earth that have not at all perceptibly been touched by this all-grabbing war."

A review of the war situation.

Gujaráti (16), 15th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 18th July; *Praja Bandhu* (27), 15th July.

36. It is now nearly three years that the war is in progress. Many wonderful events have happened during that period. We cannot conjecture what the final result will be. Whoever wins, this is certain that the European nations will not come out of the struggle without great loss to their former glory and prestige. These nations seem to be bent on sticking to their resolve of fighting to the last man and the last penny. All nations except England have been completely exhausted. France has stood the struggle manfully; but it has had to make tremendous sacrifices. The United States of America have entered the war with the object of preventing France from being bled white in its struggle against German militarism. It has taken three years for England to make such preparations as would stagger Germany. In what way did France withstand the German attacks? France has proved itself to be a nation of heroes. There is nothing to equal the sacrifices made by France in the defence of liberty. The revolution disorganised the Russian army and Germany would have greatly benefitted by it and would have thrown its armies against exhausted France and might perhaps have forced it to sue for a separate peace; but America came to her rescue and saved her from such a disgrace and supplied her with stores and munitions. America moreover saved Russia from making a separate peace with Germany. It would be no exaggeration to say the war would have come to an end this year but for America. It will now surely be protracted. Germany has shown admirable powers of organisation and it has continued to wage war for three years in spite of deficient supplies of provisions owing to her being cut off from the rest of the world. It has not cared for financial difficulties. The Allied progress in Mesopotamia, Palestine and in the Caucasus has slackened. Only four months of the year are left to inflict a defeat on the enemy and so the Allies are trying to do their best. Germany is counting upon the exhaustion of the Allies; but America will soon be able to throw her armies in the field. One of its contingents has already landed without the loss of a single ship by submarines! It is a great achievement on the part of the Americans. [The *Hindusthán* is of opinion that another year will be required to defeat Germany, while the *Praja Bandhu* declares that there are clear signs of Germany being compelled to sue for peace at an early date.]

Alleged pro-German tendencies of Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

Sind Observer (12), 10th July.

37. "The attitude of Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway remains a mystery. The first country is repeatedly talking about the danger which threatens her and that the people must be prepared to use their utmost strength for liberty and independence. We take this as referring to the German menace on the Dutch frontiers, but at the same time find it necessary to take precautions in the North Sea as we do not wish to run any risks. The potato business, too, requires some explanation. We had agreed to purchase the Dutch potato crop, and according to the contract, the consignment was about to be shipped to England when the Dutch Government stepped in and seized and distributed it. We had arranged to purchase this year's crop on learning that Germany was negotiating to buy it although she has not paid the money due on a huge consignment delivered last year. This extreme tenderness for the German may be dictated by fear of reprisals from which the good Hollanders do not believe we can protect them but it is pro-German nevertheless, and if not nipped in the bud may lead to other methods of assisting the Huns. The Danes should have no sympathy for Germany considering the treatment she gave them in the past. But there is a dearth of footstuffs in Germany and plenty of money is to be made by supplying the Huns with food. Norway has had a bad time on sea. A large number of her vessels have been sunk on one pretext or another by the Germans, but except for an occasional growl she appears unperturbed about it. The mines which find themselves in the way of our shipping require investigation. The enemy are slim fellows, but we scarcely believe that they are able to deposit them so well and far from European waters without the aid of neutrals.......... A point which has struck us as needing elucidation is the despatch of submarines by Holland to her East India possessions. What is the meaning of this haste to protect her distant Colonies when her Ministers speak of the danger being nearer home? Taken with her attitude in respect of the potato crop and other matters in which England is interested, the movements of these vessels appear suspicious to say the least. Our Admiralty should be wide awake to such shady transactions after the experience of three years."

Manifesto of the German Majority Socialists.
Mahratta (5), 22nd July.

***38.** "The following is taken from the Communique from the German Majority Socialists published by the Dutch-Scandinavian Socialists' Committee of Stockholm:—'German Social Democracy seeks a peace by understanding. Just as it demands guarantees for the free political, economical and cultural development of its own people, so it condemns the violation of the vital interests of other nations.......... By national self-determination we understand the right of nations to maintain or get back their political independence. The first group here to be considered is the States which have lost their independence during this war. We wish to restore independent Belgium. Belgium shall not be a feudatory State either of Germany, England or France. As regards Serbia and other Balkan States we agree to the declaration of our Austrian comrades. A second group of States which have lost their old independence but find themselves liberated by the events of this war are Poland and Finland.......... A third group of ancient independent nations which became the victims of Imperialistic oppression is Ireland, Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, India, Tibet and Korea. German Social Democracy pronounces the greatest sympathy with the efforts of all these nations to re-establish their national freedom, and would rejoice if Socialists in the States which govern those countries would raise their voices for liberating those nations from foreign oppression'."

Comments on the Police Commissioner's explanation with regard to the alleged "reign of terror" at Dadar (Bombay).
Mufid-e-Rozgár (144), 15th July.

39. Referring to the reports about the alleged molestation of women by members of the Labour Corps encamped at Dadar, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* states that the Commissioner of Police has investigated the complaint personally and has found the disquieting reports to be entirely unfounded. It thanks Mr. Vincent who took so much trouble in restoring the public confidence, and it urges that the circulators of these baseless complaints may be traced and suitably dealt with in order to deter others from following in their foot-steps in future. It believes that there are many men of that ilk in the town who are always bent upon making mountains of molehills.

Dnyan Prakásh (36), 15th July; *Mantri* (109), 18th July.

40. Mr. Vincent, the Commissioner of Police, is apparently of opinion that the various rumours about the public being molested by sepoys and men of the Labour Corps are entirely unfounded. It cannot be said that they are all unfounded because no complaints have been made to the police. Not only the police should make minute inquiries into this matter but people should also co-operate whole-heartedly with the police. We cannot agree with Mr. Vincent that newspapers should not publish anything about these allegations. In our opinion they will fail in their duty if they refrain from giving publicity to them. It must not also be forgotten that the police find it more safe to watch political agitators and thus fill their diaries than to deal with bands of rowdies. It is unfortunate that while shouts about *swarájya* and Home Rule are being plentifully heard there are very few men who possess the necessary courage to risk their own skin or even to give evidence in a court of law with a view to punish acts of injustice. [Mr. Sitaram Keshav Bole, Secretary, *Kamyar Hitawardhak* Sabha (Society for the promotion of the welfare of workers), writes to the *Mantri*:—On personal inquiries made at Dadar, etc., we find that no evidence

is forthcoming to support the allegations that women have been abducted in motor cars. Men from the military camps are, however, alleged to have molested women. There was only one case of this kind before a Magistrate and the accused was severely punished.]

Rást Goftár (30), 15th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 21st July.

41. The prestige of Government would, no doubt, suffer if there is a grain of truth in the wild rumours. Even if the Commissioner of Police has repudiated all the allegations in his interview with the representative of the *Sánj Vartamán*, we believe there is urgent need of recording the evidence of all those that have complained in the matter and investigating into it. Should no immediate steps be taken in this direction, it is feared the people of Dádar will become panic-stricken. The Commissioner of Police is, no doubt, prepared to redress grievances, but the matter is of such a grave nature that police interference might result in disturbance of the peace. The question might be successfully tackled if the military officials are left to deal with the situation with the co-operation of the police. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* says that on enquiries it finds that there is no truth in the wild rumours, but that some men belonging to the military camp are reported to have made fun of women passing along the streets. It asks people to be prompt in bringing their grievances to the notice of the authorities.]

Contradition of the reported "reign of terror" at Dádar.

Indu Prakásh (39), 16th and 19th July, Eng. cols.

42. "A special representative of this paper visited Dádar and made careful inquiries into the alleged actions of soldiers stationed there. So far as he could gather, the allegations are not founded on facts. Nobody could give him the name, occupation or address of any women alleged to have been insulted. We are also told that the authorities have not received a single complaint from anybody. We would only say here that our popular Commissioner of Police is ever ready to inquire into any case provided he receives definite information. If one has got a complaint to make, it is his duty to approach the Commissioner of Police with whatever evidence he has got. The propagation of vague and idle rumours bodes nobody any good If you have evidence of a wrong perpetrated by a soldier, it is your duty as a citizen to fearlessly step forward to help the cause of justice. If you have none, it is your duty to combat idle rumours. We suggest to Government that a Press Note may be issued on the subject." [A correspondent writing to the paper about the same matter says:—"I fully go with you, and would like to make the Government another suggestion, *viz.*, to make police 'bandobast,' for some time to come, near mills and girls' schools, for the consolation and encouragement of the inmates of those buildings. In making this suggestion I take into account the reported though not believed molestations to female operatives. The school girls are also informed, and they believe, that the authorities have by the beating of the *bataki* announced that it is not safe for womankind to be out of their houses after five in the evening. This 'Curfew Bell' ordinance is undoubtedly the figment of some hairbrained individual, but all the same, it has produced the scaring-away effect on the minds of the fair 'alumni' and their parents or guardians. Hence, if they see the police-guard in sight, they will begin to breathe as freely as before." The paper, referring to the matter in its vernacular columns, says that what it wrote last week about the affairs at Dádar was not found to be true on investigation. It, therefore, advises newspaper editors to make inquiries on the spot before airing complaints. It also calls upon the Kamgar Hita Vardhak Sabha, a society for the advancement of the interests of workmen, to take up the matter and to rebut the many rumours flying about.]

The Police and the stoppage of public meetings.

Kesari (106), 17th July.

43. The highhandedness of the officials has not stopped; on the contrary it is in evidence in various ways. After the closure of the Delhi meeting of protest, the Saharanpur (Punjáb) meeting also was stopped. The Rai Bareili meeting met the same fate. Our Bombay Police are engaged in the task of surpassing these measures. It is rumoured that orders have been passed in the Dhárwár District that no meeting should be held without the previous permission of the Police. We have still no definite news about the order. But a meeting at Hubli (Dhárwár) in favour of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill on Primary Education was stopped by the Police Inspector. We are afraid that this policy of gagging may hereafter develop into one of completely suppressing public meetings. The time has come when we have to decide whether we should obey these orders quietly and postpone such meetings.

Many villages in the Ratnágiri District are unable to guard against depredations of wild beasts owing to want of fire-arms.

Shatya Shodhak (119), 15th July.

44. A correspondent writing to the *Satya Shodhak* states that at Khedshi, a village near Ratnágiri, a tiger recently broke into a cattle-shed and killed a cow, and points out that no one in that village possesses a license to carry arms. He states there are many villages in the Ratnágiri District which possess no fire-arms and inquires what the people of those villages are to do to protect themselves from the depredations of wild beasts. He further complains that not only are license holders prohibited from lending their arms to others on such occasions, but ammunition, without which fire-arms are useless, cannot be procured even in a place like Ratnágiri. He, therefore, requests the authorities to remove the grievances of the people.

Comments on the security taken from the *New Times* of Karáchi.

New Times (7), 27th and 30th June.

45. An anonymous admirer of the *New Times*, writing to the paper, dwells on the moderation and fairness of its comments and referring to the security taken from it, remarks:—"It is very strange to see that you have fallen in the clutches of the law and so soon. I have often seen far stronger articles in the Anglo-Indian papers. I have read with contempt articles in Anglo-Indian papers abusing Indians and creating race-hatred. Even now when Indians are fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Britishers, Anglo-Indian papers often let themselves loose and dishonour noble Indians, and not a hair of their head is touched. But, alas! I foreget that they are white Brahmans and their person is sacred." [In the second issue, Mr. Poptatlal A. Bhoopatker, M.B., B.S., declares that he has been a regular reader of the paper and found nothing objectionable in it. He then continues:—"If you cannot express public opinion to the authorities and the authorities' views to the public on the national problems, what are you supposed to do? Are you simply supposed to collect advertisements and make your paper a daily directory of commerce rather than an organ of the country? Mr. 'Admirer' rightly refers in your issue of 27th instant to the undesirable attitude of some of the Anglo-Indian papers; and why are they not held responsible for telling deliberate lies, wounding Indian feelings, and creating racial hatred?......... Since you have met such a fate in doing a public service, I am sure the people who fully appreciate your well-meant efforts shall stand by you and share in your lot."]

Comments on the demand of security from the *Sanjibani*, a Calcutta newspaper.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 19th July.

46. We understand that on the death of its printer a security of Rs. 1,000 was demanded from the *Sanjibani*, a well-known journal of Calcutta, at the time of making a fresh declaration. During its long career the conductors of the paper were never punished for sedition nor were they even warned. It is very strange, therefore, that a security should have been demanded from such a respectable paper simply because its old printer happened to die. This shows that a journal though conducted on the most unobjectionable lines is not necessarily free from the clutches of the Press Act.

Vatandar kulkarnis should sue the Secretary of State in the matter of the commutation of their vatans.

Kesari (106), 17th July.

47. A vatandar writes to the *Kesari*:—From the very start the vatandar kulkarnis have contended that their consent to the commutation of their vatans was not a voluntary one but that it was given through fear caused by the oppression of responsible officials in authority. The section of the Vatan Act under which Government say that kabulayats were given requires that every vatandar should make an independent request to the Collector whenever he wants to commute his vatan. But as a matter of fact kulkarnis were called to the Taluka headquarters and their signatures were taken on printed forms. It is clear therefore that these kabulayats are illegal. Kulkarnis have been advised to sue the Secretary of State in the matter and many kulkarnis have already given notices. This is the only one way now left open for the kulkarnis.

Alleged grivances of the Public Works Department Upper Subordinates in the Bombay Presidency.
New Times (7), 30th June.

48. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *New Times*:—"It is a matter of great regret that Government machinary is too slow for the welfare of the present over-worked and highly qualified Public Works Department Subordinate in the Bombay Presidency. It is nearly three-fourths of a century that the scale of pay of Public Works Department Upper Subordinate Establishment has not been revised, when side by side there has been a gradual increase in salaries of subordinates of almost all the other departments. Times have so changed that the purchasing power of a rupee is less than ¼th of what it was in the sixties of the last century. *The Public Works Department Subordinate of the early sixties was an ordinary bazzar man, fit for no work, and was tempted with a scholarship to join a recruiting Engineer's School with a nominal training to be fitted out as a subordinate.* The present Public Works Department Subordinate has to undergo a stiff academic test and has to struggle hard in an Engineering College to fit himself for the difficult Public Works Department duties.......... The Public Works Department Subordinates Association has cried and cried for increment of pay, sympathetic Honourable members have moved the matter in the Council, but the Government takes long to decide. Years have passed when a memorial was submitted to Government to redress the grievances of Public Works Department Upper Subordinates, but no result has come out as yet."

The Students' Department in England and Indian students.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 18th July.

49. Commenting upon the proceedings of the Conference of Provincial Secretaries of Advisory Committees at Simla, the *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—The Students' Department costs a lakh per year. Where lies the sense in saying that students are not compelled to take the help of the Students' Department in London when students without certificates of the India Office are not admitted into any college? Students are not helped much by the London Department. Complaints have been made that the Indian Advisory Committees try to dissuade students from going to England and it is a fact that they have generally done so. Till the attitude of the London Department is changed, it is useless to expect any notable improvement in the work of the local committees.

Comments on a Bombay case in which a Pathan was punished slightly for offering public insult to a Hindu women.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 16th July.

50. Commenting upon the sentence of a fine of seven rupees or 30 hours' rigorous imprisonment recently passed by a Bombay Bench of Honorary Magistrates against a Pathan for threatening to strike a Hindu woman on a public thoroughfare for not being able to pay him on the spot his dues which amounted to about 10 rupees and otherwise creating a disturbance on a public road, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks:—Even if the Police had charged the accused with a lighter offence the Magistrates had the power to alter the original charge if the facts of the case disclosed that a graver offence had been committed. In any way if a person abuses a woman in broad daylight and on a public thoroughfare and threatens to take off her *sari*, he should be dealt with so severely as to strike terror in the hearts of other ruffians like him. (From the present case) it would seem as if a poor Hindu woman's honour is valued at seven rupees. Suppose in the present case there had been a European woman, would a money-lender offering her similar insult have been able to escape with the insignificant fine of seven rupees? We have great doubts about it. Complaints against Pathan money-lenders are steadily increasing in Bombay and it behoves Government to take measures for effectively removing this source of complaint.

Complaint that papers produced in civil suits are not returned to the parties for days together.

Sandesh (118), 19th July.

51. A correspondent complains in the *Sandesh* that papers produced in civil suits and *darkhast* matters are not returned to the parties for days together and that the clerks of pleaders and Court clerks also do not hand over the papers to the parties in time. He, therefore, suggests that papers not handed over to the parties should be sent to them per V. P. P., which would benefit the parties without costing anything to Government.

Complaint about inadequate ferry arrangements at certain places in the Ratnágiri District.

Satya Shodak (119), 15th July.

52. A correspondent writes to the *Satya Shodhak* complaining about the mismanagement of the ferry service at Tavsál in the Ratnágiri District. He says that only one ferry plies between this place and the opposite coast, although two ferries have to be maintained, and this causes much inconvenience to the passengers who have on many occasions to go without food. He adds that although the prescribed fare for the ferry at Jaigad is only one anna, the contractor charges twice the amount on the plea that the service does not pay him and also claims remission from Government pretending to have incurred a loss. The sail of the ferry-boat, he further says, is a tattered one and it is also inadequately manned. The correspondent expresses a hope that this will receive the attention of the authorities.

Complaint about injurious effects of old vaccine lymph being used in Poona.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 15th July.

53. The Secretary, *Arogya Mandal* (Sanitary Association), Poona, publishes the following in the *Dnyán Prakásh*:—One Pandhari Narayan, a vaccinator, vaccinated a child, a year and a half old, of Mr. Deshpande, residing in Shanwar Peth, without its father's consent. Later on the child was seen to be suffering from four different wounds on the arms each half an inch deep and three inches in circumference. The child is laid up for the last two months undergoing unbearable pain. It has now transpired that this was due to the vaccine lymph being too old to be used.

The duty of the Hindus and Muhammadans of Sind to unite closely and co-operate together for the welfare of the province.

New Times (7), 5th July.

54. In the course of an article in which it dwells on the various benefits conferred by Islam on the province and people of Sind, the *New Times* pleads for close union between Hindus and Muhammadans and remarks:—"It is essential to the progress of Sind that the Hindu and Muhammadan should realise their deeper unity one with the other as sons of a common soil. The majority of the people are Muhammadans; and the disruptive tendencies of secular English education which have done harm in some places should be snubbed in Sind. Still, in our villages and small towns, the beautiful spectable may be seen of Hindus and Muhammadans living together as good neighbours, as friends, as helpers one of the other. This co-operation, this attitude of friendliness, this spirit of mutual help should develop all the more with the growth of our new political consciousness.......... The Hindu and the Moslem must needs draw closer one to the other in order that they may serve together the *Sindhudesha*. The Eternal Saviour of Nations has joined us together: let no petty personal matters tear us apart. The political, social, economic and educational reconstructions which we demand, call for a co-operation of the Hindu and the Mussalman."

Government should take notice of the mischievous nonsense being daily poured out by the vernacular press in Sind.

Sind Observer (12), 6th July.

55. "A curious article published in a Sindhi newspaper has been brought to our notice as illustrating how every opportunity is seized by a certain class to fling mud at the Government. Commenting on the extension of office granted to Lords Willingdon and Pentland this newspaper remarks that Government have by this shown extreme solicitude for the safety of their Lordships and have arranged, so that they should not travel home at a time when the German submarines render the passage usafe. Yet, continues this same paper, three Indians are commanded to proceed to England through this submarine beset

sea to take up their appointments on the India Council. Are their lives cheaper? the writer asks. Such is the mischievous nonsense which is poured out in streams daily for the consumption of the public, many of whom do not possess sufficient wisdom to recognise the noxious and untruthful from the wholesome and true......... Some one once said 'throw mud and some of it is sure to stick.' This appears to be the policy of certain newspapers and there is no doubt that some of the mud does stick, and the masses see it there and wonder if Government approve of it. Silence, they say, is golden, but that is not a saw which should guide Government in this country above all. Silence here is taken as approval or at least an admission of the truth of what is said against the Sirkar."

Suggestion for the improvement of Muhammadan education in Sind.

Sind Moslem (11), 7th and 14th July.

56. "In the first place there should be appointed a Mussalman Educational Inspector and put in sole charge of the Muslim education in Sind. He should be selected from among the educational experts of India and be subordinate to the Director of Public Instruction. This measure would retain the control with the Government and at the same time insure the progress of education of the Mussalmans in Sind. Such steps have already been taken by the Governments of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Bengal. In the second place the number of the existing schools being inadequate, other schools should be soon opened by the Government and given in the exclusive management of Mussalmans controlled and guided by the Muslim Edutional Inspector and his Muslim staff. The Government as well as the Municipal schools, monopolised, as they are, by the Hindus have undoubtedly failed to attract Mussalmans perhaps owing to little sympathy shown by the teachers to Muslim students. One of the immediate steps, in the third place, that the Government should take should be to open High Schools in each district, raise those schools that already exist to high standard under the control of Mussalmans." [In the next issue the paper points out that the appointment of a Moslem Deputy Educational Inspector to be in charge of Moslem education in Sind would not be a novelty, as there are already similar Muhammadan Deputies in other parts of the Bombay Presidency itself. With regard to its suggestion for opening High Schools, the paper remarks:—"We, further, repectfully approach Government to take a step forward in that direction and open a High School either at Hyderabad, the geographical centre of the province, or at Sukkur—a place where a Muhammadan boarding house already exists with free boarders and paying boarders altogether to the extent of about seventy. If Government decide upon the course suggested, they can easily divert a part of the ensuing Government grant of one lakh of rupees towards the early opening of the suggested High School instead of distributing it among Muslim Schools for providing unnecessary luxuries like swimming baths, etc. In addition to that the Municipalities and the District Local Boards should also be asked to participate in extending educational facilities to Mussalmans which their special circumstances and requirements call for, and which they have an unquestionable right to expect."]

Alleged unreasonableness and harshness of the decision of the Judicial Commissioner in Sind to debar non-graduates from appearing for the Sind Pleaders' Examination.

Sind Advocate (9), 5th July.

57. "The action of the Judicial Commissioner in Sind in confining the Sind Pleaders' Examination to graduates has been adversely commented upon in the Sind papers and the Muhammadans who will be particularly harmed in their present backward state of education by the measure in question have made a strong representation on the subject, but nothing seems to have been done by the authorities who appear disposed to put a mere idea of this above all reasons that the public have advanced. One or two salient facts will suffice to show the unreasonableness or at least the premature character of the measure. Even the High Court Vakils' Examination is open to undergraduates! Does the Judicial Commissioner in Sind consider the status of his Court to be higher than that of a chartered High Court? There must be some openings in the legal profession for the gifted ambitious matriculates who are too poor to go to college......... Matriculates sometimes have done very well in the Law Examinations and the legal profession......... The Judicial Commissioner in Sind should, therefore, reconsider the matter; if not, the Government of Bombay may well intervene."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Patna University Bill.
Kesari (106), 17th July.

58. Commenting on the report of the Select Committee on the Patna University Bill the *Kesari* says:—On the eve of his departure Sir Harcourt Butler had saddled Sir Sankaran Nair with a retrograde Bill. It has, however, undergone many changes in the Select Committee and a new Bill as it were has been framed. Still there is room for reform in it. But the Imperial Council will consider that. The Select Committee could not make a horse of an ass, but it has at least produced a mule. If Sir Harcourt was in his former place, would such a change have been possible?

RAILWAYS.

Suggestion that the various Railway Administrations in India should appoint leaders of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities as visitors if they want to know thoroughly the grievances and requirements of Indian passengers.
Islámic Mail (4), 1st July, Eng. cols.

59. The *Islámic Mail* dwells appreciatively on the efforts being made of late to meet the convenience of Indian passengers by most of the Railway Administrations in India in the matter of refreshment and waiting rooms, supply of food and drinking water, etc. It, however, thinks that there is still much room for improvement, and continues:—"The chief difficulty in India arises from the absence of an understanding between the travelling public and Railway authorities. The passengers suffer a lot of hardship which could be avoided if the authorities knew of it. For, the gentlemen who are in charge of Railway Administrations are usually very sympathetic, public-spirited and solicitous for the welfare of the travelling public.......... But unfortunately they have no means of knowing what the public suffer and cannot, therefore, remedy it. They have appointed passenger superintendents, train conductors and a lot of other superfluous inspectors, simply to help the passengers, and there have been Conferences and Committees to hear the public side of questions. We would suggest the appointment of 'visitors' from amongst the leaders of Hindu and Muhammadan communities, people like Ebrahim Rahimtulla, Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir Fazalbhoy, Nawab Mir Asad Ali Khan and others, who are interested in railway questions. They may be invested with powers to go about the lines once or twice a year and see things for themselves with a view to represent to the railway authorities the grievances of the travelling public and explain to the public the railway point of view of things. This will lead to mutual understanding and clear up much mistrust and suspicion on both sides."

MUNICIPALITIES.

The recent fire in Prag Mahal, Bombay.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 20th July.

60. Referring to the recent fire which broke out in a building named Prag Mahal, situated in the locality known as Dhobi Talao, Bombay, on account of some cinema films catching fire, and which resulted in the loss of human lives, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that to allow rooms to be used as shops for storing such highly dangerous goods in dwelling houses is not only folly, but should be regarded as the permitting of the performance of a rash act calculated to endanger human life. It observes that the making and selling of cinema films comes within the category of trades hazardous to the safety of the public and inquires if a permit was issued by the Municipal authorities in the present case to the proprietor of the shop in which the cinema films caught fire and if such a permit was granted, the paper inquires on what grounds it was granted.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 27th July 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 30 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 28th July 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian Matters: People in Khándesh should be allowed to feed their cattle on Anjan leaves as grass has disappeared owing to want of rain . 47

Bombay Legislative Council:

Comments on the replies to interpellations at the last meeting of the— . . . . 30—33

The Bombay Budget in the Local Legislative Council . . . . 34 & 35

British Rule:

Alleged insulting reference to Muhammadans and their religion in books compiled by Hindus 25

Alleged speculating in Sovereigns by Marwaris in Bombay 26

Appointment of Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India . . 21 & 22

Bombay Muhammadans should not join the agitation against the Madras internments 5

Comments on Sir J. Meston's speech to his Council on Indian polity . 10

Comments on the Bishop of Bombay's letter on Indian polity . . 11

Comments on the circular about students and public meetings issued by the Educational Inspector, Northern Division, to managers of aided and recognised high schools 18

Comments on the notice under the Defence of India Act, served upon the Editor of *Bombay Chronicle* 23

Comments on the steps taken by the authorities against the holding of certain meetings 15

Comments on the suggestion that a law should be passed requiring the names of editors of newspapers to be registered 24

Controversy on social matters among the Borah community . . 27 & 28

Does the British Government in India deserve to be called *Ma-bap Sarkar*? 1

Indian leaders should not show impatience at the present crisis . . 6

Mr. Chamberlain's resignation 20

Mrs. Besant has introduced the theatrical art into Politics . . 13

Parliament should exercise greater check over the Indian Government and the people should control the Provincial Governments . . 7

Reflections on the present political situation in India . . . . 3 & 4

Students and political meetings . . . . 16 & 17

The British democracy's duty to support India's efforts to achieve Self-government within the Empire as a reward for her sacrifices in the war and especially in the Mesopotamia campaign . . 8

The importance of *Swadeshi* and the right of the masses in India to enjoy the fresh air of a free life 2

The internment of Mrs. Besant is a master stroke, not of men, but of the gods 12

H 155—a CON .

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

British Rule :—*continued.*

The movement for national education is intended only for re-establishing Brahman superiority 14

What students should do in memory of the day of Mrs. Besant's internment 19

What the British Government should do to restore their prestige throughout the length and breadth of India 9

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay: Comments on His Excellency Lord Willindon's utterance in the Bombay Legislative Council in support of the resolution regarding the death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji 29

Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the tramcar incident at Johannesberg. 44

Police :

Comments on the Government Press Note regarding the alleged "reign of terror" at Dádar 41

Contradiction of rumours about women being carried away in Bombay by soldiers 42

Protest that a play entitled Aurangzeb, staged at Surat, hurts Muhammadan feelings 43

Press Act:

Comments on the security taken from the *Sanjibani* of Calcutta . 45

Comments on the security taken from the *New Times* of Karáchi . 46

Sind :

Comments on certain orders of the District Magistrate, Hyderabad (—), prohibiting the singing of songs at a procession in honour of Mrs. Besant 48

Comments on the delegation to the Commissioner in Sind of power to transfer District Superintendents of Police 50

Complaint about carriages of Indians not being allowed to stand in a certain road in Hyderabad (—) 49

War :

A German writer on the ease with which Russia could become master of India 36

A Japanese prophesy about the — 38

Protest against *New India's* attempt to discourage recruitment for the Indian Defence Force 37

The progress of the — 39

The situation in Russia 40

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill in the Bombay Council . . . . 51—53

EDUCATION—

Protests against the recent orders requiring school teachers to appear before Collectors to sign declaration of loyalty 54

The policy of Government with regard to the School Final and Matriculation Examinations 55

RAILWAYS—

Strike of railway-men in Bombay 57

There is no chance of Company management of Indian — being done away with in spite of its recognised evils 56

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay: The recent fire at Prag Mahal, — 58

Hyderabad: Protest against the introduction of house-tax and terminal-tax in — (Sind) 61

Ratnágiri: Comments on the grant of larger elective rights to the — Municipality 60

Vita: Comments on the Collector's reply to the deputation of the people of — (Sátára) in connection with the local — 59

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Does the British Government in India deserve to be called "Ma-bap Sarkar".

Paraja Mitra and Pársi (28), 26th July.

1. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* declares that the opponents of Indian progress who advance the plea that the general Indian public prefer the autocratic form of Government to Government on a democratic basis and that they call the present Government "Ma-bap Sarkar" and depending upon them as upon a parental Government deem it proper to follow their bidding, do not understand the meaning of the phrase "Ma-bap Sarkar". It remarks that by that phrase the Indians should be understood to mean that just as children can approach parents direct to make known their wants and demands without fear from anybody, so Government are, like parents, bound to come in direct touch with all classes of subjects and after hearing them, to satisfy them. Such a conception of the term "Ma-bap Sarkar", observes the paper, comes very close to the idea of democracy. It then refers in a tone of dissatisfaction to the public being prohibited from making mention of their wants and grievances in the addresses they present to the rulers and Governors when they are on tour in their districts and to the introduction to them only of those persons who are selected by Collectors and Commissioners for such interviews. It also inquires how the actions of Government can be said to be those of a "Ma-bap Sarkar" when in directing petitioners to forward their petitions through the proper channel they in effect ask the public to forward their tale of grievances through the very parties against whom they have to complain, and when they arrive at a decision upon the basis of the remarks made in self-vindication by those very parties.

The importance of *Swadeshi* and the right of the masses in India to enjoy the fresh air of a free life.

New Times (7), 11th July.

2. In the course of an article headed "*Swadeshi* Appeal", the *New Times* dwells on the progress made by the scheme for starting the Bharat Swadeshi Vastu Stores at Karáchi. It also points out how the *Swadeshi* spirit when developed will influence all departments of life. It then writes:—"Sind yet lacks leadership; but one thing is sure: they alone will be accepted as our leaders whose hearts will bleed at the thought of the poverty and sufferings of the masses in Sind; they alone will be our leaders who will mix with the masses, freely, unostentatiously—men who will have no scruples of caste, no pride of aristocracy, no sordid motive of self-advancement—men who will realise their unity with the great 'unwashed' ones of the land; unwashed because of the sins of society which is indifferent to them—'unwashed' yet rich in the yearnings of the heart, rich in the treasure of humble devotees of nature.......... Oh these masses of the land! they pine for the fresh air of a free life: they yearn for the things which society denies them to-day—the things that God has fashioned fair; their souls would commune with the stars; their hearts would throb with true patriotism. But they are in poverty; who will help them? Who will contribute to their material welfare? Who will make their hearts less lonesome? As many as will, are destined to gain the gratitude of the people and be greeted as the servants of the Nation."

Reflections on the present political situation in India.

Kesari (106), 24th July.

3. Government doubted a few years ago whether people can remain loyal and at the same time be patriotic. But they are now completely disillusioned and they know full well that loyalty and patriotism can dwell together even under foreign rule. Our rulers see clearly that the political aspirations of Indians are just and proper and based on loyalty and that they must be fulfilled and that otherwise there will surely be a conflagration of discontent and that there is no chance of the rally of the moderates round their banner unless their political desires are satisfied. Loyal patriots who were victims of Government's suspicion and

loyal patriots who were patronised and patted by Government are now working hand in hand for *swarájya*. With what face can England deny plain *swarájya*—not independence—to India when England is holding aloft the banner of independence of small principalities? And if she does, what true and loyal patriot will submit? Since Lord Pentland delivered his speech and interned Mrs. Besant and her two followers discontent caused by pain inflicted on the people has spread all over India and Indian leaders have taken the vow of *swarájya* and have expressed their determination not to go back an inch. The Home Rule movement is being vigorously carried on in the United Provinces and we are thankful to the head of this Province for setting a good example to other timorous local Governments and for not interfering with the movement. In other provinces the movement is being carried on and the atmosphere is favourable to *swarájya*. The appointment of Mr. Montagu is welcome, but that is no reason why our agitation should flag, and we hope the All-India Congress Committee that will meet shortly will recognise its responsibility in the matter.

Gujárati (16), 22nd July.

4. Sir K. G. Gupta has rightly asked why Indians alone should be made to keep silence in the matter of their aspirations. The answer to his question is that Indians are helpless and are accustomed to yield unquestioning obedience to authority. Indians are accustomed to obey the law, but they are not prepared to give up the rights of mankind and those of British citizenship. On the one side there is authority and on the other there are the aspirations of the people. It is the British who have sown the seeds of these aspirations and have fostered them by their political history. High souled Englishmen have not up to now allowed these aspirations to be discouraged. Lord Hardinge, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Montagu have all expressed a desire for making the administration responsible to the people of this country. But Lord Chelmsford, Lord Pentland, Lord Willingdon and Sir Michael O'Dwyer have said nothing calculated to give satisfaction to the people. Sir James Mestion has given expression to hopeful views. Sir James is of opinion that we are not doing our best to co-operate with the Allies in securing victory. The causes of this state of affairs are quite obvious. The officials have centralised all authority in the name of efficiency. Have the authorities before or after the beginning of the war done anything to enlist the sympathy of the people and to encourage them in their aspirations? What have the officials done to lead the enthusiasm of the people in the right direction? There is truth in Sir James's assertion that the present condition of India gives rise to anxiety. But are the people to be blamed for the present situation? What have the Government of India done to rectify the mistake of Lord Pentland, who does not know anything about the aims and aspirations of the Congress and the Moslem League? What should people think of the attitude of indifference adopted by the officials in asking them to be silent as regards their apirations? If the Imperial Government are considering the question of Indian reform, why should not Indians be allowed to express their opinions on the question? It is the popular belief that the Imperial Government have adopted the suggestions of the Government of India which are not likely to satisfy Indian aspirations, and now the Government of India hesitate to make them public at the present juncture when Indian opinion is so much united. The Government of India find themselves in an awkward position. The awakening among the people has proved that the Government of India are not in sympathy with the people. It was on this account that various officials were asking the people not to pitch their hopes very high; but as their efforts did not secure the desired effect they got exasperated and resorted to repressive measures. This has made the people sceptical and a state of discontent has arisen such as was never seen during his stay in India by Sir James Meston. The remedy lies in the officials coming over to the popular side instead of being antagonistic to it. If this is not done popular agitation will become more acute.

Bombay Muhammadans should not join the agitation against the Madras internments.

Islámic Mail (4), Urdu Edition, 16th July.

5. Dealing with the situation in India, particularly as it is affected by the Madras internments, the *Islámic Mail* states that Indians pay a traditional reverence to all objects of magnitude and power, and it believes that if it had not been for the western education imparted by Englishmen, Indians would have worshipped their rulers, as they do Ram, Lakshman and the Ganges. It states that all literate Indians regard themselves to be the equals of British officials and aspire to govern the country; they demand Home Rule in India in imitation of a similar measure intended for Ireland. It classifies them into two groups: one which trusts in the British love of liberty and generosity, holds that the people would be granted political rights according to their fitness for these, and considers it an ungrateful and ungentlemanly act to wring concessions forcibly at a time of unequalled stress; and the other which thinks that Government would not grant anything except under compulsion, and having been instrumental in setting aside the original partition of Bengal is ready ever and anon to engage in a trial of strength with Government. The paper is of opinion that the propagandist activities of this latter class of men may be perfectly lawful; at the same time they are apt to unbalance the minds of the illiterate and the young who degenerate, as was the case in Bengal, into out-and-out terrorists and anarchists. It opines that an indigenous Government might have been forced to take stronger measures for suppressing Mrs. Besant's propagandism leading to violence and crime, and regards the agitation against her internment as totally stupid. Having regard to her pro-Hindu sympathies, the paper advises the Bombay Musalmans to abstain from partaking in the agitation in her favour and points out that their *confrères* in Madras have done the same.

Indian leaders should not show impatience at the present crisis.

Chikitsak (96), 18th July.

6. As a part of the British Empire the future of India depends upon the result of this war and it cannot be foretold what position India will occupy in the scheme of Imperial reconstruction which will be taken in hand after the war. There are disquieting signs of the overlordship of the Colonies over India being added to that of England. The complex and important question as to how to reach the goal of *swarájya* through the vortex of the present critical times is engaging the attention of our thoughtful men. It is neither prudent nor politic, therefore, to be irritated at the repressive policy adopted in one of the Presidencies and encourage the ignorant masses to inaugurate such an extreme measure as boycott of foreign goods. We would warn our responsible leaders, therefore, not to hinder the fulfilment of our demands for *swarájya* by their impatience.

Parliament should exercise greater check over the Indian Government and the people should control the Provincial Governments.

Prakásh (116), 25th July.

7. Lord Curzon attributed the failure of the first Mesopotamia expedition to the centralization of all power in the Government of India and advocated division of power among the several Provincial Governments. The *Times of India* supports this view and argues that it is quite necessary that the Provincial Governments should be autonomous. Our contemporary also pleads for the curtailment of the powers of the Secretary of State. We too do not particularly want this official. We have been demanding that Parliament should exercise more control over the administration of India and that the salary of the Secretary of State should be charged to the British treasury. To do away with the Secretary of State and make the Government of India more independent would be to give unbridled license to the bureaucracy. Similarly we wish for more power for the Provincial Governments provided public opinion exercises a real check over the Executive. Otherwise increased power in the hands of an administrator of the type of Lord Pentland would prove disastrous to the people. We are, therefore, of opinion that the mere transfer of power from one Civil Servant to another will not make the Provincial Governments really autonomous in the eyes of the people. We shall get real autonomy only

when the Legislative Councils exercise authority over the Executive and the bureaucracy realise that they are not the masters but the servants of the people.

The British Democracy's duty to support India's efforts to achieve self-government within the Empire as a reward for her sacrifices in the war and especially in the Mesopotamia campaign.

New Times (7), 10th July.

8. In the course of a lengthy article in which it dwells on the findings of the Mesopotamia Commission's report and the importance of the capture of Bagdad, the *New Times* remarks :—" The city famous in legend and story, the city of the Arabian Nights and the miraculous carpet, the city which boasted of a great University and a noble civilization in the days of Harun-al-Rashid, the city of Bagdad is now in the hands of England ; and with the loss of this city has perished Germany's dream of dominion and conquest in the East. And let it not be forgotten that Indian Forces have played an important part in the capture of Bagdad. It may be that when the war is over, they who tell its story to the world will be careful to point out that the turning-point in this mighty struggle between democracy and militarism came not in the West—in France or Salonika—but in the East. And they who will tell that story will also tell of how in that day of England's trial Indian soldiers went forth to fight and vanquished England's foes—of how Indian soldiers marched to semi-desert Mesopotamia accepting agonies as a triumph, and offering their life-blood to enhance in the annals of time the glory of the 'little gem set in the silver sea'. Yes—India that to many of her critics seemed suspicious, seemed seditious, India has proved a friend of the British Commonwealth. Is it too much for India to ask the English people to help her whose sons have paid with their bodies for their soul's dominant desire ? Is it too much for India to expect that the English democracy should show their appreciation of her national self by supporting her efforts to achieve self-government within the Empire ? "

What the British Government should do to restore their prestige throughout the length and breadth of India.

New Times (7), 16th July.

9. In the course of a lengthy article dealing with a volume of General Smuts' speeches, the *New Times* dwells on the changes in ideals, etc., that seems to have come over the whole world as a result of the war. In the course of the article the paper writes :—" If England regards herself as the trustee of India, and is aware of the present mood and temper of the nation, is not the time come to make a clear declaration concerning the new policy the Government would follow in India ? The supreme need in these anxious days of the world-war is co-operation between the Government and the people ; and if the Government will send a sobering summons to the people setting forth the New Programme as seen from the changed angle of vision, the present unfortunate situation will end. The Government, we may well believe, have their difficulties as their energies are concentrated on the one task of winning the war ; but knowing as we do the present situation, we feel strongly that the Government should announce the policy as early as possible ; the Government should not despise the psychology of the first impression. A clear bold declaration of policy—one worthy of England's history and England's ideals—will restore the prestige of the British name throughout the length and breath of India. Our young men are animated by noble impulses ; our people have no disloyal thought against the Government ; and a declaration of policy, such as we earnestly ask for, will come like a lightning-flash rending the gloom of those who may otherwise indulge in the easy politics of despair. Let the Government lead the popular movement in industry, education, legislation ; let the people have an assurance that the authorities are in sympathy with the great patriotic forces of the Nation ; let them know from the Rulers that in the building-up days of the New Word which is to displace the old, the service and loyalty and the yearning of India for a life of larger self-realisation are respected, appreciated and responded to by the Government."

Comments on Sir J. Meston's speech to his Council on Indian polity.

Young India (14), 25th July.

10. **"If one reads carefully Lord Pentland's speech, one will discover that Sir James Meston was practically translating what His Excellency of Madras had chosen to put with less tact and more pointed bluntness.........** But the whole point is that as soon as people begin to think of their legitimate dues which are long overdue, war comes in the way. When there was no war, the authorities were in no hurry to consider them, and when there is war they are too busy with its prosecution. Strange as it may seem, this is how the aspirations of the people have been met. And yet Sir James Meston assumes that the people are indulging in certain forms of political excitement which have reacted on the Government's prosecution of the war! Is it a wonder therefore that 'there is a note of suspicion and mistrust in this country'?......... Whatever policy may hereafter be pursued under the new regime, it is at least impossible to regard that the Government were hitherto anything but extremely unsympathetic and determined to oppose, as far as they could, the onrush of the tides of Indian nationalism."

Comments on the Bishop of Bombay's letter on Indian polity.

Message (6), 25th and 24th July.

11. "A sheep in the fold" writes to the *Message*:—"His Lordship the Bishop of Bombay has taken upon himself the thankless task of giving advice to people who have not only not invited it but who would rather be without it, proceeding, as it does, from his ignorance, his prejudices and an incapacity to reason, which are little short of a disgrace to the high position which His Lordship occupies....... Being an Englishman, he could not openly repudiate the Indian aspirations to attain self-government: but he asks Indians 'to deserve it' first and then claim it. He assures us that the present Home Rule agitation is 'unpractical' and is likely to prejudice the 'practical' English people. Now we admit that the English are eminently 'practical' and also that they 'care little for ideas and nothing for words' as the reverend Bishop says. Surely, a people which always and universally cared much for 'words' would not have allowed the charters of 1833 or of 1858 to be made dead letters and even openly declared to be 'impossible charters' by a viceregal satrap. Surely, again, a people all of whom cared much for 'ideas' would not have deprived a whole nation of their arms and practically emasculated them, so that their crores are incapacitated to defend their homes and help the empire in the hour of need.......... And just because we recognise this fact, we invite the people to carry on t[illegible]r constitutional agitation for Home Rule and not to remain content with th[illegible]assing of pious resolutions. 'Resolutions of the Congress which are not followed by persistent agitation cannot appeal to a 'practical' people, caring 'little for ideas and nothing for words'—thank you, right reverend Sir, for teaching us these words.......... His Lordship tells us that the educated classes in England did not press for any removal of their grievances in regard to recruiting. We can well believe this, for the simple reason *that the English had no grievances, such as Indians have to complain of.* The relevant question is whether the English educated youths would have refrained from complaining if foreigners had been getting commissions which were denied to them, and unless we are assured as to this we shall refuse to attach much importance to the analogy which the Lord Bishop has seen fit to draw." [The *Message* in its previous issue remarks:—"Judging from the whole tenor of the letter, it would seem that the reasonableness, practicality and deserving of the place in the Empire of the educated clasess consists in their submitting themselves to be 'dumb-driven cattle'. Subscribe freely to the War Loan and the War Relief Funds; drop all agitation—constitutional and otherwise—regarding your future status in the Empire; furnish volunteers to the 'Defence force': that way lies your 'deserving' 'the place you claim in the Empire'. Even thus has the good and noble Bishop of Bombay argued."]

The internment of Mrs. Besant is a master stroke, not of men, but of the gods.

New Times (7), 14th July.

12. The *New Times* publishes a paragraph, subscribed with the name "G. E. Sutchffe", which explains why and Mrs. Besant, a mystic, took up politics. In the course of the paragraph occurs the following:—"No one could have awakened India to the part it had to play in the coming civilisation, as a self-governing section of the British Empire, except Mrs. Besant. To describe her as ignorant of politics is manifestly

absurd. She was a trained politician, gaining victories over opposing forces of enormous weight whilst many of us were imbibing our mother's milk. Being therefore both a mystic and a trained politician, she was in a sense a unique instrument for the work.......... No one but the mystic can really reach the Indian heart, and Mrs. Besant possesses that heart. She will be known in future as the Mother of India, the India that will be free, for on that freedom she has set her heart and devoted her life. To the Indian there is nothing more sacred than a mother, at whose domestic shrine all alike must worship. To cast aspersions upon the mother is the greatest of all insults to the Indian.......... It is this filial emotion now focussed on Mrs. Besant, the most powerful emotion of which India is capable, which has been universally roused to fever heat by her internment. Her former enemies even immediately rally to her side, for this filial instinct is an irresistible force in the Indian heart. The internment was a master stroke, not of men but of gods, and against these Olympian forces the opponents of India's emancipation are putting their puny strength. Let them beware."

Mrs. Besant has introduced the theatrical art into politics.

Jagaruk (new), 27th July.

13. Mrs. Besant has introduced the theatrical art into politics. She has changed her opinions from time to time as an actor assumes different rôles at frequent intervals. She married a Christian Missionary, but soon separated from him and began to adversely criticise Christianity. She then entered the Theosophical Society and endeavoured to increase her own importance by belauding Hinduism. The ignominious disclosures of the Leadbeater affair, however, compelled her once more to change her rôle. She then realised that she would not regain her lost importance unless she took part in politics, and the woman who once roundly abused political agitators became an advocate of Home Rule! She has propounded contradictory views on every subject. In short by establishing her own importance by her cunning she exposed to the gaze of the world the stupidity of Indians. When the Press Act was enforced against her, she had thought that she would be imprisoned, and so had made preparations to leave the political arena with dramatic effect. She made her will and left a last message to the people! Unfortunately, the curtain did not rise in time! This time, however, all went well without any mishap and she has dramatically left the political stage. Even in her internment she has not allowed herself to forget the theatrical art. She has hoisted the Home Rule flag on a lofty p[illegible] on the heights of Ootacamund and salutes it three times a day with her [illegible]owers.

The movement for National Education is intended only for re-establishing Brahmin superiority.

Jagaruk (new), 27th July.

14. 'National Education' is one of those terms that are used at present to mislead the people. According to its advocates Western education which strikes at the root of old prejudices and social inequalities is not 'National', but that education which sanctions old religious beliefs and upholds class distinctions is 'National' as it alone will help to establish the old ascendancy of the Brahmins! Strenuous efforts are being made at present to re-establish this superiority. Caste superiority has received a check since the spread of Western education, which inculcates ideas of equality and universal brotherhood, and the lower classes have now begun to realise the need of intellectual independence. Those who desire, therefore, to escape from the tyranny of this intellectual slavery and social inequality should see that they are not misled by this movement.

Comments on the steps taken by the authorities against the holding of certain meetings.

Kesari (106), 24th July; *Shubhodaya* (89), 20th July; *Chandrodaya* (33), 23rd July.

15. There were three attacks of the plague of police repression this week and three deaths. On the internment day it was proposed to have a huge procession in Madras. But it was attacked by this plague and it died. A similar meeting proposed to be held in Hyderabad (Sind) was also attacked by it and the project had to be given up. The Arni (Madras) attack appears to have been of a stronger type. When the programme of a meeting is inoculated with loyalty-serum, the experience is that such a meeting generally remains immune from this plague. But still the *Swadeshi* meeting of Arni was attacked. What ground is there to say that there would have been disturbances at the

Swadeshi meeting? So long as there is no responsibility to answer such questions, why will the police consider whether their orders are properly made or not? But the people want to keep their agitation safe from this plague and their leaders should, therefore, find out a sovereign remedy. We should make our agitation so strong and robust that it will remain immune from the attacks of this plague. [Mr. Tabib, Secretary of the Hubli Ratepayers' Association, writes to the *Shubhodaya* a letter protesting against the dispersal by the police of the meeting held in Hubli to support the Honourable Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill. The *Shubhodaya* says that it was unpardonably wrong on the part of the police to disperse a meeting properly convened to discuss a question of public interest. It further remarks that Government should issue strict orders to the Police not to commit such wrongs henceforward. The *Chandrodaya* commenting on the same incident, writes:—Is this the legal acumen of the Police Bahadurs or their sweet will? We are living in strange times. It is desirable that there should be no such misunderstandings between the police officials and the people. We suggest that the District Magistrate should issue orders to the police not to prohibit such meetings.]

Students and political meetings.
**Gujaráti* (16), 29th July, Eng. cols.

16. In noticing the circular issued by the Educational Department on 7th June 1917, prohibiting students from attending any public meeting whatsoever and specially meetings called by the Home Rule Leagues or other meetings at which Home Rule was advocated, we pointed out that although Government had not chosen to mention specifically the meetings of the National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, the prohibition was capable of being applied to them as well. That is now made clear by the reply of the Bombay Government to the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji. Although the Honourable Member did not specifically refer to the meetings of the Congress and the League at which the question of Self-government for India might be discussed, Government have distinctly stated that public meetings at which the scheme of self-government adopted by the Congress and the Muslim League is considered cannot be allowed to be attended by students. We, however, hope the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas will get an authoritative declaration from Government with reference to the meetings of the Congress and the Muslim League, as they were not specifically included within the scope of his interpellation. As hairsplitting is possible, the position requires to be placed beyond the shadow of a doubt. The Indian public must know precisely to what lengths Government are prepared to push their senseless policy of repression."

Message (6), 28th July; **Mahrátta* (5), 29th July.

17. "We congratulate the Local Government on their strict impartiality. At Tuesday's meeting of the Legislative Council at Poona they stated in reply to a question by the Honourable Mr. Munmohandas Ramji that the 'Students and Politics' circular enjoined the non-attendance of students not only at meetings organised by the National Congress and the Moslem League at which questions on Self-government were propounded, but also 'meetings where other political problems of interest to the country and the Empire are discussed'. Students will kindly note the reply and take care to see that they do not attend any political meeting, because like Home Rule and Self-government, questions dealing with 'Empire day', War Loan and Recruitment to the Indian Defence Force are all politics in their strictest logical interpretation. Nothing that is of this mundane world can be separated from politics and let Bombay students beware!" [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"The student's circular of the Bombay Government, dated 7th June, was a little vague and gave some excuse for supposing that political meetings held under the auspices of the Home Rule League were its special objective. An interpellation in the Council has made this point clear. We are now told that it applies to all political meetings including those where the question of Self-government as propounded by the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League is discussed. This reply of

Government confirms the view which the 'best minds' in the country have been putting forward ever since the May speech of the Madras Ruler: Home Rule and Self-government are not two, and are equally pernicious in the eyes of Government."]

Comments on the circular about students and public meetings issued by the Educational Inspector, Northern Division, to managers of aided and recognised high schools.
Praja Bandhu (27), 22nd July, Eng. cols.

18. "An esteemed correspondent sends us the following circular addressed by the Educational Inspector, Northern Division, to all the managers of aided and recognised high schools. We think the latest circular issued by the Bombay Government aimed a fling at the Home Rule movement, while this fiat from the Director of Public Instruction forbids all schoolboys from attending *any public meeting of any kind*. The rules printed below are given as accompaniment to the recent order issued by the Bombay Government, and although it is distinctly stated that they are for 'Government and aided schools', may we inquire how are they now made applicable to all educational institutions by the Director of Public Instruction, who seems to be more keen than the honourable member in charge of the Educational portfolio? This is quite a significant sign of the times and clearly shows what way the wind blows even in the Educational Department." [Here follow the circular and rules referred to above.]

What students should do in memory of the day of Mrs. Besant's internment.
Mantri (109), 26th July.

19. The *Mantri*, in commending to the attention of the students, a letter written by a Madras student to Sir Subramaniya Iyer in which he says that he has decided, among other things, to forego his morning meal on the 16th of every month in memory of the internment of Mrs. Besant, remarks:—Our students may or may not follow the example of this student. But they should at least make it a point, in memory of the Madras internments, not to drink tea on the 16th of every month.

Mr. Chamberlain's resignation.
Young India (14), 25th July.

20. "As a politician, Mr. Chamberlain may hold what views he likes. But to go out of his way—just when he is under a cloud and he had made up his mind to relinquish his responsibilities—to deprecate changes in the Indian administration was neither decent nor desirable. As all the world knows, Mr. Chamberlain is by no means enamoured of political changes in India, though so far as the white races of this earth are concerned he would not scruple to talk big on liberty, fraternity and equality.......... But with an insatiable desire for notoriety, he deprecated, while defending some of his egregious blunders, 'discussion as to the future of India at present'.......... The only excuse Mr. Chamberlain could have had for interposing his deprecation of a public discussion in the House of Commons was that it would expose his utter incompetence to rise to the height of his responsibilities. That is the inevitable result of hoisting a man without merits into office, simply because the interests of the Party machine required it."

Appointment of Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India.
Young India (14), 25th July.

21. Commenting on the appointment of Mr. Montagu, *Young India* writes:—"It is a legacy of ineptitude to which he has succeeded, months of inattention and incompetence have reduced the garden into a growth of jungle.......... His last words inspire us with hope and faith, hope and faith that have been long on the wane, that the new Secretary of State will be able to succeed where others have failed.......... Mr. Montagu's appointment at the present supreme crisis in the history of Indian politics is, we take it, an indication that there is still statesmanship in England, and if at such a time like the present we behave like men and not time-serving self-seekers, the course of India's political destiny will be still further advanced, advanced in a manner satisfactory to our national pride and sentiment."

Kesari (106), 24th July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 24th July.

22. The *Kesari* welcomes the appointment of Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State and refers to him as a sympathetic Secretary. It refers to an alleged rumour in Simla that Lord Chelmsford's despatch has been disapproved by the British Government and that it has been returned to him for further consideration. It also refers to Mr. Montagu's old speeches as Under Secretary to Lord Morley and to the speech of Lord Islington and remarks :—Political reforms in India are being actively considered in England and Mr. Montagu who formerly said that Indians should gradually have a larger share of government is now Secretary of State. Lord Islington says plainly that the reforms now to be made will end in *swarájya*. It is a great evil that we have no one to speak on our behalf in England when the situation is so favourable to us. It is necessary that the All-India Congress Committee should send a deputation to England immediately. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says :—Mr. Montagu should put a stop to repression and grant a larger share of the administration to the people. The release of Mahomed Ali, Mrs. Besant and others is necessary in order that political reforms may be enthusiastically welcomed by the people. The obstructions put in the way of constitutional agitation by little-minded officials should be immediately removed. We should not merely rely on the generosity of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Montagu, but we should carry on a vigorous agitation. We hope the All-India Congress Committee will arrange to send a deputation to England immediately.]

Comments on the notice under the Defence of India Act served upon the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Gujaráti (16), 22nd July.

23. The notice served on Mr. Horniman, the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, under the Defence of India Act prohibiting him from publishing anything in connection with the alleged reign of terror at Dadar has caused astonishment among the people, for this step of Government has deprived the people of the privilege they enjoyed of seeking redress of grievances by ventilating them in the newspapers and has vested the official classes with arbitrary power. It is the duty of Government to protect the realm and to preserve peace; but it is as equally their duty to protect the lives, property and honour of the people they govern. No official will ever say that the realm should be protected at the sacrifice of the lives, property or honour of the people. Government should investigate into the truth of complaints made to them and if they find any truth in them they should take steps to remove the causes of such complaints. There would have been nothing wrong if Government had informed Mr. Horniman that enquiries were being made in the complaints he had published and asked him not to publish anything further in the matter pending the enquiry. Such a step would have won the confidence of the people. The complaints were of a serious nature and in the absence of any assurance from Government of steps being taken to protect the people from harm they gave rise to many rumours. These rumours helped to create a panic among the people. These rumours would have been set at rest by taking the people into confidence. The people are placed in a very awkward position, for if they ventilated their grievances they would be held liable for doing things that would be prejudicial to public safety. Many acts of high-handedness have been done by provincial Governments in the name of 'public safety'. If there is anything unlawful in ventilating these grievances the publisher may be dragged to court, but if it is lawful to ventilate grievances people must be free to make their grievances known with a view to protecting their lives, property or honour from harm. It is one of the advantages of British rule in India that people can ventilate their grievances in the Press and on the platform. If people are debarred from this privilege the only methods open to them are either to resort to a general strike or to wait upon the officials and to refuse to go away unless the grievances are redressed. We do not think Government would like people to resort to these antiquated methods. We are glad to note that Government have made an attempt to correct their mistake by issuing a Press Note to the effect that enquiries are being made in the matter. People will be pacified by the views that Government are eager to punish the guilty and they will now readily come forward to co-operative with them.

Comments on the suggestion that a law should be passed requiring the names of editors of newspapers to be registered.

Gujaráti (16), 22nd July.

24. The *Gujaráti* disapproves of the suggestion made by the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* contempt of Court case to the effect that a law should be enacted under the provisions of which the names of editors of newspapers could be registered and adds:—Should the names of editors be registered every time there is a change in the editor of a paper? Is it not enough that the Press Act can demand security from a Press and from the publisher of a paper? Why should a contributor be made to attach his signiture to an article? What objection is there for holding the publisher responsible for all that appears in a paper? We do not think that newspapers would be able to go on for a single day if all articles in the newspapers are to be signed. Where else on the face of the earth except in Austria-Hungary, which is regarded as a friend of militarism and the enemy of democracy, is there such a law as the Press Act of India? If the writer is to be held responsible for his writings, why in the name of justice should not responsibility be removed from the publisher and the keeper of the press? It is not desirable to add to the authority of the official classes and to make an addition to the number of people who are to be held responsible for their connection with the press.

Alleged insulting references to Muhammadans and their religion in books compiled by Hindus.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 20th and 27th July.

25. Writing to the *Political Bhomiyo*, a correspondent refers to a couplet, appearing on page 114 of a book entitled *Kabir Mansur* printed at the Shri Venkateshwar Press, Bombay, in 1903 and published by one Makan Kuber, a painter in which Kabir is represented to declare that he was not only a spiritual preceptor of the Prophet Muhammad but was God himself. The writer regards this writing as one calculated to insult the Muhammadans and their religion. He is of opinion that those educated and wealthy Moslems who quietly look on while such attacks are openly and freely made on Islam are, without doubt, guilty in the eye of God. He cannot understand why measures should not be taken in this connection regard being had to the fact that (as declared by the writer) Government had to withdraw from circulation the Sixth Gujarati Reader prepared by the Vernacular Text Books Revision Committee as a result of the protest raised by the Muhammadans against some false and unbecoming matter in connection with the Prophet Muhammad contained in that book. [Elsewhere in the same issue the paper publishes the first instalment of an article under the heading "The present day writers and their writings" wherein it is declared with regret that while the spread of education has promoted feelings of brotherhood in other countries, in India it has led to slandering and religious hatred of others. This result is attributed to the narrow-minded writers of the present times. The writer then goes on to remark that the author of the *Satyarth Prakásh* has, by making in that book unwarrantable statements regarding the Prophet Muhammad and the religious scriptures of the Moslem (*vide* paragraph 33 of the W. R. No. 25 of 1917), wounded feelings of the entire Muhammadan world. He regrets the lack of commonsense on the part of those educated Muhammadans who have joined hands with the Hindus in making fruitless endeavours to obtain *swarájya* and then goes on to speculate as to what lengths the Hindus would not go after the repeal of the Indian Press Act and the attainment of *swarájya* seeing that even at present they do not scruple to make unjustifiable attacks on Islám and Islamic practices. The writer then proceeds to describe how Vyas, the author of the Vedas, was begotten of Machhagandha as the result of rape committed on her by the Suryavanshi Raja of Hastinapur and significantly observes that the Moslem religion contains no such incident. He remarks that the Moslem scriptures nowhere contain the dogma that God belongs to the Muhammadans alone and that it is a creation of the imagination of the author of the *Satyarth Prakásh*. He concludes with appealing to the

Muhammadans to ask for justice from the British Government in this connection. In the subsequent issue the paper publishes the second instalment of the above mentioned article, in which the writer, after reiterating his contention that education has given birth to mutual enmity, religious hatred, etc., in this country instead of promoting harmony, remarks that the Muhammadans have not become so imbecile that they would passively tolerate the insults that are being flung at their community, their religion and their pious emperors. He adds that as long as books containing such insults are not withdrawn from circulation and as long as it is not guaranteed that such books will not be published in future, the Moslem and the Hindu communities will never become united. The writer observes that he has twenty books in his possession containing matter offensive to the Moslem feelings and that he will gradually bring them into publicity through the medium of the *Political Bhomiyo*. He then refers to particular statements contained in a novel entitled *Sambhaji Maharaj* being a Gujarati translation made by Dwarkadas Motilal of a book bearing the same name published in Marathi by Mahadeo Ramchandra Jagushte disclosing the love affairs of Roshanara (represented in the novel to be the daughter of the Emperor Aurangzeb) and then goes on to refute the truth of those statements by mentioning that Roshanara was not the daughter but a sister of Aurangzeb and by trying to show that the details contained in those statements were not compatible with the ordinary course of human affairs, and with the practices of a Muhammadan zenana, etc. The writer remarks that the author has given truth the go-bye in his overpowering desire to insult the Muhammadans by bringing such charges upon an emperor like Aurangzeb.]

Alleged speculation in Sovereigns by Marwaris in Bombay.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 25th July.

26. One G. V. Shah, a jeweller, writes to the *Bombay Samáchár* complaining of business being done on a large scale in buying, selling and speculating in Sovereigns by certain Marwaris in the Shroff Bazar situated in the Mumbadevi locality in Bombay. The writer asks the authorities to put a stop to such transactions as fluctuations in the price of the Sovereign tend to produce a harmful effect on the minds of the public.

Controversy on social matters among the Borah community.

Akhbar-e-Islám (56), 24th July; *Bombay Mazáh* (58), 22nd July.

27. *Apropos* of the Bohra controversy which is being carried on in a section of the press and which was noticed in paragraph 30 of W. R. of No. 29 of 1917, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses regret that it cannot publish a number of communications it has received on the subject partly because some of them are anonymous and partly because some of them are calculated only to add fuel to the fire. It desires the continuance of peace and harmony among the community and advocates the adoption of a *viá media* and the introduction of reforms that may be in keeping with religious tenets. The paper is of opinion that those who at present indulge in fruitless criticism and mutual recriminations are not the well-wishers of the Borah community but are only hypocrites and instigators of strife. [In its humorous columns the *Bombay Mazah* publishes a pseudonymous contribution in the course of which the writer observes that the entering of the *Kaiser-i-Hind* into the controversy about the affairs pertaining to the Borah community was quite uncalled for and that the last mentioned paper profusely applies complimentary epithets to that community only from motives of self-interest. He then refers to the feeling of apprehension frequently expressed by the *Kaiser-i-Hind* lest the writings in the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* in connection with the subject might create bad blood between community and community and inquires which two communities he means thereby. Does the former paper intend by means of such vague assertions, inquires the writer, to bring the Parsi and Borah communities into conflict? He then suggests that though the controversy is being carried on in Parsi papers, the Parsi community as such has nothing to do with the affairs of the Borahs.]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 28th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 28th July.

28. The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that the agitation that has been carried on in a Parsi paper [*the Praja Mitra and Pársi*] of Bombay for the last two years by a party of reformers among the Borah community and the way in which some of the Borah monthly magazines are conducted have created some disaffection among the peace-loving Borah community of Bombay. It refers to the crowded meetings of the Borahs that were held on the 27th and 28th July 1917 at Badri Mahal to consult the Mullaji Saheb as to what steps should be taken in the matter and makes bold to assert, on the strength of the scenes the paper witnessed at both these meetings, that the excitement among the community has reached such a pitch that if the so-called reformers do not give up their present methods without delay and observe complete silence it will lead to serious results later on, for which those who carry on the agitation as well as the section of the press which permit it to be carried on in their columns will be held responsible. The paper observes that there is nothing wrong in these persons pressing for proper reforms in a moderate manner and in advocating the extension of education among the Borah community, but that in doing so they have made attempts not only to intermeddle with religious questions, but have made very unseemly attacks upon the Mullaji whom the Borahs venerate as their head priest and their *Pir* and adore him as their *Murshid*. It maintains that liberty of the press is a privilege that has been conferred not for its being abused in creating religious feuds among the people. It also inquires if it is possible that reforms would be brought about among a community by abusing its head priest or by trying to overthrow the sovereign religious authority in the community. The paper then proceeds thus:—We feel surprised, or rather we regret, to note how Government silently tolerate such writings which are calculated to create religious feuds. It is necessary that Government should put a check upon writings which tend to create conflict and excitement between community and community (*sic.* There is only one community concerned in this matter). We venture to say that Government would be startled if they were to read English translations of the writings indited by these agitators under the influence of the fumes of reform. No respectable editor would make room in his paper for such writings. The first duty of Government is to maintain peace and quiet. Such writings render the fulfilment of this duty more arduous and, therefore, the primary duty of Government is to deal severely with them. We wish that the attention of Government would be drawn to the excitement among the Borah community. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* very briefly refers to the meeting that was held on Friday putting down the number of those present at about 500 Borahs. It remarks that the number was small in the beginning, but it began to swell as a result of the curiosity awakened by the presence of the police outside the mosque. It observes that the more considerate section of those who had assembled there seemed to be opposed to any needless excitement or any action dictated by untimely haste, whereas another section demanded permission to put down the whole agitation by taking the law into their hands. The paper maintains that the Borahs afterwards began to disperse quietly on Shaikh Tyebbhai Kokab admonishing them to have patience and on his explaining to them the futility of unconstitutional methods.]

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's utterance in the Bombay Legislative Council in support of the resolution regarding the death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 27th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 26th July.

29. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the speech made by His Excellency Lord Willingdon in support of the resolution moved in the Bombay Legislative Council by the Honourable Harchandrai Vishindas placing on record the services rendered by the late Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, wherein His Excellency expressed the hope that political leaders would lead the country to the goal of self-government within the Empire, and adds:—This speech will make the people conscious of their true position and convince them that Lord Willingdon is not opposed to the goal of self-government, as some people have been led to suppose. His Excellency wants that the present political leaders of the country should walk in the footsteps of those that have passed away from us and should guide their followers with sincerity and moderation. We should make endeavours to prove our fitness for self-government and should bear in mind that vociferousness will not help us in our cause. It will take a long time for us to acquire the qualities that are needed to govern ourselves and we should, therefore, try to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of our rulers for the attainment of our goal. We have every hope that His Excellency's speech will tend to remove the misunderstanding existing in the mind of the public

and save them from being led astray. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—We welcome Lord Willingdon's speech at the present juncture when our political atmosphere is steeped in gloom and thank him for recognising self-government within the Empire as the goal of our ambition. We, however, cannot help saying that the speech furnishes a further instance of the lip sympathy expressed by officials. Mere lip sympathy can never satisfy the aspirations of the people. If Lord Willingdon is really in sympathy with the goal of self-government, why should he have prohibited students from attending political meetings? When students are not allowed to be in touch with the political agitation and to listen to the speeches of political leaders, it would be futile to hope that the country will produce political leaders of the type of Gokhale or Dadábhai Nowroji.]

Comments on the replies to interpellations at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council.
Message (6), 26th July.

30. Commenting on the replies to interpellations at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Message* writes:—"Issues raised in the questions are of course avoided, but there is no 'fine art' visible. Asked whether *The Mail* was subscribed to by the Government, the latter replied in the negative. It was, however, admitted that they subscribed for 150 copies of that paper. The *Jagadvritta* also, we were told some time ago, was not 'subsidised', but that some hundreds of copies were subscribed to by the Government. Now can any one admire the fineness of the distinction between a 'subsidy' to a paper and generous subscription to it? To take another instance. Asked whether it was a fact that the Governments of other parts of India had invited non-official opinion in respect of the Public Services Commission, the Government replied: 'It is believed that some local Governments have invited non-official opinions on the report of the Public Service Commission'! We doubt whether a Government which does not know, or does not care to know, the facts of the matter and is content with knowing only that 'it is believed that such and such is a fact'—whether such an indifferent Government can rightly claim to have implicit confidence placed in its knowledge and wisdom. The difference in the angles of vision from which the War Loan and the Indian side of the Indian Defence Force are looked upon by the Government is hardly more strikingly shown elsewhere than in the reply which Government has vouchsafed to an interpellation by the Honourable Mr. D. V. Belvi, requesting for information about the number of enrolments in that Force according to districts. The reply of the Government blandly states that 'for enrolments the information asked for is not available with the Government'. People who remember how information about subscriptions to the War Loan was being promptly supplied to the press and got advertised, will rub their eyes at the thought that the same Government confesses with apparent sangfroid its ignorance of the accurate progress of enrolment."

Indu Prakásh (39), 25th July, Eng. cols.

31. Referring to the reply in the negative to a question in the Legislative Council whether the attention of Government had been drawn to the nuisance of prostitutes plying their trade in the vicinity of schools, etc., in Bombay, the *Indu Prakásh* writes:—"The reply of Government is extraordinary indeed. If their attention has not been 'drawn' to the evil, the fault lies with the officer or officers of theirs who is or are paid just to keep Government informed of people's complaints and grievances appearing in newspapers. Government know or ought to know that a public meeting was held some years ago under the presidency of Sir Bhalchandra Krishna to protest against prostitutes being allowed to ply their nefarious trade in respectable localities. In spite of the protest the authorities were unmoved and things are where they were. We are prepared to prove that prostitutes ply their trade just in the vicinity of schools, etc., aye, girls' schools too. Premises occupied by women of ill-fame are at places found to stand exactly in front of girls' schools and chawls occupied by respectable men and women.......... We have often drawn the attention of Government to this subject, and we do so once again. The situation is serious in all conscience......... We do not appeal to the Police. We appeal to the Government who alone can legislate. We respectfully point out that while a 'No.' may silence a member of the Council, it cannot improve the situation."

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 26th July.

32. Government stated in reply to the Honourable Mr. Patel's interpellation that during the last seven years Honourable Members gave previous notice of 213 resolutions out of which 150 were allowed to be discussed and the remaining 63 could not come before the Council for one reason or another. We understand that in connection with the present session alone Government disallowed at least 15 resolutions. The nature of these resolutions can be gathered from the fact that Government disallowed resolutions on the improvement of the indigenous system of Ayurvedic medicine and the summer exodus to the Hills. The Government of Madras not only allowed discussion on the subject of Ayurvedic medicine in their Council but appointed a special officer to inquire into it. The move to the Hills involves considerable waste of public money and also enables Government to escape even from the slight check at present exercised by public opinion. It is quite improper that Government should disallow discussion on the subject of the move to the Hills when Anglo-Indian newspapers also are persistently clamouring against it. This shows the futility of looking for impartial decisions from a President of the Legislative Council who is also the head of the administration.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 28th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 28th July.

33. The *Bombay Samáchár* thanks the Honourable Mr. Patel for eliciting from Government by means of an interpellation statistics as to the number of boys and girls studying in primary schools in municipal areas in the Presidency. It considers the information of a very important nature and expresses surprise that it should not be included in the annual report of the Director of Public Instruction. It hopes Government will see their way to waive the objections advanced by them in this matter and ask the Director to include the information in his report every year. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses surprise that Government should have answered in the negative the question asked by the Honourable Dr. C. Fernandes with respect to prostitutes plying their trade in residential quarters and near schools. It reminds Government of a memorial being submitted to them about seven years ago by the residents of the Girgaum locality. The paper is of opinion that the evil of prostitution can be removed only when the public conscience is awakened.]

The Bombay Budget in the Local Legislative Council.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 25th July; *Jam-e-Jamshed* (23), 27th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 27th July.

34. The *Bombay Samáchár* regards the provincial Budget for the year 1917-18 presented by the Honourable Mr. Carmichael at the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council held at Poona as a document representing a very satisfactory outlook for the financial condition of the Bombay Presidency. It expresses gratification that it should have been possible for the Finance Member to be able to declare a closing balance of Rs. 259 lakhs for the current year even in the present times of financial stress. It remarks that the public will be grateful to Honourable Mr. Carmichael for the provision made by him for expenditure on education and sanitation. The paper then goes on to refer to the grants made for such objects as the new High School at Násik, the Royal Institute of Science at Bombay, etc., and observes that they constitute an unmistakeable proof of the solicitude of the Bombay Government for the welfare of the people even in the present time of war. It wishes that the balance of Rs. 85,000 from the Bombay share of the profits of the Wheat Scheme may be utilised towards the construction of schools for imparting agricultural training at suitable places in the Presidency on the basis of the new school to be started at Godhra. The paper regrets that a substantial balance from Bombay share of the grant announced by His Majesty at the Coronation Delhi Durbar should remain unutilised all these years when the educational needs of the Presidency have remained unsatisfied owing to financial embarrassment. [While expressing satisfaction at the various items in the Budget, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the people of the Presidency

will remain anxious to secure grants on education, sanitation and medical relief in future on a more liberal scale than at present. It endorses the suggestion of the Honourable Mr. Naik for improvement in the present arrangements for medical relief in the rural districts. It, at the same time, maintains that Government aid in this direction must necessarily be supplemented by private efforts. The paper also dwells on the desirability of appointing a committee as recommended by the Honourable Mr. Patel, for considering how economy can be effected in public expenditure. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regards the declaration made by the Government of India at the time of His Majesty's Coronation Durbar at Delhi to the effect that adequate expenditure on the people's education will have the first claim on the revenues of the country as a "charter" to the Indian people and remarks that no Government can dare to violate that sacred promise. It regrets that the Finance Committee of the local Legislative Council or even the elected members have not made endeavours for securing a proper utilisation of the balance of over 2½ crores of rupees and believes that the latter ought to have got a sum of 1½ crores of rupees earmarked from that balance, over and above the usual expenditure on education, to supplement the income raised by means of a special tax by those bodies that desire to make primary education free and compulsory within their districts.]

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 26th July.

35. The whole of the first day of the meeting of the Legislative Council was spent in the discussion of the budget. The Honourable Members who delivered speeches on the occasion and also those who listened to them must have doubted the utility of criticising a budget at the end of July which became operative from the beginning of April last. Indeed any one could notice that although several members took part in the debate they all knew in their minds that their suggestions were powerless to alter a single figure in the budget even by a pie. The debate otherwise would not have been so very uninteresting. It is perhaps right that Honourable Members should speak with the hope that their suggestions might be taken into consideration at the time of framing the next year's budget. The Honourable Mr. Patel's remarks as to how the suggestions made by the Finance Committee are disposed of will show any one that the debate on the budget is a mere farce. If His Excellency the President had not stopped his speech as irrelevant it would have been more instructive to the ordinary people than the whole debate. The non-official members emphasised the point that Government while spending liberally on the Police stint the necessary expenditure on education, sanitation, etc. The Honourable Mr. Kamat pointed out that the grant for sanitation is only a tenth part of that for the Police Department. This alone is sufficient to convince any one that the administration of the Bombay Presidency is not satisfactory. The non-official members have several times requested Government not to give effect to the Police Department reorganisation scheme, but strangely enough, Government go on heaping additional expenditure on the Police every year although Government officials themselves doubt its necessity and desirability. The Honourable Mr. Kamat remarked, and we agree with him, that until Government showed more solicitude for the spread of education than for their favourite Police Department, it could not be said that public money was being expended according to the popular will.

A German writer on the ease with which Russia could become master of India.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 29th July, Eng. cols.

***36.** "'With a tenth part of the military force which she (Russia) has spent in vain in the European War, she can make India her own and recompense herself for all her losses in Europe. At the same time she has a chance of undertaking a civilising mission such as has never been offered to her in the course of centuries. The historical greatness of England is doomed and England's star is setting. Even India, the pearl of the British Empire, appears to be about to fall into the sphere of Japan. England's position in India is certainly advancing towards a fall. Japan will gravitate towards India by way of China.' A German writer named Herr Maurus Revai makes the above observation in one of the recent issues Nord Und Sud. If one is able to judge anything from the war telegrams it is pretty certain that the heroic British have been holding the Germans everywhere. In spite of such reverses there are people in Germany to indulge in speculations of such fantastic nature. This is really a curious phenomenon."

Protest against *New India's* attempt to discourage recruitment for the Indian Defence Force.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 24th July.

37. The *Dnyán Prakásh* protests against the attempt made by *New India* in its issue of the 20th instant to discourage recruiting for the Indian Defence Force. It says that though the rules regarding that force are unsatisfactory still no one should lose the present priceless opportunity of serving the Empire and of receiving military training. It remarks that it is an evident attempt to bring Government to their knees by the use of boycott, but that Government will lose very little, if at all, by it and that Indians alone will lose incalculably. It hopes that the younger generation will find the advice of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Gandhi preferable to that now tendered by *New India*.

A Japanese prophecy about the war.
Loka Bandhu (84), 22nd July.

38. The *Loka Bandhu* publishes a war prophecy said to have been given out by a Japanese, Yusho Kumumoto:—The war will end between the middle of August-November 1917. A Peace Conference will meet either at Paris or Copenhagen. Before Germany, Turkey will be conquered. Russia will try hard to get possession of the Dardanelles. Poland will be made over to Russia after a promise to grant it *swarájya* is given. Belgium will be renovated. Alsace-Lorraine will be given to France. The Allies will not get a full war indemnity from Germany. The Kaiser will be deposed and while on his way to America in a submarine, will meet his death. After a few years of democracy the Crown Prince of Germany will again rule and there will be again a war in 1930. All the wealth of England will be spent in that war. Germany will be wholly destroyed. Japan will side with the Allies.

The progress of the war.
Sanj Vartamán (31), 23rd and 24th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 26th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 28th July; *Gujaráti Punch* (18), 22nd July.; *Praja Mtra and Pársi* (28), 28th July.

39. The speech of the German Chancellor merely reproduces the opinions of those who are responsible for the war and it goes to show that the people and Government in Germany have not been brought to their senses even after three years of the war. There is no possibility of peace as long as there is no change in the present attitude of the German people and their Government. It is quite clear from the speech that Germany is prepared to continue the war and to take advantage of the present position in Russia to hold on for some time. It will take some time for the situation in Russia to improve; but there is no probability of the Allies on that account consenting to the terms of peace suggested by Germany. In spite of slackness on the Russian side the Allies have inflicted severe blows on Germany, but now that America has come to their help, they will answer the German challenge by expressing their determination to fight to the last and break down German militarism. [In the subsequent issue the paper considers Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech as an effective reply to the boastful pronouncement of the German Chancellor and believes that the Allies will not be afraid of making any sacrifices to gain their object. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes in a similar strain and opines that the present unsatisfactory state of things in Russia will have no effect in securing ultimate victory for the Allies. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* is afraid that the spirit of disobedience prevailing in the Russian army will lead to serious developments. It gives a summary of the article of the *Times of India* on the Russian situation. The *Gujaráti Punch* expresses its confidence that the Allies will take about a year or so to bring the enemy to his knees. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers the present situation in Russia as calculated to give rise to anxiety. It, however, hopes that it will improve in course of time.]

The situation in Russia.
Rást Goftár (30), 29th July, Eng. cols.

***40.** "The telegrams that are allowed to pass the Censor show a very serious crisis in Russia. Really speaking, Russia has been in critical and even parlous condition ever since the Revolution, because while the Revolution brushed aside the Romanoff and his *entourage*, it did not arm the Provisional Government with sufficient authority while it utterly broke the discipline of the army and the navy.......... Russia's first object should have been to help the Allies to bring the war to a successful conclusion, but the Revolution has entirely distracted the whole country, while German intrigue and other treacherous influences are at work. If discipline cannot be restored at once and the Russian army continues to retreat the ultimate problem of the war will become far more intricate than it was a few months ago. German troops may penerate deep into Russian territory and seize places of great strategic or commercial importance.......... This means not only the prolongation of the war but the isolation of Russia. Notwithstanding all forecasts and calculations of experts, Germany is showing no signs of exhaustion and she is prompt in seizing every opportunity. The situation in Russia must cause grave anxiety to the Allies."

Comments on the Government Press Note regarding the alleged "reign of terror" at Dádar.
Indu Prakásh (39), 21st July, Eng. cols.; *Subodha Patrika* (42), 22nd July, Eng. cols.

41. "We publish elsewhere a Government Press Note regarding affairs at Dádar. It contains an assurance that all rumours and allegations shall be investigated at the earliest opportunity. As Government suggest in their Note and as we ourselves have ever urged, it should be the duty of all well-meaning and intelligent citizens to co-operate with the Police in bringing truth to light and contradict unfounded rumours. These are times of unparalelled stress and strain and nothing should be said or done that would in any way embarrass the authorities.......... It is equally the duty of the Police to adopt a kindly demeanour that will induce people to approach them, and not scare them away, as sometimes happens. We have *all* to do our duty by the State, and in exceptional times like the present, there ought to be exceptional mutual co-operation and brotherliness." [The *Subodha Patrika*, commenting on the Press Note, remarks:—"If Government intends to establish a connection between the recent strikes of railway workmen and the circulation of rumours in the northern part of the island, we are afraid they will not succeed. While no one desires to hamper Government in its recruiting operations, Government will do well to instruct the Police to carefully investigate into the causes of the rumours and not to pooh-pooh them as altogether false."]

Contradiction of rumours about women being carried away in Bombay by soldiers.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 25th and 26th July; *Hindusthán* (2[illegible]), 26th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 26th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 27th July.

42. The *Sánj Vartamán* warns the people of Bombay not to believe in the rumours that are being set afloat in the City about wives of respectable people being carried away by soldiers. It asserts that on enquiries it found that there was no truth in the rumour of the wife of a jeweller being spirited away. [In the subsequent issue Naginchand Javerchand, jeweller, residing in Sandhurst Road, writes giving the lie to the rumours about his wife being carried away by soldiers. The *Hindusthán* also says that on enquiry it found that there was no truth in the rumour about the wife of a jeweller being carried away. It considers it disgraceful on the part of people to believe or give currency to such false and baseless rumours which greatly hamper the work of the political leaders and add to their difficulties. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* joins in deprecating the practice if giving currency to such rumours and asks the people to bring their grievances if they have any to the notice of the Police. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* holds the correspondents of the *Bombay Chronicle* responsible for the excitement stirred up in Bombay and suggests that the editor may be asked to disclose their names so that they may be brought to book.]

Protest that a play at Surat entitled Aurangzeb staged hurts Muhammadan feelings.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 20th July.

43. Referring to the play of "Aurangzeb" which is being staged at Surat by the Vankaner Dramatic Company (a condemnation of which has been noticed in paragraph 37 of the W. R. No. 25 of 1917) a correspondent, styling himself an "Eyewitness," contributes the following to the *Political Bhomiyo*:—Only those who have witnessed this play can form an idea of the ugly aspect in which the Emperor Aurangzeb has been represented. It is obvious how (grievously) this open defamation of Emperor Aurangzeb, who got compiled a book like "Fatawa Alumgiri" and who did not care for his own life or for the lives of his relatives in the defence of religious tenets, must have wounded the hearts of the Surat Moslems. The attention of the educated Muhammadans and *Olmas* of the Surat district has been drawn to the staging of this play in which a devout Moslem Emperor like Aurangzeb is represented, in a month like Ramzan, in the garb of an inveterate hypocrite and cheat and to the fact that some non-Moslems have been ready to defame Islam, regardless of the feelings of thousands of Muhammadans, merely for the sake of earning money. To represent Aurangzeb as an oppressor and as an intriguing and deceitful person and to put the words, "I speak one thing and I do another thing; my name is 'hypocrite'," in his mouth and that too before Muhammadan spectators is tantamount to defaming the Moslem community. To my mind it would tend to enrich Hindu philosophy if, instead of staging "Aurangzeb", plays were to be staged representing Draupadi the chaste woman (of Hindu mythology) with her five husbands or *sati* Sita who gave birth to the two brothers Lava and Kusha in the wilderness!

Comments on the tram-car incident at Johannesburg.

Mahrdtta (5), 29th July.

***44.** "In a recent issue we noticed a tram-car incident which took place in Johannesburg in which a young educated Indian was thrown out by a European and died immediately. The man Blignaut who was charged with culpable homicide in connection with this death (the unfortunate Indian's name was Bhula Bhawan) has been let off with a fine of £ 50! The *Indian Opinion* rightly asks: 'What would have been the punishment imposed on an Indian who had been found guilty of killing a European?' It further remarks that the judgment in this case can only confirm the conviction that there is one standard of justice for white and another for coloured persons in South Africa."

Comments on the security taken from the *Sanjibani* of Calcutta.

Kesari (106), 24th July.

45. The old printer of the *Sanjibani* (Calcutta) died and a new declaration had to be made. We have often experienced that officials lose their heads while enforcing the Press Act when a prey has been caught in the meshes of the Act. Our experience has been strengthened by the demand of Rs. 1,000 security from the new printer in this case. This state of things had been anticipated in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir Vithaldas Thackersey and he had suggested that no security should be demanded when a formal declaration is made, but he was told by the then Home Member that the Act would be enforced with discrimination. Because his amendment was not passed, see how many have bitterly to suffer. The *Sanjibani* has been in existence for the last 34 years and it has not been even warned once. Government should themselves consider whether the Magistrate who demanded security from a paper with such a clean record acted conscientiously or in a revengeful manner. As to the people, they have already formed their own convictions.

Comments on the security taken from the *New Times* of Karáchi.

Sind Advocate (9), 12th July.

46. "The City Magistrate of Karáchi has done a service to the *New Times* by taking a security of Rs. 500 from it without rhyme or reason. The offending passages have been placed before the public and they are so innocuous that men have been staggered at the mere idea of security being demanded. The public cannot understand what induced the Magistrate to take such an extreme, severe and unreasonable view of the writings. They are drawing their own inferences which had better not be mentioned. The service which the Magistrate has rendered to the paper is that the public goaded by a sense of wrong have not only expressed lip sympathy, but have started a fund for payment of the security amount and for otherwise helping forward the paper. One gentleman has sent twice the amount of the deposit, and other gentlemen have sent over Rs. 125. Now this is a new phenomenon in Sind and it shows the rise of the new spirit in Sind which *is* most welcome.......... We must add that the case is one fit for appeal to higher authority. The point of jurisdiction should be referred to the Judicial Commissioner's Court, and we believe the paper will win on that point. Then an appeal on the merits should be made to Government which can see how inoffensive have been the writings. We do not think any case of such an unoffensive character has occured under the Press Act in any other part of India; for if such cases did occur all *new* papers in the country will have to 'close down'."

People in Khándesh should be allowed to feed their cattle on *Anjan* leaves as grass has disappeared owing to want of rain.

Khándesh Vaibhav (107), 23rd July.

47. Owing to the absence of rain for about a month past the little grass that had grown has already disappeared and cattle are getting more and more emaciated for want of fodder. Grass having become extremely dear, we request the Collector to allow people to feed their cattle on *Anjan* leaves. It will take about a month more for the grass to grow again even if the rain were to fall now. Unless, therefore, permission for the use of the said leaves is given the sufferings of the cattle will not be mitigated.

Comments on certain orders of the District Magistrate, Hydrabad (Sind), prohibiting of singing of songs at a procession in honour of Mrs. Besant.

Sind Journal (10), 19th July.

48. Commenting upon the orders of the District Magistrate, Hyderabad (Sind), prohibiting the singing of songs in a procession in honour of Mrs. Besant to be held in the city on the 16th July 1917, the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"The authorities were, it seems, labouring under a grave misapprehension, and they turned the whole city into an excited state by their ill-advised actions. First of all the order of the District Magistrate which was issued under section 42 of the Bombay Police Act IV of 1890 showed ignorance of the real nature of the procession. The procession was to be orgnised by the Home Rule League which is composed of grown-up, responsible men of status and education and 'school boys and boys' had no lot or part in it. The projected procession was in no way such as would have interfered with public peace or order and its prohibition indicates official nervousness.......... The order issued by him (the District Magistrate) is discreetly silent about the grounds on which he based the prohibition, but one can well understand why he issued his *ukase*. However, the object of the Home Rule League was served in a far greater measure than would have been possible otherwise by the unwise measures adopted by the Police.......... The authorities, perhaps apprehending something serious, had mustered a strong police force in the neighbourhood of the Home Rule League office. This naturally excited the curiosity of passers-by who collected on the road in front of the office in such large numbers that even the police could not disperse them. The organizers of the procession had done nothing to lead the authorities to believe that they would disobey the order of the District Magistrate, and in spite of the well-known fact that the people of Hyderabad are law-abiding, a *posse* of police constables was kept in readiness evidently to make a big haul of Home Rulers. This clearly demonstrates how utterly out of touch with the real feelings of the people the local officials are. The order was most unjust and based on no sound reasons, but there was no inclination on the part of the organizers to court police interference. The attitude adopted by the authorities concerned was most regretable and should be deprecated, as causing needless sensation and irritation."

Complaint about the carriages of Indians not being allowed to stand on a certain road of Hyderabad (Sind).

Sind Journal (10), 12th July.

49. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Sind Journal*:—"A fiat has gone forth that no carriages shall stand on the edge of the hill at the western end of the now famous Church Road. The public has not forgotten how the Mukhi of the Bhaibund Panchayat, Mukhi Pritamdas, was asked to go away and not to let his carriage stand on the hill, when the Mukhi is said to have told the 'sahib' 'it is the King Emperor's road, etc.' It is three days that two policemen have been seen standing every evening to see that no carriages stand on the hill-side. Is this also a part of the programme of the 'new angle of vision'? It is absurd to station policemen to drive away gentlemen in their carriages. Even in the Viceregal mountain capital of Simla we find Indians and Europeans walking and standing and berthing their rickshaws on the same road, on the same part of the hill-side. Why this strange phenomenon here, may I ask?"

Comments on the delegation to Commissioner in Sind of power to transfer District Superintendents of Police.

Sind Advocate (9), 12th July.

50. "We wonder if it is the answer to the long public demand for curtailment of the Commissioner in Sind's powers that the Government of Bombay has in the plenitude of its wisdom given to that functionary the power to appoint Police Superintendents in Sind. Of course the nomination of these officers is only in the hands of the Secretary of State since these posts belong to the Imperial Service and all fresh appointments to them are made by the Secretary of State, but what is meant by the notification is that the Commissioner in Sind will in future transfer Police Superintendents without reference to the Bombay Government. That is not a power enjoyed by the Commissioners and there is no reason why the Sind Commissioner should have it—and this in face of the strong and emphatic expression of the public opinion against the already excessive delegation of Government's powers to the Commissioner in Sind."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill in the Bombay Council.

Gujarāti (16), 29th July, Eng. cols.; *Rāst Goftār* (30), 29th July, Eng. cols.

***51.** Commenting on the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill the *Gujarāti* writes:—"We are afraid Government will feel strongly tempted to throw the whole financial responsibility on the shoulders of municipalities on the plausible ground that municipalities have got the legislation they wanted to enable them to levy an educational cess and that they should no longer look up to Government but to their own local resources. Herein lurks a serious danger and we warn the Honourable Mr. Patel and his colleagues in time....... In the midst of the enthusiasm evoked by the Bill we hope this all-important point will not be lost sight of and Councillors will not allow themselves to fall into a trap." [The *Rāst Goftār* remarks:—"It is to be hoped that this private Bill will meet with a better fate than Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah's Bill, though we have our doubts. So far the attitude of the Government is quite correct. Particularly hopeful and helpful is the attitude of the Honourable Mr. Covernton, Director of Public Instruction.......... We sincerely hope that after the Bill has been fully considered by the Select Committee there will be no opposition in the Council and it will be accepted by the Government and allowed to pass into law."]

Bombay Samāchār (59), 28th July; *Praja Mitra and Pārsi* (28), 28th July.

52. The *Bombay Samāchār* expresses satisfaction at the debate that took place at the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council on the Bill brought before it by the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel to provide for the extension of primary education in the municipal districts in the Bombay Presidency outside the City of Bombay. It remarks that, regard being had to the enthusiasm created during recent years even among the backward classes, when the Bill is passed into law and is put into operation it will not receive any opposition from them. It believes that the experience which Government will get from the working of this measure in the municipal areas which choose to avail themselves of its provisions will be of use to them when they come to prepare a general scheme for the wider extension of primary education in all parts of the Presidency, to be carried into effect after the war. [The *Prája Mitra and Pársi* quotes the words uttered in the Council by His Excellency the Governor while winding up the debate on the Bill to the effect that if a municipality was eager to introduce compulsory education but could not raise money to do it any request for assistance made by that municipality will be sympathetically considered by Government, and remarks that these words of His Excellency are a sort of challenge to the public leaders to prove that they are alive to their responsibility of making the introduction of compulsory education a matter practically realisable for bringing compulsory education within the range of practical politics. It, therefore, appeals to the advocates of the *Swadeshi* movement, instead of taking other vows, to take a vow for helping to make compulsory education popular among the general masses.

Message (6), 28th July.

53. "In legal matters, no element of chance should be allowed—everything should be clearly and unmistakeably inserted in the body of the Act. We can, therefore, understand the attitude of Government in regard to clause 18, but what we fail to understand is that Government often expect people or their representatives to rely absolutely on their speeches and take it as an insult if some people request them to embody their assurances in the proposed Acts themselves! While getting the Press Act passed, Government did not allow people 'to guard against any unforeseen situation that might arise'. *Then* they expected people to place unqualified trust in them, but *now*, in a very innocent matter even, they absolutely refuse to leave anything to the discretion of anybody or any institution. The difference in the attitude is remarkable and carries is own lessons."

EDUCATION.

Protest against the recent orders requiring school-teachers to appear before Collectors to sign declarations of loyalty.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 27th July.

54. In the course of a contribution addressed to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* a correspondent refers to circular No. 218 issued by the Deputy Educational Inspector (?) Bombay, requiring school teachers to sign their forms of declaration of loyalty in the presence of Collectors instead of in the presence of Deputy Educational Inspectors as hithertofore. He remarks that school teachers, and particularly teachers in primary schools, are from the very nature of their occupation loyal, and to direct them to take an oath of loyalty is to entertain a low opinion about them. The correspondent then dwells on the inconveniences that the teachers would suffer in having to go to a department other than their own for making a declaration of loyalty and on the loss of time and the hardships they will have to undergo. He suggests that there would be no serious harm if these declarations are made either before the Head-masters or before Educational Inspectors at the time of their annual inspections.

The policy of Government with regard to the School Final and Matriculation Examinations.

Kesari (106), 24th July.

55. The favour or disfavour of bureaucracy in India is adamantine. Once they take a thing into their heads they will never abandon it. Similarly once they look askance at a thing, they will never consider it favourably. All have had a bitter experience of this prejudice in the case of the School Final and the Matriculation and the P. E. and I. E. examinations. It is dishonouring the P. E. and I. E. students to class them along with the S. F. students. But Government are not willing even to do that. Mirza Samiulla had moved a resolution in the United Provinces Council on the subject, but it was rejected. In the Bombay Legislative Council also a resolution is to be moved, but we can guess its fate beforehand.

RAILWAYS.

There is no chance of Company management of Indian Railways being done away with in spite of its recognised evils.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 29th July, Eng. cols.

*56. An anonymous correspondent writes as follows in the *Kaiser-i-Hind* on the subject of Company management of Railways in India:—"When a sympathetic Viceroy like Lord Ripon, so callously and in his own words 'quietly' sacrificed such vital interests of India to railway companies, what hope is there that a Viceroy like Lord Chelmsford will not sacrifice the Indian railway revenues to the Companies? When the protests of the Under-Secretary of State, the Accountant-General and other high officials of the Government of India during Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty could not prevent the reversal of the railway policy which had proved eminently successful, what hope is there, of a restoration of that policy now, when we have a Railway Board whose prejudices in favour of the Companies are so notorious? What hope is there for the abolition of Company management which is actuated by the narrowest, most sordid and selfish motives when the representatives of the people in the Councils are powerless? I see no hope. It is distressing to think that a management which drains away from India every year an ever-increasing sum of £ 1,56,47;267, a management that is supposed to injure Indian trade and industries and gives preferential treatment to foreign trade and industries is going to be perpetuated. Terrible is the thought that a management which oppresses Indian third class passengers, and excludes Indians of education and status from the highly-paid posts on the railways, is going to be perpetuated. Company management of railways is 'an inequity that must be ended', says the Indian patriot. Company management is 'a blessing that must be perpetuated' says the Anglo-Indian. But what is the Indian patriot? A mere nothing. What is the Anglo-Indian? Everything. Therefore the cry of the Indian patriot must and wi' unheard. Therefore the cry of the Anglo-Indian must and will be heard. India must be and will be sacrificed to Anglo-India! Will this inequity continue because Anglo-India calls it a blessing?"

Strike of railway men in Bombay.

Young India (14), 25th July; *Message* (6), 27th July.

57. "While the Police Commissioner and his Deputies are busy watching over the movements of the G. I. P. Railway men on strike, it is a pity that nothing has been done to remove their grievances. Considering that the men have held out so long, it seems to us that their grievances are very substantial, and there is no reason why the G. I. P. Railway, which as a result of the war is making enormous profits out of their men's labour, should not return to them an infinitely small portion of it and allow them some relaxation in the arduous conditions of service in these times. While there is need for an immediate comprehensive enquiry into the causes of unrest among the men, we regret to note that non-official and philanthropic bodies such as the Servants of India Society, the Social Service League, etc., have overlooked the claim of this community of ignorant and insufficiently organised men on their time and attention. Situated as we are at present, it is the duty of these bodies to take up the matter in right earnest and help the men in placing themselves on an organised footing. They should also vocalise their grievances and by making effective representations in proper quarters obtain some decent remedy therefor." [The *Message* writes:—"It is gratifying to note that the men have not so far manifested any of the least inclinations towards rowdyism, but that is the very reason why attempts at mediation should be made by influential men and institutions. We refuse to believe that the men or the railway authorities are unamenable to reason, and we hope that not only in the interest of the large number of strikers, but also to prevent the spread of contagion as well as the other dangers to the public incidental on such a strike, influential men commanding the confidence and respect of both the parties will move in the matter and put an end to a situation which is daily growing more serious, if not menacing."]

MUNICIPALITIES.

The recent fire at Prag Mahal, Bombay.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 27th July.

58. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the fire which broke out in Prag Mahal situated at Dhobi Talao in Bombay and questions the advisability of allowing cinema films to be stored on the ground floor of the building. It asks the Bombay Municipality to add to its building by-laws provisions whereby owners of houses would be prohibited from allowing such inflammable material as cinema films to be stored in dangerous proximity to residential quarters and compelled to provide fire-proof staircases.

Comments on the Collector's reply to the deputation of the people of Vita (Sátára) in connection with the local Municipality.

Prakásh (116), 25th July.

59. The Collector's reply to the deputation in the matter of the Vita (Sátára) Municipality is not satisfactory. Government deprived the people of Vita of the right of electing members to the Municipality in 1908 as the then elected members resigned their seats on account of the sentence of imprisonment passed on Mr. Tilak. Apart from the question of the propriety of their action, it must be remembered that the situation prevailing in 1908 has now undergone a complete change. The Collector insists that the people of Vita should hold a public meeting and pass a resolution expressing repentance and regret for the action of the elected members in 1908. How are the people to be held responsible if a few persons elected by them for a particular object exceed the scope of their legitimate duties? Why are the people required to express repentance? To express repentance one must do something wrong. Is it right to require the people of Vita to express regret when they are not guilty of any offence? We earnestly ask Government to be satisfied with the fact that people are again asking for the elective right and so confer it on them with good grace.

Comments on the grant of larger elective rights to the Ratnágiri Municipality.

Sandesh (118), 22nd July.

60. Government have issued a Press Note stating that from 1st April 1918 two-thirds of the total number of members of the Ratnágiri Municipality will be elected by the people. What is the reason for this belated action in such a trifling matter since the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution covers as many as 88 municipalities? Do Government mean that only those municipalities are to be given the benefit of that resolution who ask for it? If that is so, then the remaining 87 municipalities should make haste to formulate their demands. Under the existing law Government have authority to allow not only two-thirds but all the members of a municipality to be elected by the people and the Ahmednagar Municipality has already secured this right. The municipalities themselves, therefore, are to blame if they do not secure this right. The Local Self-government Conference sitting at Poona should appoint a sub-committee to induce the several municipalities and local boards to put forth their demands for larger elective rights.

Protest against the introduction of house-tax and terminal tax in Hyderabad (Sind).

Sind Journal (10), 12th and 19th July.

61. In the course of a lengthy article in which it dwells on the attempts of the Municipal Committee of Management to enhance taxation in Hyderabad (Sind) and the opposition offered by the public to these attempts, the *Sind Journal* remarks:—"Hyderabad is opposed to house-tax almost to a man, and it would be strange if the terminal tax which leads to it should be countenanced by any one who is opposed to the imposition of house-tax. The Government Resolution clearly lays down that a terminal-tax should be regarded as facilitating the transition to a system in which direct taxation will form an increasingly important factor. Hyderabad cannot accept house-tax which is not suited to the conditions of the people, and it would be tyrannical to impose it in the teeth of universal opposition. The people have resisted it so long and they would continue to do so believing that it would be oppressive to the people whose only wealth in most cases is a dwelling-place. The Resolution quoted above, which lays down the Local Self-government policy of the Government of India, remarks about house-tax that it is difficult of assessment in many places, where it is the custom to own rather than to rent dwelling houses, because in such cases the house affords no indication of the financial status of owner. This is exactly applicable to Hyderabad where rented houses are few and far between. It is thus quite clear that both terminal tax and house-tax are out of harmony with the conditions prevailing in this town." [In the next issue the paper dwells on the proceedings of a public meeting held in the Holmstead Hall on the 15th July to protest against the proposal to levy house-tax in Hyderabad and remarks :—" Even a superficial knowledge of the conditions of the town would convince any one that the exemption of those only whose houses would be valued at five hundred rupees or less would operate in the case of only those few who are extremely poor. The overwhelming majority of the people will have to pay house-tax which being a direct tax would be far less acceptable than octroi, even though the former may confer on the payee the dignity of a voter in municipal elections. The anxiety of the officials on behalf on the poor is quite illusory, for the lot of the poor would in no way be improved, but would, on the contrary, be worse than at present, if house-tax is imposed and every one has to pay a direct tax in a lump sum......... The last *Sind Gazette* contains a chapter which gives some facts about the growth of municipal institutions, and we give the following extract from it........... 'House-tax, always unpopular, was opposed from the outset by several municipalities.' These facts show in what mood the minds of Sindhis have been cast and how they regard house-tax. The conditions of Hyderabad specially militate against the suitability of a tax on houses."]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 3rd August 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 31 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 4th August. 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

Comments on the Bombay Budget debate 34
Interpellations in the recent session of the — . . . . 36 & 37
Resolutions in the recent session of the — 35

British Rule:

A Home Rule prayer 27
A suggested career for Indian youths "of exuberant patriotism" . 24
A *Swadeshi* vow 28
Alleged persecution of Indian Law students by the Bombay Government 25
Appeal to the Indian leaders not to take any hasty steps calculated to spite Government 18
Comments on Sir D. E. Wacha's resignation of the presidentship of the Bombay Presidency Association 11
Comments on the action of the District Magistrate, Hyderabad (—), in prohibiting a procession in honour of Mrs. Besant 22
Comments on the alleged dismissal of a *Mukadam* by the Municipal Commissioner of Hyderabad (Sind) for wearing a button with a photo of Mr. Tilak 23
Comments on the Bishop of Bombay's letter on Indian politics . . . 19
Comments on the proceedings of the meeting held at the China Bag, Bombay, to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant . . . 9 & 10
Comments on the prohibition of the Calcutta meeting of protest against the Madras internments . . . . 20 & 21
Complaint about the alleged open attempts on the part of Christian Missionary organisations to use schools for propagandistic purposes 29
Government Pleaders and politics 26
If Government will study carefully the psychology of the present situation they will realise the inevitable necessity of cancelling the order of internment passed against Mrs. Besant and her assistants. 14
Reflections on the present condition of the fort of Sinhgad near Poona. 30
Reflections on the present political situation . . . . 15 & 16
The Borah controversy 31
The Congress and Moslem League Conference in Bombay . . . . 1—6
The meaning of the phrase "Passive resistance" 8
The political situation in the Bombay Presidency 7
What is needed in India is for Government to kindle the imagination of the public by a new bold and Christ-inspired democratic policy. 13

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

British Rule:—*continued.*
- What the Bureaucracy wants in India 17
- Why Mr. Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India is welcomed by the Indians 12

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay:
- Appreciation of the extension of the term of His Excellency Lord Willingdon 33
- Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech on the resolution about Dadabhai Naoroji in the Bombay Legislative Council . 32

Judicial matters: Comments on a Násik case in which a man was prosecuted for bringing a false charge of bribery against a Sub-Inspector of Excise 47

Police:
- Comments on the conduct of the Hubli — in stopping a local meeting in connection with the Honourable Mr. Patel's Municipal Education Bill 44
- Government and the recent rumours in Bombay 45

Press Act: The articles on the strength of which security was taken from the *New Times* of Karáchi were written by it out of a sense of duty to Government 46

Revenue matters: The cost of surveying sub-shares should not be recovered from the people for the present 48

Sind:
- Comments on the Government resolution fixing 20 years as the period for revision settlements in — 49
- Comments on the proposal to appoint Benches of Honorary Magistrates in the talukas and towns of — 50

War:
- Appeal on behalf of a destitute old lady at Rohri (Sind) who cannot trace the whereabouts of her three sons who have joined the Indian Army 38
- Comments on the Bombay Government's Press *Communiqué* appointing a Provincial Recruitment Board 39
- Comments on the failure of the first Mesopotamia expedition and the blame cast upon Lord Hardinge in the Commission report . 41
- Comments on the poor response to the recruitment for the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force 40
- Reflections on the completion of the third year of the — 42
- The new German Imperial Chancellor's speech shows that Germany is prepared to fight to the finish 43
- The situation in Russia 44

LEGISLATION—

The Honourable Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill . . . . . 51—55

EDUCATION—

Proposal to start a National College at Ahmedabad 56

RAILWAYS—

The G. I. P. Railway strike 57

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the proceedings of the Local Self-government Conference at Poona . . . . 58—60
Protest against the proposal to levy a house-tax at Rohri (Sind) . . . 62
Question of house-tax at Hyderabad (Sind) 61

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The Congress and Moslem League Conference in Bombay.

Young India (14), 1st Aug.

1. "The Joint Conference which met here on the 28th and 29th instant, has tried to be extremely generous and reasonable in spite of grave provocations. And while it has made perfectly clear its unflinching determination not to take lying down the affronts which the bureaucracy is heaping upon the country day after day, it has afforded the Government here and in England an opportunity of rectifying past blunders and setting India once more on the path of progress, peace and contentment. Too much significance cannot be attached to the fact that the conference, including members of all shades of political opinion and differing kinds of practical experience of bureaucratic methods, has been forced to consider the desirability of a resort to passive resistance against the high-handed and arbitrary methods of the bureaucracy.......... It will not be denied that passive resistance seems the only weapon now left in our reach and most suited to the habits and temperaments of our people. Even the Congress has placed its seal of approval by upholding the struggle of Gandhi and his valiant band of ignorant and illiterate men and women in South Africa, and it will be strange if it does not approve and sanction the use of that weapon here at home to resist methods of repression of popular rights and liberties."

Message (6), 1st Aug.

2. "That the meeting should have been compelled to consider the possibility of resort to 'passive resistance' in its strictly legal and constitutional aspects is an extremely significant affair and the resolution anent this matter which it adopted does not only mark a definite breach with the mendicant traditions of the past, but reflects the temper of the members, some of whom have hitherto been content to console themselves with the promise of a better future.......... Now, it is clear that the accredited representatives of the people have come to recognise the serious danger which threatens their very existence as civilised people. The policy of reaction is, it is obvious, running riot, and it is incumbent on them to devise means for counteracting it.......... In the meanwhile, we welcome the suggestion of some distinguished friends and workers regarding the urgency of holding an emergency session of the Provincial Conference in every Province.......... The situation calls for it, there can be no manner of doubt, and we do trust members of the Provincial Congress Committee will immediately move that body to organise a special conference in this city as early as it can."

Rást Goftár (30), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.

3. "The resolutions and the representation must be taken as the opinion of all India, educated India, whose representatives had gathered in Bombay from every part of the country. And the whole country will assent to and approve of what was done at the Conference.......... Any one who reads the resolutions and the representation will be struck at once by the firmness of the language employed. Passive resistance has been foreshadowed, and the history of the passive resistance in the Transvaal may repeat itself in India.......... It is being felt even in unexpected quarters that the Government must altogether change its attitude towards the movement of constitutional agitation in this country.......... We want the statesmanship of England to come to the help of India, for the situation is grave and is being made graver by the authorities here. The mere fact that Hindu and Mahomedan leaders are acting in perfect concert, and are equally determined to obtain for India her just rights, should give the bureaucracy a pause, but there is no such suggestion, and coercion is the only thing in sight."

Bombay Samáchár (59), 1st Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 2nd Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 30th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 30th and 31st July and 3rd Aug., Eng. cols.

4. The *Bombay Samáchár* does not approve of the Conference passing certain resolutions, *e.g.*, that with regard to the prohibition by the Bengal Government of a meeting which was to meet in Calcutta to protest against the Madras Government's internment orders and that which demanded that Messrs. Muhammadali and Shaukatali be restored to liberty, because it remarks that they related to matters which had hardly any connection with the actual subject for the consi-

deration of which the Conference had met. It refers to the heated discussion that took place over the question of receiving favourably the work done by the Home Rule League and, approving the strong attitude assumed by the Bombay leaders in connection with that subject, it reminds the public that it was only those of their leaders who while espousing their cause, enjoyed the confidence of Government that have been able to raise the nation to its present high status. The paper wishes that even the resolution requesting the Provincial Congress Committees and the Council of the All-India Moslem League to consider the advisability of adopting the policy of passive resistance in carrying on political work had been entirely dropped by the Conference. It strongly condemns the adoption of the policy of passive resistance as detrimental to the best interests of India. While approving the resolution passed by the Conference for submitting a petition to Parliament in support of the scheme of reforms adopted by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League, the paper impresses upon the people the indispensability of Government sympathy towards any reforms they might wish to see introduced in their country. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* does not consider the proceedings of the Conference to be a sucess. It remarks that the result of the Conference must have convinced Government that the excessive political agitation that is being carried on in the country has not received support from all leading Indian politicians. It is also opposed to the adoption of a policy of passive resistance and believes that the movement would not achieve in India even a small fraction of the success it has achieved in South Africa. The *Hindusthán* regards the resolutions passed by the Conference as an effective reply to the policy of repression alleged to have been adopted by Government of late. It vindicates the action of the Conference in passing the resolution about passive resistance as a measure to secure the withdrawal of the alleged repressive policy. The paper hopes that, realising well the responsibility attaching to his position as the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu will put a stop to that policy. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses the hope that Government will not commit the mistake of preventing the deputation of four Indian gentlemen which the Conference has resolved to send to England within a short period from proceeding to that country. The paper does not favour the policy of passive resistance and believes that the severing of connection with official bodies, *e.g.*, the Legislative Councils, to which the passive resistance movement might lead, will do harm instead of good to the cause of the country. In its issue dated the 31st July the paper observes that the fact that two leading political bodies holding moderate views, like the National Congress and the Moslem League, have been forced to consider the advisability of adopting passive resistance as a political weapon indicates the feelings with which the public view Government's repressive policy. The paper remarks that all eyes at the present juncture are turned towards Mr. Montagu, the new Secretary of State for India. In its issue of the 3rd August, the paper, in its English columns, writes:—"Of the Resolutions passed the most important is undoubtedly that relating to passive resistance. This has been in the minds of most people, because persistent repression always goes on increasing unless it is either checked by higher authority or resisted by those against whom it is directed.......... Unless there is a complete reversal of the present repressive policy there can be hardly any doubt that passive resistance will be resorted to, though the actual form of that resistance will require much consideration. There are times of suffering and trial ahead, but they will have to be faced undaunted if we are true to ourselves, to our country and to our ultimate goal......... It is for the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India to realise the grave state of things in India and to reverse the highly unwise policy that is being pursued here."]

Kesari (106), 31st July; *Sandesh* (118), 30th July.

5. The Conference could not but take up the question of definitely guiding the *Swarájya* movement, and resolutions were passed accordingly. We heartily congratulate the Conference for condemning clearly and fearlessly the retrograde policy of Government and for plainly re-stating the *Swarájya* view. By the mere Government admission of the legality of the ideal, the dispute will not be ended. Agitation in support of the ideal must have a free scope. To attack the agitators is but to attack indirectly the ideal. Therefore, the Conference has asked for the release of the interned—Mrs. Besant, Mahomed Ali and others.

The Conference has been helpful in bringing together the Home Rule Leagues and the Congress more closely than at Lucknow. We have no doubt that Mr. Montagu's tendency is towards liberalism, but we doubt whether he will grant us *Swardjya*. For the Liberals as well as Conservatives are affected by the madness of prestige. We cannot say definitely whether the strong representation of the Conference will have positively some effect. Even more than political reforms do the people want the release of the interned leaders. The question of passive resistance also was raised in this connection, but it was postponed to the October Conference. The repressive policy adopted by the Provincial Governments will encourage rather than check such ideas. Even protest meetings like the Calcutta one are being stopped. It would have been better if the Conference had appointed a small executive committee and a full-time Secretary. Meanwhile the Home Rule Leagues should try to solve the question in their own light. [The *Sandesh* is jubilant over the result of the Congress and Moslem League Conference and says:—Hitherto a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee meant a meeting of big busybodies for putting a break upon the fast moving national aspirations. This sealed monopoly of wisdom which was jealously guarded by men like Gokhale, Mehta, Rash Behari Ghose, Wacha and others came to an end last year on the entrance of Messrs. Tilak, Jinnah and Gandhi into the All-India Congress Committee, and since then the door has been so widely thrown open that at Lucknow none could distinguish as to who were the hosts and who the guests. The control of public opinion over the Congress having thus been re-established, the Conference at Bombay attracted the greatest attention. It is to be regretted that the Honourable Sir D. Wacha left the meeting in dungeon when it began to discuss a certain point. No one even dreamt that he would show such intolerance of the opinions of popular leaders from other parts of India. Mr. Samarth may be said to have cut a better figure inasmuch as he valiantly tried, though without avail, to place before the meeting the views of the old slow-moving Congress party. The deliberations of the Conference are bound to bring nearer the fructification of our national aspirations.]

Islámic Mail (143), 30th July, Urdu edition.

6. The *Islámic Mail* reports that besides Messrs. Wazir Hasan and Mazherul Haque no other Musalmans took part in the proceedings of the joint conference of the Congress and the League held in the last week of July in Bombay. It ascribes their abstention to their recognition of the fact that Self-government for India is an unattainable ideal, and even if it were ever achieved it would be Hindu not Indian Home Rule. The paper also states that it has been authorised to declare that Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy attended the secret conference merely as a spectator having been invited to do so in his capacity as a Vice-President of the Moslem League, and not for the purpose of shewing his sympathy with the conveners' cause or taking an active part in their deliberations.

The political situation in the Bombay Presidency.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 5th Aug.

***7.** "During the last fortnight the eyes of all India have been turned to Bombay in anxious expectation. The Provincial Legislative Council met on the 24th July, and there was very general curiosity as to whether Lord Willingdon would take the opportunity to admonish the public on the lines familiarised by the utterances of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Governor of Madras.......... The only speech which His Excellency Lord Willingdon made during this session of the Council was one on a resolution of condolence on the death of the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. He spoke with evident warmth of feeling.......... By associating himself in this frank and cordial fashion with the Indian aspiration to secure self-government within the Empire, His Excellency the Governor has done much to steady public opinion and to direct it in placid channels. The best proof of it is the almost total absence of the tension, irritation and excitement in Bombay, which are unfortunately evident in some other provinces.......... Lord Ronaldshay has got into the practice of speaking of his "rule" in Bengal, a practice which has very properly evoked a sharp reminder from the *Bombay Chronicle*, that His Excellency is not His Majesty. He seems to regard the other provincial Governments as independent Kingdoms in alliance with his own, criticism of whose actions may lead to untoward diplomatic incidents. We have not met anyone who has a word to say in justification of this action of Lord Ronaldshay's Government. Well, the Joint Conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League sat in Bombay for two days. The local Home Rule League, with a lack of forethought which, we hope, is not symptomatic, arranged to hold a large meeting in a small hall, with the inevitable result that the meeting could not be held. The Bombay Presidency Association held a mass meeting on Monday to protest against the Madras internments, under the chairmanship of Mr. Jinnah. Busybodies went about whispering that the Government of Bombay would prohibit the meeting. Had Government wished to do so, there were not wanting excuses for adopting such a course. There has been for some time past some excitement owing to rumours about alleged excesses of recruits for the labour corps stationed in this city. A strike involving some thousands of workmen was in progress, and showed signs of spreading. These are excellent reasons, as official reasons go, to justify the prohibition of political meetings, as compared with Lord Ronaldshay's for stopping the meeting of Calcutta citizens. But the Government of Bombay had a definite policy, and stuck to it. It kept a cool head, and nothing happened. It almost looks as if there is at this moment only one real statesman in India."

The meaning of the phrase "Passive resistance."

Mahrátta (5), 5th Aug.

***8.** "We notice that the *Times of India* and the *Madras Mail* have a kind word to say in connection with the idea of Passive resistance. The *Times of India* has the following:—"We believe that the nebulous phrase means passive resistance to work in councils, either local or imperial. Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings may come wisdom, but the political tactics of an infant are not commonly held up to admiration as a model for men aspiring to Self-government.' And thus blabs the *Madras Mail*: 'Any attempt to organise opposition to the Government will get no sympathy from the bulk of the British people and find no weakness here.' So one mouth of Anglo-India calls us childish, while another takes us more seriously, but warns us against plunging into a resistance that will, in its opinion, evoke more repression here without rousing 'sympathy' in Britain. The self-befogged *Times of India* cannot be easily brought to understand the 'nebulous' phrase 'passive résistance'. But we must try. We would, in the first place, advise our contemporary to sit at the feet of the *Madras Mail*, for to the latter the phrase does not seem to be 'nebulous'. He seems to grasp correctly the central idea of the phrase. It is 'opposition to Government'. This opposition may be organised not only in relation to council work, but in relation to other matters as well. Every proceeding, order and law that in the words of Mahatma Gandhi is 'derogatory to the manhood' of a people, or, in the words of Lord Hardinge, is 'invidious and unjust', supplies to the passive resister, a fit occasion to employ his soul-force......... As to the remark of the *Times* that such a resistance is 'an infant's tactics', we would only say that Pym and Hampden, to give but two names from English history, and Mahatma Gandhi, to give one name from our History of the Day,—be they called infants or worse by men with 'nebulous' brains like the leader-writer of the *Times of India*—will continue to inspire the down-trodden in such times as the present, when milder 'tactics' have no chance."

Comments on the proceedings of the meeting held at the China Bag, Bombay, to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 31st July.

9. Referring to the meeting that was held on Monday the 30th July at China Bag to protest against the internment order passed by the Madras Government against Mrs. Annie Besant, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that in point of the number of people present and the enthusiasm displayed there, the meeting, to its knowledge, excelled any other meeting called under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association during the whole course of its existence. It observes that the speech delivered by the Honourable Mr. Jinnah as President of the meeting was not of such a nature as to do justice to the importance of the meeting. The paper writes:—Of course the language used by the Honourable Mr. Jinnah was severe and he echoed the feelings of the people; but his speech was not like the speeches delivered by the late Sir Pherozeshaw Mehta at similar public meetings, which were characterised by a higher order of statesmanship. We had hoped to hear a speech in which the speaker, instead of putting questions like these, "Has the bureaucracy become blind?" "Have they lost their reason that they behave with loyal India in that fashion?" "What is His Excellency Lord Chelmsford doing?" in strong language, as had been done by Mr. Jinnah, had dwelt on the gravity of the present political situation, the causes that have given rise to it, and the real duty of the authorities and the people. We wish that a more capable, more experienced person, for instance, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, who was more qualified than Mr. Jinnah to do credit to the occasion, had been elected president of the meeting.

Indu Prakásh (39), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

10. "The public meeting in China Bag has come and gone, leaving behind lessons for all. In the first place, it showed the closing of the ranks of the popular party. When national grievances are genuine, political parties cannot for ever continue to remain at daggers drawn towards each other and an ultimate agreement on essentials is simply inevitable. Such an agreement was signed and sealed when we had a united Congress at Lucknow which passed the joint scheme of reforms formulated by the Committees of the Muslim League and the National Congress. Since then, the reform resolution of the Congress has been the banner under which all parties have joined in a common endeavour to realize national aspirations. This explains the gathering together, at last Monday's meeting, on a common platform, of leaders belonging to all castes and creeds and political parties."

Comments on Sir D. E. Wacha's resignation of the presidentship of the Bombay Presidency Association.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 2nd Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 2nd Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 3rd Aug.

11. The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that in view of the need of the advice and guidance of an experienced and veteran politician like Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha in the present critical political situation in India, his resignation as President of the Bombay Presidency Association will cause regret not only among the people of the Presidency but among the whole Indian nation. Regard being had to the valuable services rendered by Sir Dinshaw to the country for wellnigh half a century, it regards his present resignation as a public calamity. If Sir Dinshaw's resignation is attributable to the conduct of the young politicans in the Presidency Association in opposing the President's views in every matter that comes up for discussion and in raising questions about the extent of his authority, the paper observes that this younger class of politicians cannot afford to forget the facts that in the past Sir Dinshaw has served India at a very great sacrifice of time, money and health, that he has been a great pillar of the political contest in India and that Indians are bound to respect such a true servant of the motherland. It, at the same time, maintains that it is the duty of a political leader like Sir Dinshaw to direct in proper channels the enthusiasm of this rising generation in whose hands lies the political future of India. On behalf of the people of the Bombay Presidency, it appeals to Sir Dinshaw to withdraw his resignation for the sake of the interests and prestige of the country. In conclusion the paper expresses its joy at the news it received after writing the above about Sir Dinshaw actually withdrawing his resignation. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also regards it as regrettable that a veteran like Sir Dinshaw should relinquish the helm of political affairs of the country at the present juncture. It regards the present action of Sir Dinshaw as a step calculated to strengthen the hands of the opponents of Indian aspirations. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that if those who differ from Sir Dinshaw believe that his political views have undergone a change as a result of the knighthood that has been conferred upon him do not properly understand him. It wishes that Sir Dinshaw will continue the political fight for his country and thereby help her to reach the 'goal' she has fixed her eyes upon.]

Why Mr. Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India is welcomed by the Indians.

New Times (7), 23rd July.

12. In the course of a lengthy article on Mr. E. S. Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India the *New Times* quotes with approval his views about India and remarks:—"And only a few days ago while taking part in the debate on the Mesopotamia Commission, he urged that the Indian Government should adopt a policy of greater responsibility to the people of India. In speaking thus, Mr. Montagu showed himself to be a true statesman; for the very soul of good administration is

murdered if the Government have not a sense nor a policy of responsibility to the people. As early as the days of the Plantagenets, the English Chancellor, Sir John Fortescue enunciated the doctrine that the ruler is the delegate of popular power and that the laws of England in all cases declare in favour of liberty. To this doctrine the English political genius is pledged; therefore has England been the teacher and guardian of freedom. India wants to be itself; it wants to develope its arts and industries, its genius and ideals as a nation among other nations of the Empire. And it is because Mr. Montagu has some perception of India's needs that his appointment is welcomed by the people. His appointment takes place at a time when a mighty patriotic wave, swiftly sweeping over the land, is buffeting against a policy of reaction—a policy responsible for the Madras internments and the prohibition of public meetings. It is a time when the people's demands for political reforms are being snubbed by some on the ground that reforms can wait till the war is over. We believe Mr. Montagu belongs to the class of wide-visioned statesmen who know that there are things which will not—must not—wait even in war time, that the Indian problem is urgent, and that it must be faced without delay in a spirit of courage and confidence, and with the resolve to strengthen the patriotic forces in loyalty to the spirit of the British Commonwealth."

What is needed in India is for Government to kindle the imagination of the people by a new bold and Christ-inspired democratic policy.

New Times (7), 20th July.

13. Commenting upon Sir K. G. Gupta's Calcutta speech, in which, the paper declares, he has uttered the soul of India, the *New Times* remarks:—"National reconstruction is in the air; and India discusses the after-war problems not, surely, to embarass the Government or the Empire, but to make it clear to the authorities and the English nation that India is fighting for England to defend the ideals of democracy and the liberties of nations, and that in this 'speeding up of the triumph of freedom India also must have her share'. Indian leaders have formulated their programme in order that increased guarantees and safeguards may be secured for defence, in India, of the great Ideals which inspire England and the Allies to-day. India demands more, because she feels she has the right to make demands in the name of the democratic ideal to which the Allies are patriotically devoted. We live in great times; and the times—the *New Times*—impose on us the obligation to realise our national personality; how can India stand still when the world is marching on?......... In the name of this Ideal, the people ask the Government to co-operate with them in the task of national re-constructions, so that when the great day of Peace comes, India may not be handicapped in the race of Progress but may march along with the other nations of the British Commonwealth. A new, a wide-visioned statesmanship is needed;—a statesmanship which will take a sympathetic view of the progress of national forces. A change in the spirit and methods of administration is needed; the *understanding heart* is needed. The root-cause of the difficulties of Government is suspicion, doubt, distrust; never was a greater necessity than to-day, for the Government to kindle the imagination and idealism of the people by a vision of a new, a bold, a Christ-inspired democratic policy.

If Government will study carefully the psychology of the present situation they will realise the inevitable necessity of cancelling the order of internment passed against Mrs. Besant and her assistants.

New Times (7), 21st July.

14. "Never before has so great a part of educated India united itself to criticise a single measure of the Government. Judged by the severest standard of criticism, the situation, it will be seen, created by the internment of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale, and Mr. Wadia, is one which calls for quick and sympathetic handling by the Government. The internment is construed by the people as an index to a new, unwelcome policy which Government wish to follow; the internment has sown doubt and suspicion among the people; the line of cleavage between the authorities and the people is becoming sadly clearer every day. If Government will but study carefully the psychology of the present situation, it will know that the one acceptable, the one inevitable, course is to cancel the order of internment.......... Cancelling the order of internment will be no reflection on the prestige of Government; it will rather raise the official class in the estimation of the people who will have a clear proof of the intention of Government to co-operate with the country."

Reflections on the present political situation.
Message (6), 31st July.

15. Referring to the steps taken by Government against the Home Rule agitation, the *Message* writes:—"Feelings have been aroused and embittered to an extent perhaps undreamt of by the authorities. We shall be the last to further inflame and embitter the passions, but while appealing to the people not to be carried away by their emotions, we have to entreat Government to consider the full significance of the fact that a special joint meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League was held to consider the situation, with the still more important and pregnant fact that such a joint meeting of the best brains, heart and experience of the country, unanimously passed a resolution asking the several Provincial Congress Committees and the Council of the All-India Muslim League 'to consider the advisability of adopting the policy of passive resistence'. That things should come to such a pass as to make even the most level-headed of men think of the advisability or otherwise of passive resistance is sad in the extreme and should make the Government of India reconsider betimes their own attitude and bring it into greater harmony with the best currents of political thought in India. 1917 is not 1907, and a policy which might have been possible in the latter year will not necessarily suit the former year. Times are moving fast, even in this 'land of the bullock cart', and it will clearly not do for any Government to complacently ignore pregnant signs and symptoms, simply because they are unwelcome to them. We hope that better counsels will prevail with Government and a grave catastrophe, which would otherwise ensue, will be avoided, to the relief and joy of all concerned."

Indu Prakásh (39), 1st Aug.

16. Executive authority which is wholly irresponsible to public opinion is daily becoming more and more unbearable. Although the methods of the moderates and the Home Rulers differ the ideal of both is the same. Government, therefore, look upon both the political parties as their opponents. India has liberally contributed men and money for the defence of the Empire. Although the authorities are aware of this fact they do not appreciate it. Some Indians suspect that England desires to keep India always in subjection. This suspicion has led to perpetual fight between the officials and the popular party. The conflict, if not checked in time, will lead to disastrous results.

What the Bureaucracy wants in India.
Mahrátta (5), 5th Aug.

***17.** "Government have a sort of a case against the whole people. The case is that the people are entertaining thoughts of Home Rule at an early date. The Bureaucracy cannot tolerate this. India with its millions of human beings and untold material resources is a very tempting place for the bureaucrat. To be a ruler of men is a great (!) ambition......... You Indians want that you shall, in the Legislature where you will dominate, pass laws which the bureaucrats shall faithfully obey. Your men and women—you want to make real men and women of them by giving them the exalting consciousness that they are masters in their home. All this does not suit the bureaucrat. Dumb driven cattle that you have so long been, he likes you and loves you, so long as you remain such.......... What a wonderful 'failure' a man may make of himself! The 'good things' of the world are not able to keep him *good*; they intoxicate him and make of him a being haggard in mind and spirit, a wretched specimen that moves us to pity at the same time that the fate of the many who suffer for the misdevelopment of this dehumanised man makes us indignant."

Appeal to the Indian leaders not to take any hasty steps calculated to spite Government.
Phœnix (8), 25th July.

18. In the course of an article headed "The Indian problem" the *Phœnix* takes to task the Anglo-Indian organs for not receiving favourably the appointment of Mr. Montagu, and then continues:—"Leaving these Anglo-Indian critics severely alone, we may say with some confidence that the Imperial Government means to satisfy our legitimate aspirations in an appreciable degree. Mr. Montagu's in-coming shows where the wind blows.

We wish our 'Home Rule' friends shed the rancorous spirit characterizing their utterances and writings. The situation needs to be faced in a bold, but sober, spirit. Sir James Meston has spoken his mind on the Indian problem. It is a sympathetic and a sane pronouncement which needs to be taken in the spirit in which it is made. Sir James Meston lays special stress upon India's participation, on a footing of equality, in the Empire's Council......... It is refreshing to note that Sir James Meston holds the view that 'India cannot effectively take up her partnership in the Empire unless her people are given an ever-increasing share in the management of their own affairs. .... It is significant to note that the *Pioneer*, in a leading article on the Home Rule agitation, favours the idea of convening a conference, on the lines of the Irish Convention, of representatives of various interests in India for arriving at a workable scheme of reforming the Indian Government. It is plain that British statesmanship will have soon to tackle the solution of the Indian problem, whether through the agency of a Parliamentary Committee or of an Indian Convention as suggested by the *Pioneer*. It is about time for the sober and responsible men among our politicians to make their voice heard in the matter. We trust that no such hasty step will be taken as is calculated to spite Government. We unreservedly disapprove of the endeavour made in certain quarters to have Mrs. Besant in internment elected as President of the Calcutta Congress, nor are we impressed with the idea of having such a president as will be in a position to speak the mind of Mrs. Besant."

Comments on the Bishop of Bombay's letter on Indian politics.

**Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Kesari* (106), 31st July; *Shubhodaya* (89), 27th July.

19. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* thus concludes a very lengthy article on the Bishop of Bombay's letter to the *Indian Social Reformer* on the political situation in India:—"The letter of the Bishop of Bombay is most welcome as coming at least from one Englishman, who believes in self-government and is not temperamentally opposed to see India governing herself. His emphasis on the undemocratic character of caste must be taken to heart by every true son of India, and we trust his letter will have the desired result. On the other hand we deplore that the Bishop has not had the courage to tell his reactionary countrymen in India that reaction is doing more harm to India than good, inasmuch as it fosters ill-feeling between the rulers and the ruled, and adds a bitterness to political propaganda, which makes them more passionate than reasonable. India is and wants to be loyal to England. Let not superfluous and unneeded repression add any tinge of distrust to that loyalty which she has proved by shedding her blood and devoting her treasures to the cause of the Empire." [The *Kesari* says:—We know that it rests with the British people to grant us *Swarājya* and that local officials have nothing to do with it and that we can have it if we agitate and undergo self-sacrifice. The Bishop of Bombay need not be anxious. The attempt will be made in a constitutional way. He need not worry himself. The *Shubhodaya* gives a summary of the letter and adds:—'Enough, Father, Good-morning!!'.]

Comments on the prohibition of the Calcutta meeting of protest against the Madras internments.

**Gujarāti* (16), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Message* (6), 31st July.

20. "The step taken by the Bengal Government in prohibiting the meeting that was to be convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta at the Town Hall is not of less serious importance than the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two associates against which the citizens of Calcutta wished to enter their protest.......... The action of the Bengal Government shows emphatically that the authorities care not a pin even for an Indian of such a distinguished reputation like Sir Rash Behari Ghose and have no confidence whatsoever in his judgment or guidance. It is the gravest step that the Bengal Government have taken......... As far as we can recollect, such an instance of high-handedness on the part of a local Government has not taken place in any presidency town in India." [The *Message* remarks:—"The Calcutta meeting was to be presided over by no less a person than Sir Rash Behari Ghose, and if the authorities could easily interfere with people of his eminence and distinction, what greater proof does

it need about the state of things in the mofussil? We have now reached the hour of India's destiny, and the action of our leaders will decide the future course of Indian history on the popular side."]

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 1st Aug. and 29th July; *Kesari* (106), 31st July.

21. So far whenever Government wanted to prohibit a meeting they sheltered themselves behind the Defence of India Act without troubling themselves to adduce any reasons for their action. The plea put forward this time at Calcutta, however, is that it is dangerous to countenance criticism of the methods of a provincial Government by the people of another province. This will give our readers an idea of the gravity of the situation. It is evident that the Government of India, though outwardly silent, have made up their mind to pursue a policy of repression with a view to check the legitimate aspirations of the people. If Government have the least regard for public opinion they should at once concede the two demands of the joint conference held at Bombay, *viz.*, the reversal of the present policy of repression and the publication of a proclamation granting *Swarájya*. The question of reforms is under the consideration of the Government of India and the Home Government and it is generally believed that the campaign of repression inaugurated at the instance of the Government of India is designed to keep popular aspirations within the prescribed limits. It is also believed that the Government of India have issued a circular in this matter to provincial Governments. It is absolutely necessary in the interests of political tranquillity that this circular should be published and the illiberal policy laid down therein completely reversed. The policy of prohibiting meetings recently adopted by some provincial Governments is extremely dangerous. It has disturbed the minds of even those persons who have hitherto carried on political agitation with the utmost sobriety. Government are mistaken if they suppose that they will succeed in gaining their object by depriving the people of the right of speech. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—Local Governments seem to be engaged in a sort of rivalry among themselves to frame new schemes to attack popular freedom of thought. To prohibit meetings to be held under the presidentship of men like Sir Rash Bihari Ghose and to contend at the same time that there is no intention of opposing constitutional agitation is to add insult to injury. The *Kesari* writes:—Nobody dreamt that the Calcutta meeting would be stopped, but the officials issued the order highhandedly. The order is not clear as to whether the meeting itself has been prohibited or the meeting at the Townhall. The principle newly introduced that one local Government should not allow protests against any other local Government is absurd and dangerous. Where is the scope then for constitutional agitation? The Congress is sure to take up the question of the interned leaders. Are the Bengal Government going to prohibit the resolution or the Congress itself? The gag introduced by the Bengal Government is extraordinary and it cuts at the root of all constitutional agitation.]

Comments on the action of the District Magistrate, Hyderabad (Sind), in prohibiting a procession in honour of Mrs. Besant.

Sind Advocate (9), 19th July.

22. Referring to the orders of the District Magistrate, Hyderabad (Sind), prohibiting a procession in honour of Mrs. Besant, the *Sind Advocate* writes:—"But the way in which the Collector of Hyderabad set about preventing the projected procession was the most extraordinary imaginable. The Collector was not satisfied with issuing prohibitory orders to the responsible office holders of the Home Rule League. He was too nervous and too weak-minded to trust to the majesty of law and authority for preventing the procession. He seems to have seriously thought that the Home Rulers were going to break the law and defy authority. But even so, it was the height of imprudence to have adopted the measures that he did adopt. Long before the hour appointed for the procession something like two hundred policemen were brought out and posted at different points of the bazar and the bulk of them were standing opposite near the office of the Home Rule League. The people knew by this time that the procession was not to be, but the presence and activity of the police excited their

curiosity and in the bazar they enquired if anybody was passing through and they collected in knots here and there and laughed outright when they heard what the bother was about. But opposite the Home Rule League office the crowd was a very large one and the scene gave the idea of a *mela*. The one hundred or more policemen could hardly disperse the crowd, and in despair, the District Police Superintendent, who himself had thought fit to come up, ordered the police to disperse themselves and it was then that at the request of the Home Rule men the crowd gradually dispersed. The District Magistrate has rendered a disservice to Government and a real service to the Home Rule League. The latter got more fame and sympathy than they might otherwise have received, and as regards the former, its dignity was seriously compromised by the excessive nervousness and blundering weakness of its chief representative in the district. We must add that either under the District Magistrate's orders or the District Superintendent of Police's the town round in a tanga accompanied by the policemen of the prohibition of the procession was proclaimed in every nook and corner of the city for hours and hours together. It gave one the idea that a general rising of the populace was apprehended. We say that even if there was any suspicion of breach of law, the officials should not have betrayed such nervous weakness."

Comments on the alleged dismissal of a *Mukadam* by the Municipal Commissioner of Hyderabad (Sind) for wearing a button with a photo of Mr. B. G. Tilak.

Hindusthán (20), 28th July; *Shri Venkateshwar* (81), 29th July.

23. The *Hindusthán* refers to the incident published by the *Hind Vasi* wherein the Municipal Commissioner of Hyderabad (Sind) is alleged to have dismissed a *Mukadam* of sweepers for wearing a button with a photo of Mr. B. G. Tilak on it, and writes:—The incident affords an illustration of the misuse of power made by the smaller officials encouraged by the unfavourable attitude of the Provincial and Indian Governments towards Indian aspirations. It can never be considered a crime to wear such a button. It is not a wise step to dismiss a man who had put in twelve years' service on such an excuse. We are surprised that the Municipal Commissioner should have acted so hastily in the matter. [The *Shri Venkateshwar* suggests that the Municipal Commissioner may be removed from his present post and transferred to the Police where he might have full opportunity to exercise autocratic powers and that the *mukadam* be replaced and be given full salary for the period of suspension.]

A suggested career for Indian youths "of exuberant patriotism".

Mahrátta (5), 5th Aug.

*24. "Money is scarce in this country and for this reason and for other reasons which have reference to the unpreparedness of the general public for an organised National Education programme on a large scale, it becomes necessary to connive more or less at the campaign of Government against the growth of intelligent patriotism in the student-community of the country.......... Youths of exuberant patriotism must be prepared to go without the 'education' available in the anti-National Schools and Colleges and all the amenities that that education is likely to make available to them in their after-life. If they really mean business, there is a large field open to them, a field which will remain open for another generation at any rate. This field is *Mass education*. Patriotic students, who cannot brook to be fettered in the abominable way that the students' circulars contemplate, have this noble service of the people always open to them. Russian students, both young lads and young ladies, did this service for over 50 years—and now have their efforts culminated in an all-Russia awakening of an epoch-making character! Enlightenment of the masses, beginning with the humble three R's, is a necessity that cannot be shirked. There will be difficulties thrown in the way of the youths who spurning the tainted atmosphere of circular-ridden schools and colleges have given themselves up to the cause of Mass Education, improving their own minds by private study as far as possible. .... So long as our country is *not ours*, so long even the most innocent patriotic service may be looked upon with a suspicious eye and hindered and hampered by power-loving officialdom in various ways. But to make the country *ours*, in the sense of its becoming an equal partner in the Empire with Full Self-government in Home Affairs, the question of Mass Education must be seriously and successfully tackled."

Alleged "persecution" of Indian Law students by the Bombay Government.

Mahrátta (5), 5th Aug.

25.** Under the heading "More Persecution" the ***Mahrátta writtes:—"Government machinery in Bombay and Madras and Bengal and all-where is now chiefly employed in picking out cases where the wrath of the authorities may be somehow 'exhibited', and attempts thus made to bully the popular movement into 'respectable' quiescence.......... The example of Government tenaciously pursuing an evil course, ought to inspire us with a like tenacity in a good cause.......... As another example, we have the notice put up in Government Law School, Bombay, prohibiting students from taking any part either passive or active in the affairs of the Home Rule League, prohibiting the Law students, in other words, from becoming or continuing members and from attending any meetings which may have anything to do with Home Rule. The Government Law School students are graduates, all the five hundred of them. But graduates or no graduates, they learn, and are called students and, therefore, must suffer! These graduates have the right to vote members to the Municipaltity and the University Senate, *i.e.*, are citizens, too. But what does that matter? Government is determined to stamp out the Home Rule *nonsense*, if it can do it by any means!"

Government Pleaders and politics.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 27th July.

26. Government have published, at the request of the Honourable Mr. Belvi, the circular issued by the Legal Remembrancer defining the extent to which Government Pleaders can take part in politics. As Government Pleaders not only conduct cases on behalf of Government but also advise them in legal matters, they are required, under this circular, not to take part in movements the objects and methods of which clash with the policy of Government. The circular does not mention what particular movements are aimed at but says that a Government Pleader can easily find them out for himself. Even supposing thet it is necessary to impose these restrictions on Government Pleaders and Public Prosecutors as advisers of Government, we fail to see the necessity of imposing them on Assistant and Subordinate Government Pleaders and Honorary Assistant Government Pleaders also as they are not consulted in legal matters. Considering the status of Subordinate Government Pleaders, the small remuneration paid to them, and their duties, it is highly improper that they too should be classed as advisers of Government and as such debarred from associating themselves with political movements. We do not understand why they should accept these posts at all if they are to be treated thus. It is impossible to justify this circular from any point of view.

A Home Rule prayer.

Young India (14), 1st Aug.

27. "King of Kings, Ruler of Nations, Deliverer of the Oppressed, open Thine eye of Mercy on Thine ancient people of India, that Thy Servant the Emperor may know the wrongs that are being committed in his name in India. Break Thou the rod of the oppressor, who forbids us to claim our Birthright of Freedom and deliver Thy People. Free Thou Thy servants, who are unjustly imprisoned for Freedom's sake, and all who can lift to Thee hands free from crime, and who suffer for the sake of the Freedom of the Motherland. So shall we, Thy People, live in peace and safety, in the land which Thou hast given to us for our habitation."

A *Swadeshi* vow.

Young India (14), 1st Aug.

28. "Invoking the Blessing of Almighty God, and making appeal to His Justice, for the purpose of winning for ourselves and for unborn generations the elementary rights of freedom of person and security of property, until deprived of them by judicial sentence after open trial, we make the solemn vow to purchase Home-made goods in preference to foreign ones, even at a sacrifice. And may Almighty God give us strength of will to carry out this our solemn vow until these rights be restored to the Indian Nation."

Complaint about the alleged open attempts on the part of Christian Missionary organisations to use schools for propagandistic purposes.

New Times (7), 21st June.

29. "Christian missionary propaganda disguises itself so often as a benevolent desire to educate the people of India out of their depths of ignorance, that the evil has reached serious proportions and deserves to engage the attention of the public and Government......... Indian politicians have long pressed for the adoption of the conscience clause which would leave Indian parents the option of prohibiting alien religious instruction being given to their chidren attending schools which receive a Government grant, but somehow or the other Government has not seen its way to accepting the suggestion in spite of its obvious fairness. The result is the increase of open attempts on the part of Christian missionary organisations to use schools for propagandistic purposes. Such attempts are utterly unscrupulous and have not even the cloak of decency. A striking case of this kind has occurred in the Garrikhatta Mission School for girls in Karáchi which throws a lurid light on the inner working of missionary societies. [Here the paper gives details of the case of Chandribai, a minor, who is alleged to have been induced by Miss Carey, the head of the school in question, to repudiate the guardianship of her mother, and continues :—]......... The case has created the greatest sensation. Another daughter of hers (Chandribai's mother) who was also serving as a mistress in the same school, has left it along with many pupils whose parents naturally entertain some suspicions about its character. It is high time that the unwary public should be fully warned against such institutions. It would be better for the religious susceptibilities of the parents that missionary schools should not be patronised at all."

Reflections on the present condition of the fort of Sinhgad near Poona.

Sandesh (118), 29th July.

30. S. G. Bhat contributes some verses to the *Sandesh* in which the writer bewails the transformation that has taken place at Fort Sinhgad near Poona since the days of the Mahratta. He says tennis is being played at a place where warriors played with the heads of their enemies, and adds that his heart breaks to contemplate what Tanhaji, the Mahratta warrior, would have thought if he were still alive to see the present state of the fort.

The Borah controversy.

Akhbár-e-Islám (56), 30th July; *Rást Goftár* (30), 29th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 30th July; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 3rd Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 30th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 3rd Aug.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 29th July.

31. Referring to the orders of excommunication passed by the Mullaji Saheb against certain members of the Borah community during the course of a meeting held on the 28th ultimo, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* doubts if the said order will lead to permanent peace among the community. It refers to a letter written by Mr. A. M. Jivanji and appearing in the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* of the 28th July and the *Akhbár-e-Islám* itself of the same day wherein he declares on oath that the object of his (*i. e.*, reform) party was only to have the accounts of certain trust properties rendered and that they in no way wished to subvert the authority of the Mullaji over the community and regrets that a split has been allowed to be created among it by disregarding the explanation contained in the abovementioned letter and by not arriving at an amicable settlement. The paper declares that the Mullaji committed a blunder in yielding to the demand of those present at the meeting, which in its opinion, was dictated by malice, to excommunicate particular families. It believes that matters would have stood quite the other way if the majority of the community had been educated. It maintains that the Borah community will have to repent not a little for the present painful incident of excommunication. [The *Rást Goftár*, while professing respect for the Mullaji Saheb, remarks that one cannot afford to ignore the views of well-known persons like the sons of the late Sir Adamji Pirbhai and others. It observes that the family of the late Sir Adamji has become famous for

their charity among the community and that, therefore, it behoves the party of the Mullaji patiently to listen to what they have to say. It believes that some "street-fighters" made a mountain out of a molehill at the Borah meeting that was held on Saturday the 28th ultimo. The paper appeals to the Mullaji, if he wishes to uphold the prestige of the community, to keep at arm's length the meddlesome Borahs who pose as leaders among the community, and to arrive at a compromise with the other members of the reform party. It, otherwise, cannot expect any good to come of weeping piteously in public meetings. The *Hindusthán* expresses itself against Government intervening in controversies with regard to religious or communal matters, as was advocated by the *Sánj Vartamán*, in its issue of the 28th July 1917 (*Vide* paragraph 28 of Weekly Report No. 30 of 1917). It advises the reform party as well as the orthodox sections of the community to settle their disputes in an amicable manner and utilise, towards the improvement of education or otherwise, of the community, the money which would be spent in the expensive litigation which the present disputes are likely to give birth to. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to another Borah meeting which was held at Badri Mahal in the morning of the 3rd August 1917 in connection with the protest raised by the Surat Borahs against the action of some persons in challenging the authority of the Mullaji Saheb as *Dai* of the community. Describing the proceedings of the meeting it declares that two persons named Mia Saheb Issac Ali and Mulla Muhammadali Bháthari experssed their penitence for what they had done and signed a declaration before those present acknowedging on oath the Mullaji's position as *Dai*. During the course of the meeting Mulla Ibrahim Sikandar requested the Mullaji to send for Mulla Ibrahim, son of Shaikh Lukmanji, Amil of Kapadvanj, who, he remarked, was writing against the Mullaji in the *Deshi Mitra*. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* remarks that before the meeting, in which the excommunication order was passed, was held, some farsighted Borahs had gone to those who demanded accounts of the administration of certain trust properties to bring about a compromise. It observes that the last-mentioned persons during that interview expressed their willingness to forego their right of demanding accounts of the administration in the past provided that regular accounts be kept thenceforward and published for the information of the community and that managing Committees composed of the leading members of the community be appointed for the administration of communal funds. The paper states that the deputation very strongly approved of these conditions but the Mullaji Saheb was against any such arrangements. The paper further points to the probability of some civil suits and criminal cases arising from the proceedings of the meeting of the 28th July. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to a Borah meeting that was held at Surat on the 2nd August at Saiji Madrsesa for securing the excommunication of those Borahs who were carrying on agitation there against the Mullaji, at which feelings of respect were expressed for him and in which the Naib Mullaji Saheb declared that he would pass the necessary orders after hearing all parties. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks that it entered into the Borah controversy because as an independent paper it considered it its duty to prevent the general Indian public from being misled by writings that appeared in a section of the press from the "reform" party among the Borahs in connection with such questions as, education, feasting, etc., among the community. It maintains that it had published the interview (referred to in paragraph 30 of the Weekly Report No 29 of 1917) its representative had with the Mullaji in connection with the subject matters of the controversy with his express permission. It then goes on to describe how the continued personal attacks of an unpardonable nature injured the feelings of the Borahs, who, the paper declares, suspended business on Friday the 27th July and tried to approach the Mullaji in order to bring about a satisfactory solution in the matter. It then goes on to give an account of the proceedings of the meetings on the 27th and 28th July, declaring in the head lines to the account that the excommunication order passed by the Mullaji spread feelings of great joy and satisfaction among the community. Elsewhere in the same issue the paper remarks that the 'reform' party that has sprung into existence among the Borah community is merely a set of talkers.]

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech on the resolution about Dadabhai Naoroji in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Gujaráti (16), 29th July.

32. Commenting upon His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech in the Bombay Legislative Council in support of the resolution regarding the death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the *Gujaráti* remarks :—What a good fortune has befallen to these great men (Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, etc.) that after their demise their services should be appreciatively recorded in the files of Government and that the goals they pursued should be recognised as legitimate ! Highly indebted are we to Lord Willingdon for not advising us to give the go-bye to the ideal of *swarájya* or to refrain from hoping for its immediate realisation ! Why should we indulge in a fruitless discussion on the subject since we do not know what may happen at any time ? It would be sufficient for Government to tell the people to see that they do not trespass legitimate bounds. Then the people should be left to realise their destiny by their own exertions.

Appreciation of the extension of the term of His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

Islámic Mail (4), 8th July, Eng. cols.

33. "Bombay has hailed with delight the news of the extension given to her popular Governor. It is a fact that no provincial ruler has a firmer hold on the hearts of his people than the Governor of Bombay; it is also known that the immense success of the War Loan and the War Funds was mainly due to his personal influence. His kindness and courtesy have endeared him to the people to such an extent that even the poorest of them regards him as his protector and friend. There is no official barrier between him and his people. He loves them all, rich and poor. In fact he is regarded more as a friend of the helpless poor people than of the rich. The mill-hands who form the bulk of the Bombay population regard him as their *ma bap*. Even the humblest of them knows their Excellencies and is grateful for their kindness. The poor soldiers returning wounded from the front take pride in the fact that they have the " personal frindship and regard " of their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon.......... While a firm and strong ruler His Excellency is a very liberal-minded and kind-hearted ruler and has distinct sympathy with Indian aspirations which have made him as successful politically as personally. It was for this reason that a movement was set on foot to secure an extension of his term of office and all Bombay feels grateful to His Majesty's Government for having given them their heart's desire."

Comments on the Bombay Budget Debate.

Message (6), 31st July.

34. "The debate is one continuous narrative of neglect and parsimony in regard to the most elementary needs of a civilised community, that is, Education, Medical Relief and Sanitation.......... While Government could not find more than ten lakhs for Sanitation, the Police Department has become their 'first love'. It is no exaggeration, no fiction. It is a simple, stern reality. From *a crore and fifty-eight thousand* in 1913-14, the expenditure has successively risen in four years to *a crore and twenty-one lakhs*. Imagine what it means. An increase of over 20 per cent. in four years, an increase that might startle the most prosaic mind.......... And as regards Muhammadan education, if there is anywhere any feeling that Muhammadans are accorded favoured treatment, we would ask them to put aside all such belief on the shelf. We would strongly recommend them to read the fine exposition of Mr. Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer. We fully sympathise with Mr. Jaffer's complaint that in respect of scholarships, Muhammadan students have not been treated very liberally or sympathetically, although as a class they have fully deserved better treatment."

Resolutions in the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 30th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 2nd Aug.; *Kesari* (106), 31st July.

35. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the passing of the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel's resolution for the establishment of a training college for primary teachers in Bombay in its amended form which asks Government to extend the facilities for training teachers in the existing colleges and to open more colleges in the mofussil when funds permit. It is of opinion that training colleges should be opened in the mofussil in preference to Bombay where living is very expensive.

Writing about the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution for the appointment of a committee to equire into the working of the Police Department, the paper says:—The acceptance of the resolution in an amended form shows that the attention of Government had already been drawn to the growth in the expenditure on the Police and that they were departmentally making enquiries to ascertain whether the expenses could be curtailed. There is no doubt that expenditure on the Police has increased enormously of late and necessity has arisen of a careful investigation as to whether it could be curtailed without endangering public safety. Steps should also be taken to ameliorate the condition of the subordinate staff of the Police Department. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also expresses gratification at the passing of the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution about training colleges in an amended form. It is, however, of opinion that a training college for primary school teachers should be established in Bombay to meet the requirements of the Bombay Municipality when it resorts to the measure of making primary education free and compulsory. It thanks the Honourable Mr. Patel for moving his resolution for an enquiry into Police expenditure and thus eliciting a promise from Government for placing on the Council table the results of the departmental enquiry being made by them. The *Kesari* says:—Lord Willingdon characterised the proposed inquiry into the increase of expenditure and specially into the Police expenditure as a vote of censure on Government. Why should Government so much misunderstand the resolution and be enraged against it? In England such an inquiry is proceeding and nobody takes it as a vote of censure. Why should the local officials be so much put out? Mr. Gokhale proposed such an inquiry in the Imperial Council and the Viceroy did not raise any such objections. The Police Department has been reconstructed and the burden of expenditure has been increased, but the work turned out has not been satisfactory. Is it a sin to request an inquiry into the unbearable burden of expenditure borne by the people? What do the officials in the Council mean by rating the elected members? The change proposed by the Honourable Mr. Curtis gave altogether a different complexion to the resolution and the honourable members should guard themselves against such yielding. It is better that a resolution should be rejected rather than it should be accepted with such changes as leave in it no trace of the original resolution.]

Interpellations in the recent Session of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Praja Bandhu (27), 29th July, Eng. cols.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 30th July.

36. Referring to the replies to interpellations at the recent Session of the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"The replies to a few interpellations are satisfactory to a greater or less extent, while with regard to quite an appreciable number of them the replies fall under the category of inquiry will be made, information has been called for, or the time and trouble involved will not be commensurate with the result. Now, so far as we know, the non-official members submit most of their interpellations long before the Council meets, and Government with their vast resources ought not in our opinion to experience any very great inconvenience or difficulty in supplying promptly the desired information to a non-official member. As matters stand at present, the delay deprives such interpellations of much of the interest which they would otherwise have for the public. We will, therefore, welcome a little more activity on the part of the officials concerned.... ..... The Honourable Mr Bhurgri's question whether school and college students have been acting as volunteers at the Congress and Moslem League meetings brought forth the reply that enquiries were being made. With regard to this question it is not quite easy to divine the object of the Honourable Member in putting this interpellation. Moreover, it is a fact known to every one that the bulk of the volunteers at the two assemblies are school and college students, and hence we do not think it is necessary to make any enquiries, although as a result of the recent circular of the Educational Department they will not be allowed to do so. Another question by the same member *re* the Report of the Public Services Commission elicited the reply that the Bombay Government had not invited non-official opinion in respect of the Report, although some local Governments had done so. The reasons for this are not vouchsafed, and hence the public are quite in the dark about them. Whatever these reasons may be, we hope the Bombay Government

will now be pleased to do so without any further delay. A third question of the same gentleman regarding the rumoured internment of Mr. Tilak and others drew forth the reply that Government had no statement to make on the subject. A reply like this can, however, hardly set at rest the rumour referred to......" [Commenting upon the reply to the Honourable Mr. Haroon Ebrahim Jaffer's interpellation about waiting rooms for third class female passengers, the paper remarks:—"This reply can scarcely be considered satisfactory, for the consensus of indigenous public opinion has long since been in favour of this reform, which if anything, has been overdue. It is, indeed, a pity that notwithstanding the fact that third class passengers contribute to the bulk of a Railway Company's income from passenger traffic, many of their elementary needs conducive to their comforts and convenience still continue to be unprovided for. A question by the Honourable Mr. B. S. Kamat *re* the expenditure on the Mahableshwar move brought forth the reply that information was being collected. It is needless to state that in view of the indigenous public opinion being hostile to such moves, which more or less tell on Government resources, the public will await with interest the promised information.......... An important question by the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel in connection with the separation of Judicial and Executive functions elicited the reply that it was not intended to separate the two functions in some districts of the Presidency. This reply need not, however, take the public by surprise, however deplorable the decision may be, when we bear in mind the trend of the official view with regard to this venerable question.......... Another question by the same gentleman brought out the reply that the *Mail* (Islamic) weekly newspaper published in Bombay was not subsidised, but 150 copies of it were purchased by Government. We think the general belief of the public is that the policy of Government subsidizing or purchasing a newspaper in pretty large numbers was given up in view of the highly questionable utility of such a measure. That this is not the case at any rate in the Bombay Presidency is clear from the above reply, although it is extremely hard to understand why Government should spend public funds in purchasing copies of a newspaper for the purpose of distributing them free. The *Sanj Vartdman* refers to the question asked by the Honourable Dr. C. Fernandes with respect to the plying by prostitutes of their trade near educational institutes and draws the attention of Government to the existence of a brothel opposite to the Grant Medical College Hostel and asks Government to give powers to the Police to remove all the brothels from respectable quarters and to assign a special locality for them.]

Message (6), 29th July.

37. "We are glad to learn that Government are inquiring into the matter. But is it not desirable that this inquiry should not be conducted only officially? The question is one of grave public interest, and any inquiry, therefore, in order to be exhaustive and complete must be an open one at which the interested public may lead the evidence within their knowledge. Having particular regard to the reply of Government to the second question of the Honourable Dr. Fernandes, we think it is extremely necessary that the inquiry should be made comprehensive and non-officials should be largely associated with the Government agency that may be at work."

Appeal on behalf of a destitute old lady at Rohri (Sind) who cannot trace the whereabouts of her three sons who have joined the Indian Army.

New Times (7), 19th July.

38. Mr. P. C. Ajwani of Karáchi writes to the *New Times*:—"Lately when I was at Rohri, with my relatives, a lady about 70 years old, named Zanber Khatu came to me and requested me to get her a clue as to the whereabouts of her three sons who, she said, had joined the Indian Army as privates, at the beginning of the war. Knowing of no other course then, I drafted two applications on her behalf and sent them under her thumb impression to the District Magistrate, Sukkur, and the General Commanding Officer, Karáchi, respectively, requesting them to supply her the requisite information, and if possible, to grant her some pension, as she stood in great need of it. The abovementioned lady is putting up and living on the charity of a retired Indian soldier, who, he lately told me, could not support her any longer. It is nearly a year, since she applied for relief to the abovementioned officers, and to our great regret little has been done for her as yet. Some inquiries were made by the District Magistrate, Sukkur, and now I learn that she has got a reply from the Collector of Sukkur to the effect that he can do nothing for her.......... Indeed it is exceedingly regrettable that a lady who has sent three of her best blood on the active service to die for us, should be left in ignorance of her sons and be uncared for by us on whom she has every claim." [Commenting upon this letter, the paper remarks:—"She has set us all an example of noble sacrifice by sending her three sons to fight for the King and the country. And now she has none to support her in her sorrow and privations; she is starving. Has she no claims upon us? To efface this scandalous neglect, the *New Times* is opening a fund for the relief of this widowed mother and is contributing Rs. 10 to it as the first donation."]

Comments on the Bombay Government Press *Communiqué* appointing a Provincial Recruitment Board.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 2nd Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 3rd Aug.

39. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* cordially supports the appeal made by His Excellency the Governor through the Press *Communiqué* recently issued by the Government of Bombay in connection with the subject of more effectively organising the resources and man-power of India for the purposes of the war. While wishing success to the Provincial Recruitment Board appointed by Government, it maintains that sufficient efforts are not made by His Excellency for awakening enthusiasm among the people in the matter of recruitment, as had been done with regard to the raising of the Indian War Loan. The paper appeals to His Excellency Lord Willingdon to call a public meeting in connection with the recruitment of men for the army. It believes that such a course will tend greatly to help the work which is to be done by the new Recruitment Board. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that it behoves the people of the Bombay Presidency to give a hearty response to His Excellency's appeal embodied in the *Communiqué*.]

Comments on the poor response to the recruitment for the Indian section of the Indian Defence Force.

Hindusthán (20), 29th July, Eng. cols.

40. The *Hindusthán* regrets the fact that only 1,778 Indians have up to now joined the Indian Defence Force, and continues:—"We have written several times on this question and yet continue to write as we feel a burning shame at the lack of response of our youths to this call on them for the defence of their country. Whatever restrictions there may have been, whatever limitations, it is the bounden duty of all who are of military age to join the Indian Defence Force. We venture to suggest to Government that in case the required number does not come up in a month they should raise the age of eligibility to at least 35, announce some separation allowance and extend the period for three months more. The scheme with all its defects is a good one and its being shelved off for want of response will be sheer disaster the magnitude of which our youths do not realise. Let the different Home Rule League branches decide not to admit any young man of military age unless he has joined or is prepared to join the Indian Defence Force."

Comments on the failure of the first Mesopotamia expedition and the blame cast upon Lord Hardinge in the Commission's report.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 3rd Aug.

41. Referring to the Report of the Mesopotamia Commission which, among other persons, held Lord Hardinge responsible for the failure of the first Mesopotamia expedition, the *Political Bhomiyo* significantly remarks that it is regrettable that the brave Anglo-Indian army should have surrendered to the Turks who are called the sick men (of Europe). It observes that if Lord Hardinge is to be held responsible for that result he should be so held in common with all the big European States who believed that Turkey was the sick man of Europe and that it would not take long to drive her out from Europe. It writes:—If the army and amunition first sent there were believed to be adequate, the Allies equally with Lord Hardinge are worthy of reproach inasmuch as in the beginning of the war they had made mighty efforts to drive out this sick man of Europe from the continent and to partition among themselves the great Turkish Empire.

Even before victory was won, programmes were published as to who should get Constantinople and as to how the Turkish Empire should be distributed, which exemplified the adage "Counting chickens before they are hatched". But these castles in the air collapsed, their (the Allies') imaginings proved abortive and the result of the Mesopotamia expedition did not turn out to be less humiliating than the result of the programmes that were published of reaching Constantinople by the Dardanelles route and of unfurling within a week the Allies' banner of victory there. Why should not the party responsible for the failure of the Gallipoli expedition be brought to account just as Lord Hardinge has been in the present case? [The paper then apparently goes on to praise the Indians in a half-hearted manner for the public protests they have made in vindication of Lord Hardinge after the Mesopotamia Commission Report was published and proceeds thus:—These same Indians had thrown a bomb at Lord Hardinge while he was making his state entry into Delhi. If the Indians then really loved Lord Hardinge with sincere hearts, the commission of this crime was the best occasion to show their loyalty by helping to get the criminal detected. It is needless to analyse the motives of the persons who were implicated in the Chandni Chowk conspiracy (against Lord Hardinge) and to try to ascertain as to what religion, class or body they belonged, because the same sort of agitation was rife then as is being carried on now.

Reflections on the completion of third year of the war.

Rast Goftár (30), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.

***42.** "On the 4th instant full three years of the war were completed, but the end, if it means a decisive result, is nowhere in sight. On the other hand, complications have arisen which may not only protract the war but seriously affect the position of the Allies. The demoralisation in Russia, the disgraceful retreat of Russian armies before German and Austrian troops, the capture of nearly a hundred miles of territory by the victorious Germans, are not events calculated to hasten the end of the war. On the Western front severe fighting is in progress, but though British and French troops are fighting splendidly, Belgium and France are not likely to be cleared of the German invaders very soon. The financial exhaustion is complete, but the war has not yet taken a decisive course. The Kaiser's proclamation, as usual, is bombastic, but it is not wholly untrue. German territory still remains scatheless. A fight to a finish means a complete defeat of the Central Powers, East and West. Of that there is not a vestige or sign so far. The joining of America may hasten the end, but that also means another year, and another year of this war is horrible to contemplate."

The new German Imperial Chancellor's recent speech shows that Germany is prepared to fight to the finish.

Praja Bandhu (27) 29th July, Eng. cols.

43. In the course of an article in which it quotes from the recent pronouncement of the new German Chancellor, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"Another sentence, *viz.*, 'we cannot again offer peace with a loyally outstretched hand once there has been no response', plainly indicates that the offer for peace must come from the other side. The few sentences that we have selected from the Imperial Chancellor's speech unmistakably indicate that there has been absolutely no change in the German policy with regard to the present war. With these views expressed by the German Chancellor in unequivocal language there is no wonder that the British Press should take the speech as a declaration for a fight to a finish on the part of Germany. This means a further prolongation of the war with all its attendant horrors to and curses on the whole world in general and Europe in particular."

The situation in Russia.

Gujaráti (16), 19th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 29th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 1st Aug., **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.

44. People are eagerly enquiring about the situation in Russia. There are many rumours current among them to the effect that Petrograd has fallen and that the Provisional Government has taken refuge at Moscow. People shake their heads very seriously and discuss such rumours as if they had received special communications on the subject. Some even go the length of saying that Russia has concluded a separate peace with Germany and is making a show of fighting to conceal the fact from the Allies.

It must, however, be conceded that we are completely in the dark about the real internal situation in Russia and that even newspapers in England cannot lay claim to full knowledge on the subject. Russia was congratulated by the Allies on the overthrow of the Czar and we were told that nobody sympathised with the old form of Government. How is it that Russia has not organised itself for the contest against Germany? How is that the new Government has not been able to put the country in order in spite of the claim made by it that it has the sympathy of the people? It is strange that Russia is not fighting as well as she did under the Czar. Experience has taught us not to expect anything good from Russia for the present at any rate. If people are forced to obey orders they might resort to secret intrigues. The hopes based on the reports of the Russian advance in Galicia have been frustrated and we cannot predict the end of the war with any amount of certainty. The trusted leaders of the people are resigning one after another and we do not think that those now in power will be able to put things in order. Why have the officials appointed by the Provisional Government resigned? Why are the soldiers retreating in disorder? Why is there chaos in Russia? If only a handful of men are stirring up disorder at the instigation of the enemy they can surely be put down by the people. Should, however, there be many parties in the country who are all equally powerful, it must be said that they are not all agreed upon the object with which the war was waged, namely, the protection of the Slavs. The Allies do not want Russia to be inactive as they are not in a position to withstand German attacks single-handed. But they dare not interfere in the internal administration of Russia lest they should excite the opposition of the people. England is confronted with the difficult task of pacifying the people, infusing enthusiasm in the soldiers, collecting munitions and stores, securing money and keeping her pledges with the Allies. The present situation in Russia is largely due to German machinations. Germans are interested in keeping Russia in a state of disorder and all their exertions are directed in that direction. The Allies would derive some benefit by helping up Russia to continue hostilities with Germany; but great risk is involved in supplying Russia with the money and munitions it requires at a time when its affairs are at sixes and sevens. The Allies, moreover, are running the risk of losing the large advances of money they have made to Russia. It is feared that Germany will take advantage of the present situation to destroy the Russian fleet. Germany has again commenced to hammer at France with a view to gain some success and thus revive the flagging zeal of its own people and to complete the demoralization of the Russian Army. We are informed by Italy that Russian slackness has enabled Austria to withstand its attacks. Just as Germans cannot definitely say anything about the future of Austria or Turkey, we cannot say anything about Russia. It is so very vast that there is no possibility of its being able to maintain itself intact in the situation in which it is involved; on the contrary, it is likely to be smashed to pieces. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—It is to be regretted that all our hopes centered in the establishment of a popular form of Government have been frustrated by the chaos that at present reigns in Russia. The Provisional Government has not been able to conduct the war even as efficiently as the Government of the Czar. A considerable portion of the Russian army has refused to obey orders and is falling back and giving way to the enemy. The situation in Russia has greatly elated the enemy and the triumphant note struck in the German Chancellor's recent speech is based on the weakness of Russia. German machinations are at the bottom of the trouble in Russia and matters will assume a very gloomy aspect if Germany succeeds in her intrigues and is enabled to place her own creatures in power. We shall join the Allies in hoping that the dark clouds will soon disperse and disclose to view a satisfactory state of things that will prove lasting. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes in a similar strain. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—' Keep your eye on Russia ' was the advice of many who have studied the problems of the War. But for her the great struggle would have seen its end before the trials of the next Winter began. But is Russia to be blamed? Not the Russia of old which groaned under the heels of Romanoff autocracy, but the free Russia of to-day which has not had time to survive the shock of the great Revolution. Russians have not been able to set their house in order. In fact the time has been but too short. And German machinations appear to have had some free play.......... The situation in Russia at present is far too delicate to allow of the country to do something substantial in the fighting regions.]

Government and the recent rumours in Bombay.

Gujaráti (16), 29th July.

45. Commenting upon the wild rumours that have recently gained currency in Bombay, the *Gujaráti* writes:—We do not know what folly prompted the officials to order Mr. Hornimann to refrain from publishing any further communication on the Dádar affair on the score of its being detrimental to public safety. It seems they did not know that the people would naturally ask as to how redress should be sought in such cases. Why should not Government have made a declaration as to whether there was any truth in the rumours? The Press Note subsequently issued on the subject should have come earlier. Even the Press Note created further embarrassment by stating that such rumours give rise to racial animosities and impede the work of recruiting! The people were led to believe that this step was taken to frighten the newspapers and they were confirmed in their suspicions! A very good impression would have been made on the public if Government had undertaken to investigate into the matter and to punish the culprits, if there were any, and to safeguard the honour of the people. It is a pity that Government do not know that threats produce a contrary effect.

The articles on the strength of which security was taken from the *New Times* of Karáchi were written by it out of a sense of duty to Government.

New Times (7), 28th June.

46. In the course of an article which it writes in justification of itself on the security of Rs. 500 being taken from it, the *New Times* writes:—"We do not believe in catastrophic changes. We are content if the progress of Sind is slow and gradual provided there is progress. We aimed at the slow enlightenment of Sind. We, therefore, wrote with studied moderation, and knowing the political incapacity of the province, even refrained from commenting on many things unless it was absolutely required by duty. But all this caution has been in vain. The Government, anxious for the 'repose' of the province, has decided that we must pay security worth Rs. 500. We cannot appeal, we may protest, but we must pay. We have paid. The passages complained of came mostly from articles written on the subject of the recent Madras internments. We have not pursued an exceptional policy in condemning them. Whole India is aflame with excitement at the outrage perpetrated by the Government of the Southern Presidency. Muslims have combined with Hindus in expressing their indignation.......... Under the circumstances, the *New Times* would have failed in its duty to the Government if it had omitted to warn it of the consequences which might follow a policy of repression and to represent the feelings of the people on the subject. We still maintain that in writing those articles we performed a service to the Government for which it cannot be sufficiently grateful. But it seems that warnings are not welcome and an editor's offer of information is a reflection on official omniscience. We can only protest and remain silent, but we cannot refrain from thinking that under such circumstances honest journalism becomes impossible."

Comments on a Násik case in which a man was prosecuted for bringing a false charge of bribery against a Sub-Inspector of Excise.

Rást Goftár (30), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.

***47.** "We are informed that some one living in the Nasik District complained that a certain Sub-Inspector of Excise had demanded a bribe from him. Thereupon the District Magistrate called upon the man to prove his allegation. Of course he could not do it, and was forthwith charged with making a false complaint against a public servant, tried and convicted and sentenced to a month's rigorous imprisonment. In principle there is nothing to be said against this; but was it expedient? The first aim of district officers and others should be to do everything they can to eradicate the admitted corruption in a Department which offers unlimited opportunities for corruption. Bribes are not demanded openly in the presence of witnesses, and it is very difficult to get satisfactory evidence of a bribe. In the case

under notice the man might have told the truth, but he had no evidence to prove what he said. The result will be that no one will come forward in future to make allegations or give any evidence of corruption against officers in the Excise Department. This will be lamentable, but it will be the logical and inevitable outcome of such a prosecution."

The cost of surveying sub-shares should not be recovered from the people for the present.

Satya Shodhak (119), 29th July.

48. A correspondent writes to the *Satya Shodhak*:—It is unjust to require the people to pay the cost of surveying sub-shares as Government have carried out this work of their own accord. At any rate the present is not the time for making such a demand, for prices have at present gone up very high and people have had to incur debts to meet the enhanced amount of land assessment. They have also had, as loyal subjects, to contribute their share to the War Loan. This fresh demand, therefore, will prove unbearable to the people. It would be well if it be postponed under the circumstances.

Comments on the Government resolution fixing 20 years as the period for revision settlements in Sind.

Sind Advocate (9), 19th July.

49. "At last the Sind Settlement report is out and the Government Resolution announces that the revision settlement period shall in future be 20 years instead of 10. This is not quite satisfactory of course, but whatever concession it is, the grace is taken out of it by the evident anxiety which is shown by the Committee and still more by the Commissioner in Sind in forwarding the report to the Government to assure the world that the concession is not made out of regard for public opinion or for the soundness of the objections urged by the critics, but merely as a matter of administrative convenience and expediency, just to save the officials and the Zamindars the inconvenience and the embarrassment caused by rapidly recurring revisions!!! Another reason is also given that the revision settlements though theoretically decennial, are as a matter of fact held in many places every 15 or 16 years and sometimes even after 20 years. Also there is evident gloating over the mistakes and ignorance of the witnesses, among whom the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri is mentioned with special care and that more than once. The Commissioner in Sind indeed seems anxious not to miss an opportunity to make capital of the mistakes which Mr. Bhurgri and others did fall into, *i.e.*, of supposing that everywhere in India the land assessment included as in Sind the water-rate which as a matter of fact is separately charged in other provinces. About the other 'mistakes' we believe Mr. Bhurgri and others will still have something to say."

Comments on the proposal to appoint Benches of Honorary Maistrates in the talukas and towns of Sind.

New Times (7), 7th July.

50. An anonymous correspondent writing to the *New Times* points out how Honorary Magistrates have been a failure in Sind and how the question of the appointment of a Bench of such Magistrates in each Taluka and town of Sind is exercising the minds of the people. He then continues:—"With this sentiment and prejudice in the public mind it becomes an interesting question why such a large number of Magistrates should be scattered over the dumb millions of Sind. If the object is to relieve the ordinary Magistracy of the congestion of work, that can be easily met by the investiture of summary powers. If again the object is to reward the 'Select few' for the services rendered by them to the State, it involves the sacrifice of the principle that it is the legal brain that is a *sine qua non* of the judicial administration. Again the worst result of this will be that this would lead to the lowering of the standard of judicial administration, which would affect the prestige of Government. But in large towns the effects would be far-reaching. It is a wellknown fact that Municipalities in big towns are torn asunder by internal dissensions so much so that almost every question is treated as a party or individual question and decided as such. Where the public interests command so much party attention the appointment of Honorary Magistrates will lead necessarily to ruinous results. With the stipendiary Magistrates who are liable to be transferred at a moment's notice and who have no vested interests in the area where they are exercising jurisdiction, it is a matter of indifference who the parties to the case may be. But with the Honorary Magistrates, however honest, the presence before them of an accused person will at once raise before their mental vision the picture of a friend or otherwise. In such an atmosphere where the first impressions are of a questionable nature, can an accused person feel himself safe?"

LEGISLATION.

The Honourable Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill.

Young India (14), 1st Aug.

51. "The permission given to the Honourable Mr. Patel to introduce the Bill was hedged round by so many conditions that it might have been as well if he had declined to accept those conditions and proceed with the Bill. One of the most important conditions whose significance Mr. Patel does not seem to have recognized earlier in the day, is that a new section—section 18—has been inserted in the Bill, thus knocking the bottom out of the whole proposal. The wording of the section does credit to bureaucratic ingenuity and no more effective step could have been adopted to scare away impecunious municipalities—almost all our municipalities are impecunious—from attempting compulsory education than to tell them in advance that they have no claim upon Government, except what it might be pleased to give out of its unbounding generosity and good will."

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.

***52.** "The Bill is certainly a great move, but we are inclined to think too full of safeguards to make it acceptable. Believing that something is better than nothing, we congratulate the mover on the success he has obtained so far. Non-official opinion is almost unanimous in its opposition to clause 18, but we have the Honourable Sir Mahadev Chaubal taking up an almost uncompromising attitude in regard to it on behalf of the Government. And we have the sorry spectacle of the honourable mover of the Bill being compelled to introduce a clause against which he has to declare himself. We cannot, however, lose sight of the fact that the mover was not in a free assembly but in the trammelled atmosphere of an Indian Provincial Legislative Council. Here comes in the illiberality of the Government about which the Honourable Mr. Belvi remarked to which Lord Willingdon took exception. We trust that the Governor's promise of sympathetic consideration of a request of any Municipality for monetary assistance from Government will not follow the wake of so many other such assurances which are either easily forgotten or deliberately ignored."

Message (6), 29th July.

53. "In regard to Mr. Patel's Bill we do not wish to say more than this at present that it is more moderate than Mr. Gokhale's Bill of 1911 in the Imperial Legislative Council. It does not only leave sufficient option to the municipalities concerned, but also leaves the freest hand to the local Government and its Education Department to play ducks and drakes, if they like, with the fate of the School Committees. When we read the Bill, we were reminded of the old adage about 'half a loaf'. It still marks a definite advance over the present 'hallowed' state of things and to that extent it has our cordial welcome."

Kesari (106), 31st July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 29th July.

54. We suggest to the Select Committee on Mr. Patel's Bill to remove the defect introduced in it by the last clause. The whole burden of primary education has never been placed upon local bodies anywhere. His Excellency does not want any legal binding, though he says Government will help the local bodies. Why should Government be so much afraid of a legal binding? No doubt today we have a very sympathetic Governor. When he leaves these shores his sympathy will depart with him and the Municipalities will have to bear the expenditure. Therefore the point should be cleared up in time. It is possible that the Auditor would object to all expenditure incurred in this connection if he clause is retained. Therefore the clause should be dropped. We do

not think that it has been suggested by the Government of India. It seems to be the production of some local learned lawyer. Government should openly state in the Act what help they intend to give to the Municipalities or tell them plainly that they cannot help. A point blank refusal would be welcome. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—It is clear that the Bill could be introduced because of the encouragement given to it by Lord Willingdon. It was, therefore, not possible for any official to oppose it openly, but short of that the officials expressed their fears and objections against the Bill. It shows that the officials are unwilling and unfit to accept new ideas. There is no room for the fear expressed by some of the honourable members that Government may stop their grants if there is no legal binding; in fact there is no binding on Government even now to pay half the expenditure on education to the municipalities. The same state of things will continue under the new Act. But it was natural for the members to make such comments because Government were unduly circumspect.]

Bombay Samachár (59), 30th July.

55. *Apropos* of the Education Bill brought by the Honourable Mr. V. J. Patel in the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Bombay Samachár* remarks that the people of this Presidency will thank His Excellency the Governor for allowing the Bill to be introduced in the Council and for the sympathetic views he expressed in regard to it. It cannot agree with the opinion expressed by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence to the effect that a large portion of the members had supported the Bill without realising the grave responsibility attaching to it. It observes that it is preposterous to say that the Government of Lord Willingdon had supported the Bill without fully appreciating its gravity. The paper quotes His Excellency's remarks wherein he dwelt on the importance of compulsory primary education, and about which he remarked that it was a question that would have to be considered after the war not only by the Government of Bombay but all over India, and remarks that there could hardly be a better rejoinder to the excessive cautiousness of the Honourable Mr. Lawrence than these words of His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

EDUCATION.

Proposal to start a National College at Ahmedabad.

Gujaráti Punch (18), 29th July, Eng. cols.

56. The *Gujaráti Punch* dwells at great length on the alleged defects and evils of the present system of education and then continues:—"Under such gloomy circumstances we find some relief to see attempts being made to nationalise the system of education and we note with great pleasure the circular issued by Mr. Jivanlal V. Desai, Bar.-at-Law, which we print in another column. The organisers intend to start a National College in Ahmedabad on the lines advocated by Mrs. Besant some time back. They intend to begin with only three subjects, *viz.*, English, Gujarati and History. Their immediate aspirations are modest which go to show that they mean business. Religion and physical culture form a part of the curriculum.......... As the institution grows the organisers hope to include other branches such as Civil Engineering and Physical sciences in their curriculum."

RAILWAYS.

The G. I. P. Railway strike.

Kesari (106), 31st July

57. Commenting upon the G. I. P. Railway Workshop strike, the *Kesari* holds that the demands of the strikers are plain and straightforward. It further remarks:—Labourers belonging to the backward classes now know the root cause of their grievances. Instead of making individual complaints they should establish a League of their own and approach Government for redress if the capitalists do not yield. Then Government will have to consider the matter. In the age of *Kali*, those who hold together will be powerful.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the proceedings of the Local Self-government Conference at Poona.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 30th July; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 1st Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 31st July.

58. The *Bombay Samáchár* fully endorses the suggestions made by the Honourable Mr. Patel at the Local Self-government Conference which recently met at Poona and expresses hope that His Excellency Lord Willingdon will be pleased to effect the necessary reforms in the matter of introducing the elective principle in the Municipalities, removing the official control therefrom and placing municipal finances on a satisfactory footing during the extended period of his term of office. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—The facts and figures marshalled by Mr. Patel show that Government have not afforded sufficient opportunities for the development of local Self-government. The responsibility for the backwardness of our Municipalities, therefore, rests with Government and not with the people. The inefficiency of municipal administration is due to the incompetence and indifference of the nominated members. It is now high time that Government gave up their narrow-minded policy and adopted a liberal policy in the matter of local self-government by adopting the suggestions of the Honourable Mr. Patel. The *Hindusthán* writes :—In matters Municipal as in other matters, we refuse to be guided by the policy of drift. Government should adopt a liberal policy in their relations with India and should give us tangible proofs of their earnestness of purpose by guiding India to the goal of Self-government under the Empire.]

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 31st July.

59. Whatever views officials may hold about granting the rights of *Swarájya*, they are now firmly convinced that more extensive rights of local self-government cannot long be withheld from the people. Fortunately for us His Excellency Lord Willingdon is most eager to increase the number of these rights. But, however eager a Governor may be to confer rights upon the people, the triumverate of his Executive Councillors is generally not so very keen on the subject, and especially an highhanded adviser of the type of the Honourable Mr. Curtis will do his utmost to damp the ardour of the Governor. Some three years ago Government decided to appoint officers of the rank of Assistant Collector as Commissioners of the larger municipalities on the ground of efficiency. Complaints are being received that these officials conduct themselves as if they were lords of the municipalities and exercise unrestrained authority. The Ahmedabad Municipal Councillors appear to be so very disgusted with this arrangement that we shall not at all be surprised if there is a sharp conflict between Government and the Municipality. While one of the Ahmedabad Councillors was reading out an account of the pranks of the Municipal Commissioner before the conference, the Honourable Mr. Curtis, who is the prince of arrogant officials, gave vent to his angry feelings. He approached the President and told him that it was improper to criticise the conduct of the Commissioner behind his back. On the President telling him that there was nothing wrong in it he left the meeting in high dudgeon. His childish conduct only caused much amusement.

Message (6), 29th July.

60. "Mr. Godbole's address was, we are constrained to say, singularly lacking in breadth of vision and depth of feeling. It was more platitudinous than it really ought to have been and was characterized by its narrow conception of what local self-government is or ought to be. And Mr. Godbole's remark that the larger question of Home Rule for India was meeting with sympathy from Government in India was not only ill-timed but certainly most unfortunate. Mr. Godbole had remarked earlier in the day in the Legislative Council that he was already 69 years old and as such he could not undertake certain things. We wish the old gentleman had kept this in view and declined to accept the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee. The choice of the Chairman was quite bad, though the choice of the President

made up in a small degree for the Reception Committee's initial blunder. Mr. Patel's address was a brilliantly practical address, the subject being one in which he has made himself quite at home."

Question of house-tax at Hyderabad (Sind).
Hind Vasi (45), 20th July, Eng. cols.

61. Writing on the subject of house-tax at Hyderabad (Sind), the *Hind Vasi* remarks:—The Municipality being gone and replaced by an officialized committee, it is comparatively easy to get the proposal of the house-tax passed. Analyzing the constitution of the committee, we find that the three European official members, out of its total of six members, of whom one is Mr. Gibson himself, are bound to support him......... So it is feared that the tax will have been imposed in the teeth of the most universal feeling and the most emphatic public opinion to the contrary. Hence the early alarm among the citizens now. We hope that all the three Indian members will stand fast against the tax...... ... In the municipal meeting of September 1915, where the two conditions of the Government ultimatum to the Municipality were discussed, the Honourable Mr. Ghulam Hussain declared himself unreservedly against the imposition of house-tax. Nothing has happened since to alter the conditions of the city so as to justify the imposition of the tax more than before. Rather, by the additional taxation recently imposed by the Committee of Management, considerable additional revenue will be raised which will make the grounds for the imposition of a house-tax now far more feeble than they might have been when the Bombay Government imposed its two conditions. Before discussing these grounds, however, we would like to ask why this further attempt (or blunder shall we call it) of perturbing the inhabitants of a city that is already so much agitated over the harsh and anomalous rules and bye-laws regarding the water-supply fees and water-rates and the echoes of whose commotions regarding cattle-shed and dairy bye-laws, new octroi taxation and various other municipal taxes have not yet died out. The Committee has increased its revenue very substantially and ought now to cry halt."

Protest against the proposal to levy a house-tax at Rohri (Sind).
Sind Patrika (48), 21st July.

62. "What a startling news that the intolerable and obnoxious house-tax is to be imposed upon the small town of Rohri in the teeth of strong popular opposition! The proposal has actually received sanction of the Municipal Board. What does that show? That the supposed representatives of the people are not the protectors of popular interests necessarily and that they often feel responsible to those who nominate them, the general public having no hand in their appointment at present. We wonder why the authorities should feel so anxious about this, which causes unnecessary irritation and heartburning, while the object could be gained by many other less objectionable means."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 10th August 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

H 164—7 CON

CONFIDENTIAL. [No. 32 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 11th August 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

- An indictment of the Indian bureaucracy 5
- Comments on Sir James Meston's speech before the United Provinces Legislative Council 13
- Comments on the demise of the *Indiaman* 20
- Comments on the order prohibiting Law Class students from attending Home Rule meetings 19
- Comments on the *Pioneer's* proposal for a political conference in India to suggest reforms 8
- Comments on the prohibition of the Calcutta meeting to protest against the Madras internments 17
- Exhortation to Indians to resort to passive resistance 1
- Parsis and Home Rule 14
- Passive resistance and Indian politics . . . . 2 & 3
- The affairs of the Borah Community . . . . 22—24
- The political situation in India . . . . 6 & 7
- The joint conference in Bombay of the National Congress and the Moslem League . . . . 9—12
- The Indian Food Products Exhibition 25
- The Madras Government and Mrs. Besant 16
- The Madras Government's orders against Messrs. Marathe and Karandikar 18
- The question of a separate electorate for Muhammadans 21
- What is passive resistance 4
- Why Muhammadans should not join the Home Rule movement? Alleged shortcomings of the Muhammadan leaders especially those in the Bombay Presidency 15

Co-operative Credit Societies: Comments on the proposed amendment of the — Rules 42

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay: Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at Fergusson College, Poona, regarding students and politics . . . . 26—30

Police:

- Bombay — should have arms while on their rounds at night . . . 41
- Comments on alleged cases of — *zulum* at Hubli and Vengurla . . 40

H 186—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Sind:

Comments on the rules issued by the Police Superintendent, Hyderabad (—), regulating processions 44

Necessity of appointing an extra Judge for the Judicial Commissioner's Court (—) 43

War:

Comments on the formation of the Provincial Recruiting Board . . 34 & 35

Comments on the Intercession Day Service Sermon by the Metropolitan of India 31

Comments on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report 36

How wounded Indian soldiers are treated in South Africa 37

Reflections on the third anniversary of the — . . . . 32 & 33

The conquered German Colonies and their future form of government. 38

Turkish prisoners interned in Burma should be exchanged for British prisoners taken at Kut 39

LEGISLATION—

The Honourable Mr. Patel's Municipal Education Bill 45

EDUCATION—

Suggestion for lessening the hardships of students appearing for the Vernacular Final Examination at Ratnagiri at the close of the rainy reason 46

RAILWAYS—

Duty of the public in connection with the G. I. P. Railway strike . . 47—49

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay: The dangers of storing celluloid films, etc., in residential localities 51

Hyderabad: Question of house-tax at — (Sind) 54

Larkana: The people of — are determined not to have the house-tax . 53

Matheran: Alleged arbitrary doings of the Superintendent of — . . . 52

Rohri: The question of house-tax at — (Sind) . . . . 55 & 56

The Local Self-Government Conference 50

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Exhortation to Indians to resort to passive resistance.

Young India (14), 8th Aug.

1. "During the week that has passed, so far as Bombay is concerned more than one proof has been given of the fact that whether other Provinces are prepared or not, Bombay wholeheartedly approves of the idea of starting passive resistance at once. The manner in which the speeches at China Baug and Cavel Street were applauded by the audience leaves no doubt in our mind that Bombay is prepared to start the movement of passive resistance at once. But what is passive resistance? During the lifetime of a nation moments come when if the progress of the nation is to be achieved, the defiance of authorities has to be resorted to. There are various forms of defiance but the mildest and the only peaceful form is that which is known as passive resistance. We are not to take up arms, we are not to resort to violence; we are simply to disobey those laws which we consider unjust and which if obeyed and continued to work, would not only hurt the interests of our country, but would shake the Empire to its very foundations. We are to disobey laws, the submission to which violates the fundamental principle, which is the justification of the Empire's existence. These laws are the result, no doubt, of the misuse of power to which the bureaucracy resorts, in order to prevent the change which is advocated by the people of the country in the interests not only of the country itself but of the Empire as a whole.......... Under these circumstances it becomes the duty of the people of the country to defy such laws, the obedience to which would place the country in perpetual bondage and render the position of the British Empire permanently insecure....... Disobedience to an unjust law is sure to expose us to the dangers of imprisonment, but for the sake of the principle of liberty we must be prepared to pay such penalties as law ordains for disobedience to unjust laws." [Elsewhere in a contributed article the same paper says:—"The repressive policy of the Government, of which the notorious Defence of India Act is the omnipotent weapon, and the internments and the gagging of the Press and the people a necessary resultant, indirectly aims at pressing out of existence nothing short of the proposed Congress-League Reforms—which, let us repeat, is the minimum of our national demand. We must proclaim to the world that India is in no mood to be trifled with, and no 'stops' will do in place of the reforms demanded of the Govenment.......... The proposed Congress-League deputation must at once proceed to England to interpret our aspirations to the British Electorate; nothing need be trusted to the soul-less machine of the bureaucracy.......... An elaborate scheme of passive resistance should be carefully drawn up, and an organisation formed to see to its being rigidly adhered to. Passive resistance may in its extreme phases involve loss of personal liberty, and the hardships of the prison-house, for in its extreme phases it includes, as Mr. Gokhale once asserted, the withholding of taxes. If our rights are withheld no taxes can be levied. In fact political science declares that all taxes levied without the consent of the people are illegal, as 'taxation without representation is robbery'. All our representatives must resign their seats in the Imperial and Provincial Councils, and a Passive Resisters' Organisation must control all the voting, suffering no one to be elected to the Councils until the final attainment of our object.......... True British statesmanship is sure to be on our side. True greatness does not mean the lust of power.......... There is grace in giving and disgrace in 'rights' being forcibly taken."]

Passive resistance and Indian politics.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 12th Aug.

*2. "It is idle to pretend that there is to-day the same absolute unanimity as there was on the eve of the joint conference in Indian political circles; and, so far as we can judge it is impossible to restore that unanimity unless the idea of 'passive resistance' is promptly dropped. We appeal to our advanced political friends to drop it and we appeal to Government to make it easy for them to do so without loss of self-respect. No one who has read Seeley's observations, needs to be told that an extensive scheme of 'passive resistance', if it should at any time become possible of execution in India, would paralyse the administration and make British rule impossible. On the other hand, even the most implicit believer in passive resistance as a remedy for Indian grievances must admit that only a general spoliation of property, or religious persecution, can persuade the masses at present to throw in their lot with a movement of 'passive resistance'. Without the co-operation of the masses, a movement of passive resistance will not seriously embarrass Government, and consequently the leaders of a passive resistance movement will insensibly be led on to represent the political grievances in the only terms which can impress the mass-mind. .... While we cannot in the least doubt that there is a wide-felt feeling of soreness and wrong which it is the duty of Government to take note of and take prompt measures to efface, we feel, at the same time, that it is not as yet, though it may become if neglected in the not too distant future, of a strength or character needed to sustain a movement of the only effective kind of passive resistance, assuming that it is justified by the disabilities from which we are suffering. There is now an opportunity for the soberer heads among us to assert themselves. It is, perhaps, their last opportunity. And we ought to say quite candidly that they cannot assert themselves, with the greatest goodwill in the world, unless Government give unmistakable proof of their resolve to lead India by speedy and certain steps to the goal of Self-government within the Empire. The opportunity is fast passing away."

Rást Goftár (30), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

***3.** "We have no idea what form the proposed passive resistance will take, but the suggestion is already finding acceptance. The Belgaum District Congress Committee has declared in favour of it, so has the Home Rule League of Hyderabad, Sind. Even more remarkable is the fact that Sir S. Subramania Iyer, presiding at a public meeting in Madras, declared that it was in the highest interests of the country that both old and young men and women should join the ranks of the passive resisters. Everywhere our foremost leaders appear to be of the same opinion. It is the unanimity of views that has to be noted. There are no parties, no difference of opinion. If it comes to passive resistance there will be a nation of passive resisters. Has this unanimity of purpose and concert of action no significance to those who believe in repression? An evil can be repressed, but New India has no evil thought nor does it seek to go out of the Empire. How can such legitimate aspirations be put down?"

What is passive resistance.

Shubhodaya (89), 3rd Aug.

4. 'Puzzled' says in the *Times of India* that Indians use the word 'passive resistance' without knowing its meaning. If Mr. Cupping comes when we are assembled in the Town Hall and asks us to go out, we will never get up. We are ten thousand. Will they handcuff us and take us out one by one? If one President is carried away, another will be elected. If he is removed, a third will take his place. We cannot say what will happen if the Police attempt to beat us. All this is termed passive resistance! We do not know whether 'Puzzled' has noticed the requests made by Lords Pentland and Ronaldshay to help them in their respective measures. If we do not consent to assist these Governors, is it not carrying into effect passive resistance?

An indictment of the Indian bureaucracy.

Young India (14), 8th Aug.

5. Commenting on the Mesopotamia report *Young India* writes:—"But what about that 'infallible Indian bureaucracy,' which has latterly been too much in the lime-light? 'The war (whose effect is nowhere to disclose new weaknesses so much as to concentrate under a microscope those which existed but were less noticeable in peace-time),' observes an English contemporary, 'has exhibited in a clear light the need for extending further the scope and degree of Governmental responsibility in India.' It has taken three years' chastening influences of war, and a Commission to boot, to rouse English public opinion to the 'ineptitude, incapacity and neglected duty' of the Governmental machinery of India......... Even when forced from above, the bureaucracy would not bestir itself and thrust upon the country an extremely insulting and disappointing piece of military legislation. The attempt to mobilise the country's vast potential forces was perhaps never whole-hearted. What followed? The statute meant one thing and the rules another. Barely two months had elapsed when the Government indulged in a rigmarole on Indian patriotism and public spirit. The rules belied the alluring promise of the Commander-in-Chief. The 'students and politics' circular followed everywhere, and 'Home-rule' volunteers were sneered at, and one army officer of thirty years' standing had the impudence to question the loyalty of such volunteers. And the crowning act of bureaucratic statesmanship was the internment of Mrs. Besant, who had laboured for the success of the volunteer movement."

The political situation in India.

Indu Prakásh (39), 9th Aug.; *Chandrodaya* (33), 6th Aug.

6. The Home Rule contagion is going to spread throughout Gujarat. Cities like Surat and Ahmedabad have turned Home Rulers and the Home Rule cult is being spread in villages by means of lectures. At Abrama Home Rulers went by special invitation of the villagers. The rapid spread of the Home Rule cult shows the direction in which public opinion is tending. But Government—the Imperial Government—continues to be silent. If the complaints of the public are wrong, that must be openly pointed out to them. The continued silence of Government will only give rise to false conjectures and the police and the provincial Governments will try to follow the lead of Lord Pentland, and this will result in increased discontent. Cannot Government hold a consultation with men like the Honourable Mr. Jinnah, Sir D. Wacha, Malaviya and others, and make an announcement that will satisfy the people? Valuable time is being lost for nothing. [The *Chandrodaya* writes:—The strong measures adopted by the bureaucrats to nip in the bud our political aspirations have given rise to a dangerous situation in India. Formerly a distinction was made between the Congress and Home Rule movements. Now both are one and there is a danger that the bureaucrats who are attempting to stop the Home Rule agitation will try to stop the Congress agitation also. It is necessary that Lord Chelmsford should show sound statesmanship at the present time as even the Anglo-Indian journals have changed their angle of vision.]

Gujaráti (16), 5th Aug.

7. Why is the Government of India silent in the matter of making an announcement about political reforms? In the estimation of the public the speech made by Lord Pentland on the 24th May last affords an answer to the question. In the opinion of Lord Pentland the reforms that are to be introduced by the Government of India will fall short of the expectations of the people and so he has asked them not to hope for the early grant of *Swarájya*. The people believe that Mr. Chamberlain has accepted the recommendations of the Government of India and the latter have some hesitation in making them public. The Government of India, without knowing the mind of the people prevailed upon the Secretary of State that their recommendation if adopted, would give satisfaction to the Indian people, and now they do not like to admit that these very recommendations fall very short of public expectations. Such an admission is likely to deprive the Government of India of the confidence of the Imperial Government and subject them to the charge of being incapable of gauging public opinion or of being in touch with it. The Government of India was thus placed on the horns of a dilemma. It, however, thought it proper to suppress public opinion and, as it is rumoured, issued a private circular to the Provincial Governments in March last to make their own pronouncements on the subject. Lord Pentland and Sir Michael O'Dwyer were taken in by the circular with the result that they suffered in public estimation. Lord Willingdon showed his wisdom by observing silence. The issue of the circular synchronises with the suggestion made by the Maharaja of Bikánir to make an early pronouncement on the subject of reforms. It seems from the speeches made by the Maharaja that the reforms have been formulated and merely await announcement. These reforms would have carried some weight if they had been announced last year, but now they have lost their importance and the Government of India will find it considerably difficult to convince the Imperial Government that they are favourably received in India when they come to be announced. The popular belief is

strengthened by the placing of the demands of the nineteen Honourable members of the Viceregal Legislative Council and those of the joint Committee of the Congress and the Moslem League in the category of 'catastrophic changes' by Lord Chelmsford.

Comments on the *Pioneer's* proposal for a political conference in India to suggest reforms.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 10th Aug.

8. The authorities in India seem to be much agitated since the demand for *Swarájya* has gained in intensity. But as they cannot speak for themselves, the Anglo-Indian journals speak for them. The *Pioneer* has suggested that a conference should be called to discuss the question of Indian reforms. The Irish Convention perhaps is responsible for this idea. There is, however, no difference of opinion amongst Indian leaders as amongst Irish leaders. The Government of India does not seem to feel any necessity for such a conference. Though our leaders asked for a publication of the Government proposals for Indian reforms Government did not comply with their request. The decision of the question of Indian reforms rests ultimately with the British Government. The opinion of the Government of India has been secretly communicated to them and it is believed to be very reactionary. The proposed conference at this stage will be of no use and will only complicate matters. We should rely solely on the demands made by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League.

The joint conference in Bombay of the National Congress and the Moslem League.
Gujaráti (16), 5th Aug.; *Praja Bandhu* (27), 5th Aug.

9. Commenting upon the proceedings of the conference of the All India Congress Committee and the Council of the Moslem League that was recently held in Bombay the *Gujaráti* writes:—The Joint Conference has done well in passing a resolution for organising public meetings in all the cities and towns of the country simultaneously with the holding of the ensuing Congress at Calcutta and reading to them the Presidential address in the vernaculars of the province and passing therein resolutions of *swarájya* passed at the last meeting of the Congress. This will popularise the Congress and the Moslem League and make their aims and objects known to the general public. We hope the officials will not come in the way of this resolution being carried out in practice. They should bear in mind that the British principles of justice, liberty and democracy are now being put to the test in India. These principles are the foundations of the unity, peace, strength and supremacy of the British Empire and we hope the officials in India will not prohibit the meetings referred to and thus prove to the world that the high principles for which Britain and India are at present fighting against the milatarism of Germany are a mere sham. [The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—The popular leaders have always been advising Government to remove the causes of discontent by rational means, but the the officials have so far taken recourse to measures of repression which have tended to aggravate the situation. Now is the time for Government to take the gravity of the situation into consideration and to change their policy accordingly.]

Hásya Vinod (101), 6th Aug.

10. The *Hásya Vinod* does not approve of the demand of the conference of the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League that His Majesty the King-Emperor should give an assurance of ultimately conferring *swarájya* on India. This assurance, the paper remarks, is superfluous since the ideal of *swarájya* has met with the approval of both the Governors of Madras and Bombay, who are His Majesty's representatives in India. It further declares that the demand for the release of Mr. Besant and her associates is beyond the realm of practical politics.

Muslim Herald (145), 3rd Aug.

11. The *Muslim Herald* refers to the joint conference of the Congress and the League held recently in Bombay and ridicules the desire for Home Rule which is fast becoming the end all and be all of every Tom, Dick and Harry. It refers to the differences which exist among different sections of the Indians and likens them to downright enmity. It asserts that the

stronger party which has brains is continually maltreating and robbing the weaker in this country, and quotes the example of the Hindus who moved heaven and earth to upset the Partition of Bengal, and tried all sorts of means to wreck the United Provinces Municipalities Act—measures which were calculated to do justice to the Musalmans. It considers that the grant of Home Rule to the Hindus who are richer, more numerous and more enlightened than the Muhammadans, would be like entrusting a knife to a baby, and maintains that it is clearly the duty of Government to safeguard the interests of all sects and classes of men. Turning to the Moslem League, the paper avers that it does not represent the Indian Muhammadans, many of whom are ignorant of its very existence, and expresses its belief that a small inquiry by Government would disclose its (unrepresentative) character. Finally it alleges that some acts of Government in the past have created a little dissatisfaction and distrust amongst Moslems which they can easily remove, and assures Government that the Musalmans are second to none in respect of loyalty; at the same time it advises the latter to rely on Government than whom they can have no better friend.

Jagruk (new), 3rd Aug.

12. The resolutions passed by the joint conference of the Committees of the National Congress and the Moslem League were noteworthy. We admire the temerity of these 'educated men' who want to secure the control of the whole of the internal administration of the country in the interests of a handful of their own fellow caste men by asking for a small instalment of reforms. The masses are steeped in ignorance and it would be against their interests if political power passed into the hands of the class of men who desire to perpetuate the load of social injustice under which the people are labouring. If the Indian population wants anything badly today it is the spread of education and salvation from intellectual slavery. Government have recognised the importance of the first need and have commenced work in that direction. Public weal requires, no doubt, that the Provincial Legislative Councils should be more autonomous. But the uncontrolled authority of the educated classes over the internal administration of the country would be disastrous to the masses. As a matter of fact, reforms necessary for the country's progress are being undertaken by Government from time to time. We are all aware how well the educated classes succeeded in the past in spreading discontent in the country. The reason why they have not succeeded so well of late is the vigilance of the authorities born of experience. In our opinion Government, instead of conceding the demands of the 'leaders', should endeavour to spread education among the masses and thus strengthen their feelings of gratitude and reverence for them.

Comments on Sir James Mestons' speech before the United Provinces Legislative Council.

New Times (7), 24th July.

13. "Sir James Meston has not, in the least, exaggerated the situation. We speek words of sober truth when we say that the feelings of the people are racked: for they believe not simply that the Government are *preparing* a policy of reaction, but that such a policy has been already flung in their face and is responsible for acts such as the Madras internments, the prohibition of public meetings and for the lack of official co-operation with the collective determination of the people to refashion the fabric of our national life. There is suspicion; there is excitement; there is restlessness; and every man of common sense knows that the situation has arisen out of the recent doings of some representatives of the Indian Government.......... There is, in several quarters, to-day, a lack—a deplorable lack—of enthusiasm for the war; but the reason is not far to seek: the heart of the country is in the new struggle between public opinion and official mind. The intentions of the people are perfectly honourable; they mean no embarassment, no slander, no sedition; but the situation is most unfortunate. We cannot contemplate it without anxiety, and we earnestly appeal to the Government to see to it that statesmanship be not allowed to abdicate in favour of a policy of reaction. Such a policy indeed—as Sir James was careful to point out—would be inconsistent with the 'great purposes of British rule.'........ If the Government will get below the surface and take a sympathetic and penetrating view of the situation, they will know why it is that we are not all pulling together as we ought. The Government have not answered yet the needs of the people. The people want that the back-and-forward play with Indian feeling should give way to a change in methods and spirit of the Government; the people want that there be formulated *concrete measures* of reforms in a spirit of liberal statesmanship; the people want that the scheme of 'reform' which Mr. Chamberlain said was under contemplation should not be matured without their knowledge and discussion, that the minimum of demands formulated in the Note submitted by the leaders of the people be granted as a step towards self-government."

Parsis and Home Rule.
Jam-e-Jamshed, (23), 6th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 7th and 9th Aug.

14. In the course of the sermon delivered by him on the 4th instant at the Fire Temple of Hormasji Bamanji Wadia before a public meeting of the Parsi Zoroastrian Anjuman which was called by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat for offering prayers for the success of the British arms, Dastur Darabji Sanjana, Head Priest of the Parsis, is said to have stated as follows:—The services rendered by the small Parsi community in this horrible war are proportionately far more than those rendered by other communities. This is indeed creditable to us and we earnestly hope that Government will not fail to recognize them in future. But the rise and prosperity of our community have been entirely due to the English education and the impartial British rule. Should India get Home Rule in future, the benefits resulting from this concession will be largely monopolised by the crores of Hindus and Musalmans while it is doubtful if it will prove more beneficial to the Parsis. Under Home Rule the Hindus will push forward their own kith and kin, while the Musalmans will promote the welfare of their community as much as they can. But the influence of the Parsis will proportionately decrease and the progress that they have made on account of their personal merits with the help of the impartial British officers will be blocked. It follows therefore that it is only proper for a small community like the Parsis to desire that the constitution of the British rule (in India) should remain unchanged. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* commenting on this sermon adversely regrets that the Head Priest of the Parsis should have expressed such sentiments which are savouring of selfishness and are calculated to create estrangement between community and community. Such ideas, it remarks, are opposed to the tenets of the Zoroastrian faith which enjoins its followers to pray for the welfare and prosperity of the people of the entire globe. In support of its remarks the paper, in its subsequent issue, refers to that portion of the sermon delivered by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta at Calcutta on the 4th of August 1917 during the intercessory service wherein, among other things, he urged the British people to look at their paramount position in India in the light of their own ideals in the present war and declared, that it would be hypocrisy to come before God with the plea that their cause was the cause of liberty if they turned away from an application of their principles to this country. The paper observes that this portion of the sermon more benefitted a true Zoroastrian Priest that the views expressed by Dastur Darab during his sermon above referred to.]

Why Muhammadans should not join the Home Rule movement. Alleged shortcomings of the Muhammadan leaders, especially those in the Bombay Presidency.
Islámic Mail (4), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.

15. "It is a matter of no small satisfaction to us that at least one Muhammadan member of the local Legislative Council had the courage to speak out against the tyranny of those who are fraternising with the Muhammadans in order to win Home Rule. It was a startling though rueful disclosure which the Honourable Mr. Ebrahim Haroom Jaffer made at the Poona session of the Council the other day. Referring to local self-government, he said:—'The Muhammadans, who form by no means a small part of the population, have little share or voice in local self-government. Take the Poona City Municipality for instance. Not one Muhammadan member has been elected as a councillor since the Municipality came into existence.'......... What is true of Poona may be true of most other Municipalities in this Presidency. Our information is that in Sind, which is virtually a Moslem Province, there are Municipalities where not one Muhammadan member has ever been elected. We wonder what those who professed to treat the Hindus and Muhammadans with perfect equality and uniformity and who claim to aim at Home Rule for the benefit of both will have to say to this. Perhaps the same plea would be put forward as was done by the Calcutta Corporation when the absence of Muhammadan element from that body was taken objection to by Government, namely, that the Muhammadans were not fit for it. But we would in that case reply, if the Muhammadans are not fit for local self-government they cannot by any means be fit for a higher sphere of political life—we mean Home Rule—and rather than be excluded afterwards, is it not advisable for them to keep aloof from all agitation to that end? They have seen how the Hindus have resented any attempt on the part of our well-wishers—the much abused bureaucracy—to maintain the balance of power equally between the various communities. They have seen how 'the friends of Mussalmans'—Sir Chintamani (*sic*) and others—have fought Government tooth and nail on the ground that the Government restored to the Muhammadans their share of local self-government in Bengal and United Provinces which had been usurped by the Hindus. It does not require any great stretch of imagination to know that Home Rule means Hindu Rule and no wonder that the Muhammadans are slow to identify themselves with the movement. It is unfortunate that the young men who represent the community and lead it are so completely in the hands of the tactful Home Rulers that there is no one to voice the grievances of the Muhammadans or to open their eyes to the baneful game that is being played behind their back. It pays them in the form of increased practice or cheap notoriety to play second fiddle to the Home Rulers and they conceal all the gaping wounds in the heart of the community. It is very rare that a public spirited man like Mr. Ebrahim is stirred up by the sight of the grievous wrongs subtly inflicted by the 'fraternising brother' and cries out. There was a time when it was regarded as a display of courage and bravery to criticise the officials and their policy. To-day those people require a great deal of courage to speak out against the tyranny of Home Rulers. As a Punjáb leader once said, the quickest way to earn a name and fame now-a-days is to abuse the officials. .... It must be a complete surrender, for the 'unsettler' of the settled fact would not tolerate any middle course (we would not offend their susceptibilities by using the offensive term moderate). If you join them you must join them heart and soul.......... If the officials give you a University you must refuse. If they appoint you to an Executive Councillorship you must decline it (as the Muhammadan Members of the Bengal Council were advised to resign their seats while the Hindu members retained theirs). If Government give you separate electorates refuse them, if they give you certain seats in the Municipalities decline them, and you become true heroes, real leaders of United India. You will be given ovations at public gatherings (the Muhammadan Members of the Congress such as Jinnah, Wazir Hasan, Mazharul Haq and Raja of Mahmudabad, however, remained unnoticed at the last Congress meeting when the *pandal* was ringing with the *Jai Jaikars* of Tilak Maharaj). Your name will be proclaimed from the house tops and published in every Congress paper and if you are following the legal profession you will get an enhancement in your practice. If you are prosecuted you will be called a martyr; an uproar will be raised in the Press and a fund started to assist your case (although no such thing has fallen to the lot of those Mussalmans who fell victims to the temptations held out by their Congress mentors). Woe betide you if you ever side with the officials in any single matter. .... Look to the activities of the Hindu representatives and you cannot help feeling ashamed at the lethargy and inanity of your own leaders. They are indeed lacking in education and culture, but in the first place why send up such duffers to fight the battles of the communities, and then can they not, as Sir James Meston said, get their thoughts translated into writing by those capable of doing so. We know it is a universal complaint and one that ought to put the Muhammadans to shame; but nowhere it is so bad as in Bombay where the Muhammadans are at the mercy of the Home Rulers. We often hear complaints that Government are influenced by Hindus and Parsis and give their jobs to them in preference to Muhammadans and we wonder how it could be otherwise. Government officials who come in contact with the coxcombs who have arrogated to themselves the title of Moslem leaders, naturally judge the community by the standard of its so-called leaders. If there were a Moslem public opinion in Bombay, if the Moslem leaders had any weight and strength in their own community, if our respresentatives were such as to inspire respect and confidence in the officials, we would not have to complain of there being no Moslem Collector, no Moslem Executive Councillor, no Moslem in the upper ranks of the judiciary, and so forth."

The Madras Government and Mrs. Besant.
Kesari (106), 7th Aug.; *Subodha Patrika* (42), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.

16. There is no ebb in the highhanded whims of the Madras Government; there is still a flow. The Madras officials now look upon the Home Rule flag hoisted by Mrs. Besant for her satisfaction as an eyesore and it is said that they have ordered her to remove it. The official will not feel any hesitation in declaring that the 'order' has been issued as there is likely to be a disturbance of the public peace, etc. The Madras Government is angry with Mrs. Besant for having sent a message of condolence to Dadabhai's daughter. The local officials are very much put out with Mrs. Besant because she insisted on the publication of her letter to Lord Pentland regarding the question of her books on Theosophy. Her telegram to Mr. Chamberlain on the subject has been returned to her on a flimsy pretext evading the point at issue. Sir Reginald Craddock who asserted openly in Council that the detenues are given every opportunity to defend themselves before being interned should examine this case and judge for himself. [The *Subodh Patrika* writes:—"In interning Mrs. Besant and her associates Government does not aim at getting rid of individuals considered to be dangerous to public safety merely. It has evidently an ulterior motive in view, and it is to strike a blow at the legitimate aspirations of the people. The people's answer to the policy of repression is the manifesto issued by the joint conference last week. We sincerely hope that Government will not be so foolish as to treat it with contempt."]

Comments on the prohibition of the Calcutta meeting to protest against the Madras internments.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 7th Aug.

17. The *Sánj Vartamán* disapproves of the order issued by the Government of Bengal prohibiting the Calcutta meeting of protest against the Madras internments and adds:—When Lord Ronaldshay was appointed as the Governor of Bengal, we expressed the fear that his administration would not prove popular. Unfortunately our fears have commenced to prove true. The order issued by the Government of Bengal is unconstitutional and unnecessary. The Government of India would do well to take the highly wise step of intervening at an early date and rectifying the mistake of the Bengal Government.

The Madras Government's orders against Messrs. Marathe and Karandikar.
Indu Prakásh (39), 7th Aug.; *Karnátak Vritt* (83), 7th Aug.

18. The Madras Government, it seems, does not want Marathas. The first warrant under the Defence of India Act was served on 'Marathe'. Now the turn of Mr. Karandikar has come. So far as we know, Mr. Karandikar did not write much and he was not a speaker. We do not know what Mr. Marathe has done. Why are they externed? What good do the Madras Government hope to obtain by these orders? Mr. Karandikar has been replaced by Mr. Deobhankar. This repression, though legal, puts more courage into men who are determined. Action will produce reaction. Might is right, but it should be guided by wisdom. It is the misfortune of our country that some officials do not seem to take note of the abovementioned principle. [The *Karnátak Vritt* says that the application of the Defence of India Act to such an innocent man as Mr. Karandikar is like using a hammer to kill a fly.]

Comments on the order prohibiting Law Class students from attending Home Rule meetings.
Kesari (106), 7th Aug.

19. **Commenting upon the order directing students of the Bombay Law Class not to attend Home Rule meetings, the *Kesari* says that it is ridiculous to treat graduates attending the Law Class on the same footing as primary school students and to apply to them the same orders. It points out that they have a right to vote in Municipal and Senate elections in Bombay and that the Muhammadan graduates have in addition the right to vote in the Council elections. It is, therefore, it remarks, sheer blindness to prevent them from attending Home Rule meetings and from becoming members of Home Rule Leagues. It says that while the question of passive resistance is being discussed by Indian students at Oxford, their brethren in India are being prevented from attending even ordinary lectures on politics.**

Comments on the demise of the *Indiaman*.
Young India (14), 8th Aug.

20. Commenting as the cessation of the *Indiaman* newspaper, *Young India* writes :—" It was a subsidized organ of Anglo-India, both in India and in London, and was maintained, as one could see from its contents week after week, solely for vilifying Indians, their work, their aspirations and blacken their character and at the same time applaud the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and Anglo-Indian capitalist exploiters both living and dead, to delude the ignorant British public in regard to the state of affairs in India.......... We are sceptical, however, as to the alleged reason for its much deserved end. Coming closely on the heels of Mr. Chamberlain's resignation of the Secretaryship of State for India, we begin to wonder if it is not proximately due to it. We have for some time entertained the strong belief that the journal was directly and indirectly assisted by the India Office, either with or without the connivance of Mr. Chamberlain himself. The India Office must have felt, and the directors must have realised, the impossibility of getting any assistance from Mr. Montagu's régime for the nefarious propaganda on which the journal had embarked."

The question of a separate electorate for Muhammadans.
Islámic Mail (143), 30th July, Urdu edition.

21. Commenting on the question of a separate electorate for Muhammadans the *Islámic Mail* writes :—Referring to local self-government the Honourable Mr. Ebrahim Haroon Jaffar regretted to say that since the Poona Municipality has come into being not a single Muhammadan had been elected as a Councillor. There are scores of other Municipalities in which the same has been the case. If this sad incident causes no surprise to such Muhammadans as have made up their minds to join the Hindus at any cost, all the same it is sure to rouse feelings of profound sorrow in the hearts of those who take a genuine interest in the welfare of their community and watch with concern the affairs of their co-religionists. On the one hand, the Muhammadans are being neglected by Government while on the other their rights are being trampled upon unmercifully by those very Hindu brethren of theirs to whom they have been looking for help. Those leaders of our community who have been inciting us to make common cause with the Hindus should consider the question more seriously and see if they can point out a single good turn that has been hitherto done to us by the Hindus. On the contrary, whenever a question of our rights is raised, they protest in spite of their professions of friendship. In connection with the Local Boards Bill, when the question of protecting our interests arose, all the Hindu members made a unanimous protest. In spite of the fact that the Honourable Mr. Jinnah, the mouthpiece of the Congress, made a public announcement at the Ahmedabad Conference that the settlement arrived at by the Muhammadan and the Hindu leaders at Lucknow regarding the question of communal representation is not meant for the Legislative Councils alone but for all public bodies, the President of the local Self-government Conference openly declared that communal representation was undesirable. This being the case, how far can we rely on the consoling statements made by our Muslim leaders on behalf of the Hindus who, by their conduct, give the lie direct to their statements, and what value can we attach to the compromises made by the Hindu and the Muslim leaders ?

The affairs of the Borah community.

Akhbár-e-Islám (56), 6th Aug.

22. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to the Borah meeting held on the 3rd August at the Badri Mahal, Bombay, wherein two Borahs expressed their penitence for the part they had played in the campaign against the Mullaji Saheb and remarks that the belief of the latter that the sons of the late Sir Adamji Pirbhoy were also implicated in those attacks was ill-founded. It supports that statement by observing that no single Borah has hitherto come forward to prove their connection with the attacks that were made against the authority of the Mullaji as the *Dai* of the Borah community and that their names were also not mentioned along with the four names given in the meeting of being those of the party of "Abu Muslim" who was making such attacks. The paper maintains that the complaint of the sons of Sir Adamji was merely against the irregular administration, by the Mullaji's subordinates, of communal affairs. It hopes that the Mullaji will make up his mind to form a committee of twelve competent Borahs including the sons of Sir Adamji, with himself at its head, and put a stop to the corruption prevailing in the affairs of the community.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

*23. The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, in its English columns, has the following by way of warning to the pseudo-reformers among the Borah community:—"Few religious heads in India are loved and revered by their followers with such doating fondness as the venerable Head Mullaji Saheb of the Borah community, and it was a reckless blunder on the part of the so-called reformers to have started their campaign by a venomous attack on the personality of their revered Mullaji Saheb. How baseless their accusations were we have been showing most vigorously week after week in our Gujarati columns. We have no desire to go over the same ground again, nor do we wish to dwell on the great commotion in the community against these pseudo-reformers, which finally culminated in the severance of their connections with his Holiness the Head Mullaji Saheb.......... We, however, congratulate the Borah community, who have so nobly stood by their venerable Mawla and even forced him to weed out men, who have sought to undermine his authority. These men have failed, and their failure is an eloquent testimony to the influence of religion and reverence for order that mark even to-day the luck of that remarkable community. The hot-headedness of some has precipitated the issue of reform. For some years to come at least it has been definitely shelved. But if in future a genuine reformer arises among them, let him always be conscious of the perils of a leaderless and disorganised community like the Parsees. It has been disputes of petty importance that divides to-day the Parsee community into such sharp factions. We wish that lesson would not be lost upon the Borah community."

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 5th Aug.

24. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* publishes a letter from a Surat correspondent describing the proceedings of a Borah meeting that took place in that city on the 2nd August 1917 under the presidentship of Janab Bhaisaheb Dawoodbhai Saheb to take steps against those Borahs who were alleged to be making unpardonable attacks upon the authority of the Mullaji Saheb. Shaikh Isabhai Kaji commenced the proceedings of the meeting with a speech wherein he represented that Sirdar Bhaisaheb Dawoodbhai was the religious leader and lord of the Momins who had assembled there and declared that Sirdar Saiyedna Taher Saifuddin Saheb (the Mullaji Saheb) was their spiritual guide and deliverer on the Day of Judgment. Mr. Taiyabhai Muskate declared that they had all assembled there to give expression to the grief caused to them as a result of the attempts that were made by some indiscreet persons in the city to disintegrate the Borah communion. He then asked the meeting to submit the names of those who were inimically inclined to the communion. Mr. Yusufally Kinkhabvala then proposed that such persons should be cut off from the communion so that other members of the community may not catch their contagion. The correspondent then represents that two Borahs then appeared before the meeting, begged the Mullaji Saheb's pardon and signed a written declaration that they acknowledged him as the rightful *Dái* of the community.

***25.** Commenting on the Indian Food Products Exhibition scheme the *Gujarâti* writes:—"The object is evidently an excellent one. But we think the Indian community ought to have been given more representatives on the General Committee. It consists of eight members of whom there are only three Indians. We hope the Indian communities will be adequately represented on the Sub-Committees that are going to be formed. The public are willing to co-operate and the movement ought not to be made an officialised and one-sided affair."

The Indian Food Products Exhibition.
Gujarâti (16), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

***26.** "His Excellency claims that the circular is 'in the best interests of the young men'. May be! Only the young men have proved by their 'ignoring of the orders' that they totally differ from His Excellency. And so have the elders—parents and guardians—of these young men given clear proof of their adverse view of the 'beneficent' circular. Ahmedabad 'elders' have not considered the protests in the newspapers sufficient. They recently held a public meeting and adopted a formal resolution condemning the circular. Will His Excellency say that they are all fools or knaves? 'Let me perfectly frankly tell you that the reason that special reference was made to meetings on Home Rule was because some of the speeches made on the subject have been of a decidedly intemperate character and it was considered, and I think rightly considered, most undesirable that you, young men, should get your heads filled with that sort of oratory.' To this 'oratorical' pleading of His Excellency the 'perfectly frank' reply is that the *more than intemperate character* of the Executive's latter-day proceedings and policy aimed obviously at the suppression of the early-emancipation-yearnings *wholly justifies* whatever little 'intemperateness' (and there has not been much of it we know) that has characterised some of the Home Rule speeches. As to whether 'that sort of oratory' should or should not get into the heads of the young men of the country, it is the *people's province* to decide, and not the province of a government which does not represent the people. That is our firm opinion and it is, we believe, the opinion of all who can take a sane view of things. The circular makes a special reference not only to 'meetings on Home Rule' but also to 'meetings organised by Home Rule Leagues'. What is His Excellency's defence of *this* 'special reference'? Why did he shirk this point in his address? Why have non-political meetings organised by Home Rule Leagues been banned?......... And how will he justify the application of the students' circular to grown-up men who are actually allowed to vote in municipal and university and even Council elections? Reading Law in a Law School is considered sufficient to bring the reader under the rule of the students' circular, notwithstanding the fact that he is a full-fledged 'citizen' in every other way, having a few sons and daughters at school and supporting a pretty large family by his earnings. A Government that can treat 'citizens' in this shabby manner, cannot rightly complain if indiscriminate repression draws even 'an intemperate' comment from the victims of the repression."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at Fergusson College, Poona, regarding students and politics.
Mahratta (5), 12th Aug.

***27.** "We do not want students to take active part in politics, but we do think that it is a serious deprivation to them to be prevented from listening to addresses, except within the four walls of their colleges, by Indian gentlemen who have made a mark in the public life of the country. His Excellency need not be reminded that such cloistered virtues as are fostered by prohibitions of this kind, cannot very well stand the strain of the world which the students must some day enter. The point of view of all such restrictive measures is absolutely identical with that of the upholders of the *purdah* system for women which, we are sure, His Excellency will not defend. The fact is that our rulers are becoming orientalised in the same measure as the Indians are becoming infected with the ideas of the freedom-loving West."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 12th Aug.

Message (6), 9th Aug.

28. "We do not know whether the students of the Fergusson College will be called to account for attending on Monday the 6th instant a *political* meeting, a meeting, moreover, where the question of self-government was warmly spoken on......... We would like to suggest that the students of the Fergusson College who disobeyed the Government order should be promptly and exemplarily punished in order to prevent a recurrence of the offence. The offence is all the more serious and heinous, because it was committed not at a place distant from the College, but in the very presence of the Principal and the Professors, nay, under the nose of His Excellency Lord Willingdon......... Apart from this aspect, the speech which His Excellency Lord Willingdon delivered deserves to be noted and pondered over. [Here the paper refers to the two difficulties mentioned by His Excellency which have come in the way of a satisfactory response to the formation of the University Corps and remarks:—] We would like to suggest to His Excellency that these two difficulties are *not* as serious as the one which is based on the general attitude of the Government. Surely, there is no appeal to a people's patriotism or self-respect in the spectacle of unconstitutional use of laws against popular leaders, or in the individious distinctions made between one section of the people against another in the matter of granting commissions in the Army. You cannot treat a people as helots and expect them to be turned into heroes!......... His Excellency said that in his college days at Cambridge there was an occasion when students were forbidden to attend electioneering meetings at the place. Did His Excellency expect the students of the Fergusson College to be stupid enough not to see the difference between an *occasional* order and *a regular*, *standing order*, prohibiting students to do certain things? His Excellency also stated that he was not opposed to students considering and discussing political questions under the guidance of their Principals or Professors. Those who know what the guidance of heads of institutions controlled by Government would mean in regard to many of the schools and colleges in India would not be much deceived by the plausible concession. The so-called 'pure atmosphere of study' in many of the Government and aided schools and colleges is replete with the miasma of hypocrisy and other filthy moral and intellectual germs attending on an officialdom which finds its interests more in servility to official intentions, expressed or inferred, than in devotion to the real interests of the students under them.......... His Excellency was in sympathy with the *ideal* of Home Rule and wished the students to act reasonably and not be carried away by catch-phases or by their emotion. The advice is either platitudinous or mischievous—it is the former, if there be no false and evil implications in it, and it is the latter, if such implications do exist. If His Excellency meant to suggest that leaders in India were unreasonable or were being carried away by their emotion in formulating the Congress and the Muslim League Schemes we have to enter our emphatic protest against the suggestion which is as unfounded in fact as it is undignified, if not cowardly, to make before an audience which has not the right to reply to it. If insinuations are to be made, courage and ordinary fairness would dictate that more suitable occasions, than the one chosen, should be availed of. In case, however, His Excellency meant to insinuate nothing, he would have been better advised to drop the subject altogether and not to inflict well-worn commonplaces on the devoted heads of the students."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 11th Aug.

29. Referring to the speech recently delivered by His Excellency Lord Willingdon at Fergusson College, Poona, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks with reference to the circular regarding students and politics that in holding the belief that circulars of a similar tenor issued in the time of one of his predecessors were ignored only in his regime, His Excellency has been ill-informed. It observes that those circulars had met with such a strong protest at the time they were issued that they had been since then allowed to remain as dead letter. Will not His Excellency, inquires the paper, be kind enough to pay attention to the opinions expressed by the principals and professors of colleges in the Madras Presidency that it was impracticable for them to enforce a similar circular, issued by the Madras Government? While admitting that the primary duty of students is to devote their attention to studies, the paper regrets that it cannot be at one with His Excellency in holding that students should not pay any attention to public questions before finishing their college study. It believes that such a course would leave them ignorant of all practical matters. It maintains that the whole movement for preventing students from taking part in public matters had its origin in the desire of some officials who are against the development of feelings of patriotism among Indian students on the consideration that the Indians were a subject nation and who desire that these students should only learn lessons teaching them obedience to the ruling class. The paper remarks that the circular on which His Excellency laid stress during his above-mentioned speech has originated in such narrow ideas and wishes that Lord Willingdon would cease to attach any importance to it.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 8th Aug.

30. To say that His Excellency Lord Willingdon sympathises with our aspirations is to repeat what is known to all. This sympathy was clearly noticeable in his speech at the Fergusson College. The two causes to which His Excellency attributed the inadequate response given by University men to the call to join the Indian Defence Force may have deterred some students from enlisting, but the third and the principal cause which contributed to this result is the racial distinction made in the matter of pay, promotions, etc., and the illiberal attitude of some of the officials towards Indian aspirations. As to His Excellency's defence of the circular about students attending political meetings that Cambridge students used to be placed under similar restrictions on the occasion of general elections, we beg to point out that the bar on English students was not a permanent one, as contemplated by the Government circular, but only temporary. His Excellency's reference at the conclusion of his speech to the ideal of Self-government within the Empire was indeed most gratifying.

Comments on the Intercession Day Service Sermon by the Metropolitan of India.

Mahrátta (5), 12th Aug.

***31.** "The Intercession Day Service in a local church which was attended by Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon included an address by the Chaplain which contained observations which have now become rather common......... The remarks of the Chaplain with respect to the acquisition and retention of paramountcy in India by the British are not wholly correct. 'Diplomacy' of all sorts, including the most questionable type of it, played an important part in securing 'paramountcy' for the British. And as to the continuance of this supremacy, not 'India's needs,' but England's hunger has been the main motive underlying it. As to the observations regarding England's duty in India, we hope that Englishmen will hate to be 'hypocrites' and back up their protests about 'their cause being the cause of liberty' by giving India Home Rule at an early date, as Home Rule India will be the only proper '*training ground*' for Indians to become fully qualified for Full Self-Government, for as Macaulay has said, 'if men are to wait for Liberty till they have become good and wise in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever.'"

Reflections on the third anniversary of the war.

Hindusthán (20), 4th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 6th Aug.

32. In its reflections on the third anniversary of the war the *Hindusthán* writes:—Prophecies of the statisticians about the exhaustion of the resources of Germany within a very short time have proved untrue and Germany has fought for three years with unabated vigour. There is no likelihood of England being starved by German submarines, but there are also no signs of the enemy being complled to sue for peace by the measures adopted by England to blockade Germany. There may be scarcity of food-stuffs in certain parts of Germany, but the German army does not seem to have been affected by it. Just as the Gurkhas have not yet entered Berlin, the wild hopes entertained by the Crown Prince of reaching Paris and taking Calais have not been realised and the Germans had to admit discomfiture at Verdun. The Allies made preparations on a large scale to bring the war to an end by the end of this year, but unfortunately the Russian situation became grave about the time the spring offensive was launched. Russia has not concluded a separate peace, but since its political situation is unsettled it will take some time to enable it to be in a state of preparedness for war. Russia joined the war with the intention of getting possession of Constantinople. But it has now made a declaration that it does not want to annex enemy territory and so the Allies will again meet in a conference to settle their aims. The weakness of Russia will to some extent be compensated by the the entry of America into the war on the side of the Allies. We have no doubt that the Allies will eventually be successful, but in order to secure victory all the subjects of the Allies must make greater sacrifices than they have made heretofore. The future of India rests on the victory of the British and so the people of this country should put forth their best efforts for the success of the Allies. India has borne its share of burden for the continuance of the war, but Government should remove the causes of discontent and take the people into their confidence with a view to enabling them to make greater sacrifices in a willing manner. [The *Sánj Vartamán* is afraid that Germany may be able to knock out Russia before America is in a position to help the Allies. It believes the Allies will be able to bring the war to a successful termination by the end of 1918.]

Kesari (106), 7th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 4th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 4th Aug.; *Sandesh* (118), 6th Aug.

33. The *Kesari* publishes a review of the three years of war and says:—Generally speaking, both the parties appear to be equally determined at the beginning of the fourth year and they do not appear to entertain any idea of concluding peace till one party is smashed up on the battlefield. Germany is finding it daily difficult to maintain the Western Front intact, but her object to maim Russia permanently on the Eastern Front appears likely to be successful. Though Germany appears to be in the ascendant from a military point of view still if we take political circumstances into consideration we shall find that both the combatants are at present equally matched and that preparations are being made that would go to make the Allies stronger than Germany in the next two years. The democratic movement has caused a great sensation in Germany and Austria and if there is a big defeat the movement will overwhelm the rulers there. They are attempting to conclude peace through the Russian Socialists, before any such defeat occurs. The French and English people are likely to favour peace just as the Germans do. It is clear that Germany cannot be completely crushed till America sends in all the help she can afford, for the next year or two. It is not surprising that the masses in England and France appear to be wearied of war and that the Labour Party and the Socialist Party have begun to talk of the peace terms. The democratic movement has influenced the whole world. It contends that big Empires should not be in the hands of a handful of people and that every portion of it should be granted responsible home rule so that it may develop itself. Indian Home Rule is being discussed by the socialists of all the belligerent countries, while talking of peace. By the convulsion of the great war the Russian revolution has taken place and the masses of England, France, Germany and Russia are eager to taste the nectar of Home Rule enshrined in the democratic vessel. It is clear that they will not consent to the prolongation of the war for two years more. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the war having been waged for the independence of small states, countries under the suzerainty of the nation that went to war in defence of the above principle are very eager to secure freedom. It further thinks that the Irish question having been solved, Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State, should make a declaration of his policy with regard to India and that the third anniversary of the war can be celebrated in a fitting manner by the grant of *Swarájya* to this country. The *Indu Prakásh* says that the great democracy of the New World has answered the call of oppressed freedom in the old and that the inward meaning of the war is that it is the greatest struggle for human liberty in which the free democracies of the world are ranged in deadly conflict against the last and greatest of autocracies. The *Sandesh* points out that the Allies have been successful all along and predicts an early victory for them. It says that it is doubly glad because Indian blood has been spilt to gain the victory, and argues that India wants only Colonial Home Rule and internal autonomy. It hails Home Rule as the ideal of Indians and wants it to be brought to India on the wings of British victory.]

Comments on the formation of the Provincial Recruiting Board.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 6th and 11th Aug.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 5th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 10th Aug.

34. Referring to the Press *communiqué* recently issued by the Bombay Government with a view to a more effective organisation of the resources and man-power of India for the purposes of the war, the *Bombay Samáchár* confidently hopes that the people, their leaders and heads of communities will whole-heartedly respond to the appeal made through the *communiqué*. It believes that the appeal affords to the public a golden opportunity of joining the military service and hopes that they will not fail to avail themselves of it. [In the subsequent issue the paper refers to the speech made by His Excellency the Governor at Poona on the 7th instant at the first meeting of the Provincial Recruiting Board, and remarks that the provision that has been made for wound pensions and for the maintenance of the disabled and for the families bereft of their supporters should prove attractive to the backward and depressed classes. It believes that the *personnel* of the Board will be able to impress upon the martial classes the liberal nature of the abovesaid provision made by Government. Alluding to the *communiqué* the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks that the ways of Government are sometimes inexplicable. It describes how during the time of Mr. Simcox as Collector, a representation was made by a gentleman, seeking permission for a number of Parsi youths with strong physique to be admitted as volunteers, and how cold water was thrown upon that offer. Should the people, inquires the paper, go from street to street and vociferously cry out that they are prepared to go where they are bid and die for their Government? It also believes that some of the persons composing the Bombay Provincial Recruiting Board are such as would not be able to achieve anything. The paper remarks that for such a purpose as that of recruiting men, instead of Government selecting their hangers-on they should select those persons who are popular with their own communities and who wield influence among them. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* suggests that His Excellency would do well to personally address a meeting composed of those classes from which labourers for military service are to be drawn. Such an appeal, the paper strongly believes, directly made to those classes by the ruler of the province, will produce the most desired effect.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

*35. "The Press Communiqué recently issued by the Government of Bombay must meet with warm welcome. We are sorry it is so late in the day as on the eve of the entry of the fourth year of the war that the step to institute an influential Recruiting Board such as has been now formed is taken. It is not necessary to narrate how earlier efforts in this direction would have strengthened the fighting units of the country. Late as it is, we trust it will not be any the less successful.......... We hope the Board will meet with unqualified success in their efforts and that all classes will respond to the call of duty. This is not the time to flinch or falter. Let every man understand his supreme duty to the Empire to-day and let him be up to perform that duty."

Comments on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report.

Kesari (106), 7th Aug.

36. The *Kesari* gives extracts from the Mesopotamia Commission's Report describing the sufferings of the combatants and the wounded soldiers in the first campaign and remarks:—The perusal of this description of the sufferings make one's hair stand on end, and one questions how such serious blunders could have been committed by the authorities. As a mater of fact, there is no mystery in this. A man who considers himself omnicient is bound to commit such mistakes. It would be a wonder if blunders were not committed by a man who is not responsible to anybody and whom no one has any opportunity of criticising and whose affairs are not open to discussion. It is natural that mistakes should be committed at every step by men who are accustomed to work according to their sweet will for years. Many such mistakes must have been committed till now, but it was by a chance that the Mesopotamia affairs have come to light. When even Majors and Generals are given threats we need not be surprised if people

who complained of the rudeness of Mr. Hood and of War Loan *Zoolum* are refused hearing. The bureaucracy has always in the end to wind up an affair by getting angry and it has become habituated to this practice. We are not generalising from a case or two. These pranks of the bureaucracy are not of an exceptional nature; they are general and fully known for a long time to many persons. The losing of a chance of getting a Lieutenant-Governorship for siding with Assam coolies, transfers to unhealthy stations for reporting the real terrible state of famine, stopping of judges' promotions for making adverse comments on the police, are not new things. All the deeds of the bureaucracy have, it is true, no chance of coming to light. But it would be the height of folly to suppose that the bureaucracy erred only in Mesopotamia and that the affairs of India are carried on faultlessly. Can we say that there are no other proud officials like Duryodhana or harassed females like Draupadi because there is only one Mahabharata that sets forth these things? We can treat the Mesopotamia affairs as a sample of the doings of the bureaucracy that has come before the world. Commander Wedgewood has already suggested the remedy; will Mr. Montagu fully consider his proposal to make the bureaucracy responsible to the people?

How wounded Indian soldiers are treated in South Africa.
Dnyan Prakásh (36), 8th Aug.

37. The *Dnyan Prakásh* says that it learns from a South African paper that two maimed Indian soldiers had to stand on the foot-board of a tram-car as they were unable, owing to their infirmity, to walk to the benches set apart for Indians and as the conductor could not let them occupy seats reserved for Europeans on account of the stringent regulations in this respect. The paper remarks that such incidents only accentuate racial hatred. It considers it disgraceful that while Europeans ask Indians to fight shoulder to shouler with them in the present war of liberation, they treat them as inferiors in the matter of rights.

The conquered German Colonies and their future form of government.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 11th Aug.

38. The *Dnyán Prakásh* congratulates Great Britain for following a liberal policy towards the conquered German Colonies and for proposing to send a mission to them to inquire what form of government they would have, and remarks:—If the principle laid down by the Prime Minister that no system of administration disliked by anybody should be imposed upon him is to be applied to the backward German Colonies in Africa, it is very distressing to find that loyal India which boasts of an ancient civilisation and which has come into contact with Britain for over a century, should not have the benefit of it. While Indians have not yet been told anything of the reform proposals framed by the Government of India and now under consideration, a mission is being sent to the conquered German Colonies to ask them what kind of government they would like to have! Is it possible, in these circumstances, for anyone to keep quiet as advised during the time of war.

Turkish prisoners interned in Burma should be exchanged for British prisoners taken at Kut.
Sind Observer (12), 20th July.

39. "Several thousand Turkish prisoners are interned in Burma. Naturally the inference is that these should be exchanged for British prisoners taken at the fall of Kut-el-Amara. It is too late to save the men, but there is still time to do something for the officers, even at this eleventh hour. If report speaks truly there must be no further delay in arranging for an exchange, or there may be no survivors of the surrendered garrison. In view of their present plight, poor fellows, the verse on the Christmas card which they sent off from Kut-el-Amara in 1915, immediately before the investment, is pathetically significant."

Comments on alleged cases of police *zulum* at Hubli and Vengurla.
Gujaráti (16), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

***40.** Commenting on the alleged cases of police *zulum* at Hubli and Vengurla, the *Gujaráti* writes:—"It is time that Lord Willingdon's government should put a stop to the uncalled-for interference on the part of the local authorities with legitimate movements.......... We hope Lord and Lady Willingdon will interest themselves in the incidents of this Vengurla case

and that Lord Willingdon's government will put a stop to the kind of high-handed tyranny that is practised in cases like those in question. We feel sure if His Excellency will give effect to his own views and impulses and assert his own personality, this Presidency will be rid of the causes that are producing needless irritation in certain districts and especially in Sindh."

Bombay Police should have arms while going their rounds at night.

Hásya Vinod (101), 6th Aug.

41. Commenting on the recent murder of a policeman in plain clothes, while on his round at night, by a ruffian in a thickly populated part of Bombay, the *Hásya Vinod* points out that the reason why the man could murder the policeman was that the latter was unarmed and suggests that steps may be taken by the authorities to arm the police, while on their rounds at night, to avoid similar incidents in future.

Comments on the proposed amendment of the Co-operative Credit Societies Rules.

Subodha Pátrika (42), 5th Aug., Eng. cols.

42. "Government proposes to issue some draft rules under section 43 of Act II of 1912 whereby it is feared that it intends to officialise the co-operative movement of the Presidency which is doing so much useful work among the masses. Rule No. 18 prohibits a Co-operative Society, by itself or by the Committee or any officer, from taking any action involving the Society in the discussion or propagation of controversial opinions of a political or a religious character. The co-operative movement, affecting as it does the very life of the masses, should be a means of keeping them thoroughly informed of all kind of healthy public opinion. So far as we are aware, no Co-operative Society has dabbled either in political or religious propaganda. Why then the introduction of a rule which smells more of a desire to kill all political activity in the bud rather than to safeguard the interest of Co-operative Societies which stand in no need of such a grand-motherly care from Government. If Government is really anxious to train people to stand on their own legs, the best way would be to give them as much liberty as possible in the management of institutions like the Co-operative Societies and not to fetter them with unnecessary rules and regulations."

Necessity of appointing an extra Judge for the Judicial Commissioner's Court, Sind.

Sind Observer (12), 20th July.

43. "In our last issue we mentioned the fact that the Judicial Commissioner in Sind had proposed to transfer a certain amount of criminal work from the Karáchi district for trial before the Sessions Judge of Hyderabad. Presumably the suggestion has been made owing to the congestion of work in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Sind. If this is so, there is another remedy, and that is the appointment, temporary or permanent, of an Additional Judicial Commissioner. We have reason to believe that it was proposed sometime ago to appoint an extra judge to strengthen the Judicial Commissioner's Court, but what has been done in the matter has not transpired. If the proposal has been held up for want of funds, owing to the war, how comes it that in other places in India such appointments have actually been made, *viz.*, the Madras High Court and the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Nágpur. Surely if other parts of the country can be given extra Judges there is no reason why Sind should be treated differently, unless of course it is intended to keep her in the background, as she has been kept in the past. The position of Karáchi has changed considerably since the war started, and after the cessation of hostilities she will be one of the greatest seaports in the world. Is Government going to face the position after the event or before it? Ordinarily one would expect that preparation would be made in advance to face any contingency that may arise. That the present state of things calls for action is proved by the suggestion made by the Judicial Commissioner, as mentioned above, and it is a question that concerns the public even to a greater extent than it does the members of the local Bar, who, we are glad to see, have already taken prompt action in the matter, the result of which is awaited with interest."

Comments on the rules issued by the Police Superintendent, Hyderabad (Sind), regulating processions.
Sind Advocate (9), 26th July.

44. "Following upon the absurdly extraordinary measures taken at Hyderabad to prevent a Home Rule procession on the Besant internment day, the Police Superintendent has promulgated rules for regulating all processions in future. Of course ordinary religious or social processions like the mohurram or of marriages, funerals, &c., can pass anywhere, but other processions are prohibited from taking certain routes which practically would exclude them from the greater part of the well populated quarters including the bazar. Do the officials at Hyderabad want further to increase the membership of the Home Rule League? That is what happened as a result of their ill-advised coup of the 16th instant. Do they think that the people can't understand this?"

LEGISLATION.

The Honourable Mr. Patel's Municipal Education Bill.
Jagruk (new), 3rd Aug.

45. We think the most important achievement of the Legislative Council meeting held at Poona was that Government conceded the principle of compulsory education by allowing the introduction of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill. Government ignored all efforts of the late Mr. Gokhale to make primary education free and compulsory in this country. We ought to be grateful, therefore, to our present liberal rulers for recognising, even if late, their duty in this respect. Although the major portion of taxation is being borne by the cultivators, practically no efforts were made up till now to ameliorate their condition. The upper classes freely exploited the ignorance of the masses to fatten themselves at their expense. It is to the interests of the lower classes that the internal administration of the country should remain in the hands of the British for several years more, but the political agitators have been able to spread discontent among the people and to induce them to accept their *swardjya* propaganda owing to the illiberal educational policy hitherto followed by Government. This will now be changed by the welcome change that has come over that policy.

EDUCATION.

Suggestion for lessening the hardships of students appearing for the Vernacular Final Examination at Ratnágiri at the close of the rainy season.
Bakul (93), 5th Aug.

46. At the last Legislative Council meeting Government stated, in reply to the Honourable Mr. Desai, that they were inquiring into the alleged hardships to students who appeared for the Vernacular Final Examination at Alibág in September last, owing to the sudden setting in of the rains and the consequent stoppage of sea commuications. The case of Ratnágiri is also analogous. Last year the examination commenced there on the 18th of September whereas this year it is to begin earlier than that, *viz.*, on the 3rd of September. As the steamer service will not probably begin by that date, boys coming from a long distance will be put to much inconvenience. To obviate this we would suggest that the authorities should hold the examinarion in October when the steamer postal service commences. It would be also more convenient if the examination is held at Málvan and Dápoli in addition to Ratnágiri. We would also request that the case of candidates for the Revenue Departmental Examination may be considered along with that of the students for the Vernacular Final Examination.

RAILWAYS.

Duty of the public in connection with the G. I. P. Railway strike.
Message (6), 8th Aug.

47. "In reply to the telegram of the solicitors for the Parel and Matunga Workshop men, the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor says that 'Government cannot intervene in Great Indian Peninsula Workshop strike'. We should not think the reply is disappointing. Speaking for ourselves we had expected no

better reply nor do we think that Lord Willingdon's Government could have given a better answer. So long as public opinion is indifferent to the grievances of the men, the State alone cannot be expected to rise above it. The Government thinks that the matter in dispute is mainly between the G. I. P. Railway and its workmen, and has remained content to leave the matter at that. Were it not for the fact that the Railway is the dominant body and the workmen are not properly organised like the Trade Unions in England, the public also might have been indifferent to it. It is now the duty of the public to take up the matter and help to properly organise the men on strike and also help them with some means of living and enable them to hold out, unless of course the railway authorities who have been called to, seem to be more conciliatory and reasonable. If the community does not help these men to stand by their resolve, the authorities know that the men will bend down under the weight of want and hunger. If on the other hand the men realise that they have behind them the sympathy and support of the community and if the railway authorities also realise as much, the present strike will have a different tale to tell. In the meanwhile, if the police and the magistracy cannot prevail with the authorities to reconsider their decisions and meet the men at least half-way, they should not be meddling with the men unnecessarily and the public ought strongly to deprecate such one-sided attempts on the part of these."

*Gujaráti (16), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár (30), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Mahrátta (5), 12th Aug.; Sandesh (118), 9th Aug.

48. Commenting on the G. I. P. Railway workmen's strike the *Gujaráti* writes:—"Even in England where the employers and the emplyees are both well organized bodies, Government find it necessary to intervene on certain occasions and bring about a compromise. British ministers are known to have intervened on more than one occasion in recent years and that too with success. There is, therefore, no reason why the Bombay Government should not endeavour to put an end to a state of things that cannot but result in serious hardships to the strikers and great inconvenience and even loss to a railway concern of which Government and not a private company are the proprietors." [The *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"It is quite evident that the railway authorities will offer no terms which may be acceptable to the men, so that there is in effect a lockout as well as a strike. If there is no likelihood of the difference being satisfactorily settled, it would be wiser for the advisers of the strikers to advise them to seek fresh employment rather than swell the number of the unemployed for an indefinite period of time The reply that Mr. Framroze Ginwalla, the men's solicitor, has received from the Chairman of the Board in London will not help a compromise, because it is merely a repetition of what the Agent said." The *Mahrátta* writes:—"It is melancholy note to that Government though expressly requested by the workmen to intercede and arbitrate has refused to do so. There have been many instances, even since the outbreak of war, of the British Government at Home having interceded in similar circumtances. But India is not England!" The *Sandesh* writes:—It would have been better if it were explained why the procession of the G. I. P. Railway strikers, arranged in order to obtain assistance for them, was given up. The flags of the strikers had nothing to do with Home Rule or *Swadeshi* and their boxes had no photograph of Tilak or Besant on them. There was no possibility of any breach of the peace. The attitude of the police has been sympathetic and friendly, and this is due to the quiet behaviour of the strikers. In these circumstances we have to say that the prohibition of the procession was unnecessary.]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 8th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 6th and 8th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 9th Aug.

49. Referring to the fact of about 15,000 workmen of the G. I. P. Railway Loco. Carriage and Waggon workshops having been on strike for nearly a month last, the *Sánj Vartamán* is of opinion that, regard being had to the present rise in the cost of living, the employers of labour should remove the discontent from the minds of the labouring classes by increasing their salaries or granting them a high prices allowance. It fears that the strike will prove to be one of a long duration if Government will not intervene to bring about a settlement in the matter. The paper regards the reply His Excellency the Governor sent to the workmen concerned, declining to interfere in the matter, as disappointing. It cannot see any wrong in Government interfering in the matter of such strikes in India when Ministers in England do not fail to intervene on similar occasions. [In its issue of the 6th instant the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the appeal made by the workmen of the G. I. P. Railway Company to His Excellency Lord Willingdon in the matter of the present strike affords a proof of the confidence the public have in His Excellency's tact and sympathy for the people. It observes that the willingness expressed by the workmen to abide by the decision of the arbitrators appointed by Government coupled with their hitherto peaceful behaviour draws public sympathy towards them. On the above grounds and in view of the interests of both Government and the public being involved in the smooth working of railways, the paper wishes that His Excellency will acquiesce in the appeal above referred to. In the subsequent issue the paper maintains that His Excellency has been ill-advised in refusing to interfere. It remarks that such non-interference on the part of higher authorities seems to have been based upon the consideration that these workman, having no substantial means to support themselves, will be brought to their knees. It does not consider this to be a far-sighted policy. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that even in the present times of stress some employers over-feed themselves and suffer from surfeit while those whom they employ suffer from starvation, and as an example refers to the strike organised by the G. I. P. Railway workmen. Have the higher authorities, inquires the paper, completely fulfilled their duty in the matter of the present strike? It answers that question in the negative. In its opinion His Excellency's plain denial to interfere was undesirable.]

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Local Self-government Conference.
Shetkari, (41), 5th Aug.

50. In course of an apprecative review of the proceedings of the Local Self-government Conference, the *Shetkari* writes:—Municipalities and Local Boards ought to be completely under the control of the local population, but that is not so in practice. These institutions are wholly controlled by officials and latterly local self-government has become a mere farce. The least opposition to Government is enough for the suspension of a municipality. This is only a travesty of the principle of local self-government. The real test of independence lies in the ability to control public money and the power to raise money and expend it without outside sanction is real *Swarájya*. True local self-government, therefore, means the possession of this power by the members of a municipality. The reason why people do not take interest in local self-government is want of this power.

The danger of storing celluloid films, etc., in residential localities.
Bombay Samáchár (59), 10th Aug.

51. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses surprise that the Bombay Municipality allows cinematograph films and toys and other inflammable articles made of celluloid to be stored in houses used for residential purposes without insisting upon any special precautions being taken against outbreaks of fire. It refers to the resolution that is to be moved in the Bombay Corporation on the subject and expresses a hope that some check will be placed on the storing and exhibiting of cinema films in residential quarters in Bombay.

Alleged arbitrary doings of the Superintendent of Matheran.
Rást Goftár (30), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

***52.** Referring to the complaints in the press about the alleged arbitrary doings of the Superintendent of Matheran, the *Rást Goftár* says:—"Dr. Kharegat, the present Superintendent, is a capable and energetic officer, very much devoted to his work, but rather inclined to be uncompromising. In the absence of authentic information we are unable to vouch for the accuracy of the numerous charges made out against him. If, however, what is alleged about the licensing of medical practitioners be true, then we cannot too strongly condemn the proposal. Of course the Superintendent has no power to do it himself, nor would such a suggestion meet with any support. We can understand—though we ourselves do not approve of it—that a public dispensary of this kind should refuse to dispense prescriptions from any but qualified doctors, but it is preposterous that medical visitors should be required to first get licenses in order to acquire the right of prescribing for patients. No doctor who is a visitor would agree to such a thing. In an out-of-the-way station like Matheran medical aid and relief are not easily available. There are no doctors for aught we know who practise there as permanent residents, except perhaps the Superintendent who is as a rule selected from the I.M.S. Difficulties of acquiring medical relief in ordinary and even urgent cases of sickness cannot but keep away intending visitors, and Matheran is one of the most popular and easily accessible health resorts for Bombay and adjoining towns."

The people of Larkana are determined not to have the house-tax.
Lárkána Gazette (46), 28th July, Eng. cols.

53. Referring to the delay in the grant of Municipal franchise to Lárkána (Sind), the *Lárkána Gazette* demands that the franchise should be granted from September 1917, and remarks:—"The time is not short and there is sufficient time still. All the preliminaries can easily be arranged if there is only a strong will. But a sparrow whispers into our ears that a strong effort will be made then when the people of Lárkána will agree to the imposition of house-tax. We cannot make up our mind to believe this as the grant of franchise to the town had never been a conditional one and the question of house-tax has very lately cropped up and it had and has nothing to do with the franchise question. But according to the saying of sages 'No smoke without fire', if there is an iota of fact in it, we then feel it our bounden duty to give the views of the people to the authorities over this question. We tell them frankly and candidly that the people are bent upon not agreeing to the imposition of this house-tax and they will even forego the franchise but not accept this odious tax, if the matters come to that pass. It will, therefore, be advisable and honourable that the preliminary arrangements for the franchise be at once begun and the promise honourably fulfilled."

Question of house-tax at Hyderabad (Sind).
Sind Advocate (9), 26th July.

54. "At last the cat is out of the bag. The Committee of Management at Hyderabad, not satisfied with Rs. 80,000 a year with which they have already burdened the rate payers of Hyderabad, want to impose the house-tax as well. The Committee have not even attempted to show what necessity there is for this new and direct taxation and have evidently gone about in reckless high-handed fashion. With so much more money taken out of the pockets of the people, they have been doing decidedly less for the town than the much maligned Municipality did and now they want still more money, and that in a way most odious to the people. Thus the Committee does not seem to understand its business at all and it is very flippant and superficial in its ideas and methods. The people have held a very big meeting of protest and in the Committee itself two out of the three non-official members, *i.e.*, Honourable R. B. Teckchand and Mukhi Harkishindas, have definitely declared themselves against the house-tax and it is only the officials who have little time even to think of the needs and condition of the town that have sprung the disquieting proposals upon the distracted public."

The Question of house-tax at Rohri (Sind).
Sind Journal (10), 26th July.

55. "The Rohri people have long clamoured for the elective franchise being conferred on them and they are now within a measurable distance of achieving their object. But such has been the official anxiety for the good of the town that the proposal for imposing house-tax has not been allowed to wait till the Rohri Municipality is composed in part of the elected representatives of the people who could voice the real opinion of the town. The conditions obtaining in Rohri militate against the suitability of house-tax, and if there is a deficit in the Municipal exchequer, it could be made up by raising the octroi duty on some articles such as cloth. But it would be rank oppression to impose house-tax against the wishes of the people

who are expected to know their interests better than the officials. The idea of imposing house-tax in different towns in Sind appears to have originated with the present Commissioner in Sind who urged its acceptance by the people of Sind in the course of his speech on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Kotri Municipal Hall. We trust that the Honourable Mr. Lawrence who has a strong predilection for house-tax will give the matter further consideration in the light of the peculiar conditions prevailing in towns like Rohri and Hyderabad 'where it is the custom to own rather than to rent dwelling houses.' The incidence of house-tax being direct and payable in a lump sum is against the sentiments of the people who have since long been accustomed to paying indirect taxes. Even if there be no solid reasons against house-tax from the official standpoint, yet the existence of a sentiment against it should weigh with the authorities.......... If the people are convinced of the unsuitability of house-tax in view of their local conditions, it should not be forced down their throats, and we believe all people are not prepared to receive such disregard for public opinion lying down. The people of Rohri have every reason to protest against the arbitrary saddling of their town with an odious tax, and we trust they would succeed in their efforts."

Sind Advocate (9), 26th July.

56. Referring to the proposed imposition of house-tax at Rohri (Sind), the *Sind Advocate* writes:—"We wonder more because of the inopportune time selected for the imposition of such a direct tax. Inopportune we say it because the Rohri town is soon to be granted the privilege of elective franchise, and because of the world war which has affected every one. If there was any necessity of a tax to improve the financial resources of the Municipality, the authorities should have devised other means rather than levying this tax."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 17th July 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 33 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 18th August 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

- Bombay Legislative Council: Comments on Government replies to interpellations in the last session of the — . . . . 28 & 29

- British Rule:

  - Advocacy of passive resistance and boycott as the only means of combating official high-handedness 22
  - Appeal to Government to pardon all young men interned under the Defence of India Act 10
  - Appeal to the people to take the vow of *Swadeshi*. 23
  - Comments on Lord Islington's speech at Oxford on Indian political reforms . . . . 3—7
  - Comments on Sir Benjamin Robertson's speech at Amraoti (Berár) . 12
  - Comments on the notice served on Mr. S. M. Paranjpe under the Defence of India Act . . . . 8 & 9
  - Comments on the replies of Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants to the Madras Government regarding their political and theosophical activities 14
  - Comments on the reply of the Governor of Bengal to the deputation about the prohibited Calcutta meeting 25
  - How England is discharging its trust in India 1
  - Passive resistance . . . . 17—21
  - Students and the Government circular prohibiting them from attending public meetings 11
  - Suggestion to partisans of Mrs. Besant to approach the Madras Government on her behalf 13
  - The 4th of August ought to be a day of a new vision of sympathy, friendship and co-operation between Indians and the English . 24
  - The late Mr. Gokhale's scheme of reforms . . . . 15 & 16
  - The present is the time when Parliament should intervene in the affairs of India 2
- Co-operative Credit Societies: — and political movements 30
- His Excellency the Governor: His Excellency the Governor's speech at the Fergusson College . . . . 31—33
- Indian National Congress: Mrs. Besant and the presidentship of the next session of the— . . . . 26 & 27
- Indians in the Colonies: Indians in South Africa 40

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Police:

Comments on the action taken by the — in connection with the meeting at Hubli (Dhárwár) 37
Comments on the Shiroda (Ratnágiri) — prosecution case . . . 36
His Excellency the Governor should stop — highhandedness . . 34
Reflections on a recent case of suicide by a woman in Bombay . . 35

Press Act:

Comments on the taking of security from the *Sanjibani* of Calcutta . 41
Comments on the fresh forfeiture of the *New India* security . . 42

Sind:

Comments on the — Settlement Committee's Report 38
The Hyderabad (—) authorities and the Home Rule movement . 39

LEGISLATION—

Muhammadans and the Honourable Mr. Patel's Education Bill . . . 43

EDUCATION—

Alleged waste of stationery in the Educational Department. 45
Comments on the institution in the Bombay University of a degree of Teaching 44

RAILWAYS—

The G. I. P. Railway strike . . . . 46—48

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay: The Kennedy Sea Face (—) and Government . . . . 49 & 50
Matheran: Comments on the proposal to levey a tax on professions at — . 51

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

How England is discharging its trust in India.
Mahrátta (5), 19th Aug.

*1. "Speaking at Glasgow a few days ago, the Prime Minister made the following observations:—'Mesopotamia is not Turkish and never has been Turkish. The Turk is as much an alien in Mesopotamia as the German is, and every one knows how he ruled it.......... At best he was the trustee of this far-famed land on behalf of civilisation. Ah, what a trustee! (Laughter.) He has been false to his trust.'......... Would this piece of rhetoric had not fallen into Indian hands! Here is more:—'The wishes, the desires and the interests of the people of these Colonies (German Colonies) themselves must be the dominant factor in settling their future government. That is the principle upon which we we are proceeding..........' And what is the principle upon which England is proceeding in regard to India? We don't know about the Turks' behaviour in Mesopotamia, but can England say that she has been utterly true to the trust she assumed in taking over India's governance in her hands?" [Elsewhere, writing about Lord Islington's speech, the paper refers to the Premier's words as follows:—"There is one thing specially noticeable about Lord Islington's pronouncement. The Under Secretary for India, who must in a way be held responsible for the 'Students' circulars' that have the effect of consigning students to 'political darkness', chose for his audience *the students of Oxford*! Evidently English students are in no need of a 'pure atmosphere of study'. The very first pronouncement by such a high official as Lord Islington—a pronouncement on Indian reforms—must be made before *students*! And if we think of acquainting our students—our sons and daughters—with the Indian view of Lord Islington's scheme the *Circulars* are there to take care of the students who attend our lectures! 'Ah! What a trustee!'"]

The present is the time when Parliament should intervene in the affairs of India.
Rást Goftar (30), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

*2. "The administration in India from the sympathetic and progressive Government of Lord Hardinge has changed to retrogression and repression. The pre-occupations of the war are not preventing several Provincial Governments in India from trying to suppress constitutional agitation. The official attitude at the present moment is that India should do all she can for the Empire during the war, but for herself she must ask nothing. Let the people of India be praised ever so high, they must not press their claims to a form of Government like the Australian Commonwealth. They must simply stand and wait. The people of India, or rather, the educated classes behind whom stand the people, refuse to stand and wait, and are pressing their claims, which is their birthright, all the more strenuously. 'Coercion and repression on one side, a fixed determination not to yield on the other side', that is the present situation. The absolute unanimity of Educated India makes the position still more grave.......... The Government here in India takes no note of the supremely important fact that India stands united to-day and the demand of India is that of a united people.......... This is the time when action should be taken in the House of Commons, when the attention of the House should be drawn to the critical situation that is being created in India by official action.......... Let Parliament judge for itself and let it decide whether the repressive policy will lead to good or evil results. There is no Charles Bradlaugh to fight our battle in the House of Commons, but surely other friends like Commander Wedgewood may be found to invite and arrest attention to the perilous course that is being pursued in India."

Comments on Lord Islington's speech at Oxford on Indian reforms.
Indian Social Reformer (3), 19th Aug.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

*3. "Lord Islington talked glibly of leaving each province to work out its own redemption in such matters as the police, education, agriculture, forestry, public works and industrial enterprises. But there is one little phrase in his sketch which spells disaster to the whole scheme. It is that about the superior authority retaining the power to intervene if the province squandered its resources. The Government of India will maintain that it is no good intervening after a province had squandered its resources, and that, therefore, it should be kept constantly in touch with the doings of a province so as to intervene effectively to prevent such squandering. This may mean, in practice, the Provincial Government having virtually to obtain previous sanction for all important projects—which the Government of India will give or withhold according to its own conception of the needs of the province—and it may also mean the paraphernalia of Inspectors-General and Directors-General, which we are always getting rid of, but which are always coming back though in different forms.......... Lord Islington's new model Provincial Government with four members of the Executive Council, two Indians and two Europeans, with independent powers over certain departments, and transacting more business directly with England, will not be a reality unless the Central Government is first remodelled and not, as His Lordship indicated, wait to be reformed till success follows the changes in the Provincial Government. The Government of India, for its part, cannot be 'liberalised' till the India Office is abolished and the Secretary of State for India becomes a Minister on exactly the same footing as the Secretary of State for the Colonies (in his relation to the self-governing Colonies), his salary being put upon the British estimates.......... On the whole, we cannot say that Lord Islington's scheme is better calculated to carry out the liberalisation of the Indian administration than that of the nineteen members, which he criticised, though there are some good points in it." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"Lord Islington advocacy of financial independence for the Provincial Governments is worth serious consideration. Enlargement of the Council Electorate and making it as far as possible direct is one of the standing demands of the country to which a very tame hearing has been accorded upto now. We cannot agree with his method of broadening the franchise which clearly deals a blow against all union. The greatest drawback of these proposals is that they savour of obsoleteness. The alteration in the angle of vision is absolutely lost sight of."]

Young India (14), 15th Aug.; **Mahratta* (5), 19th Aug.; **Gujarati* (16), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

4. V. R. writes in *Young India*:—"It has been said times without number that the first object of our British rulers is to train us for self-government.......... But so far all evidence is against them that our rulers seriously mean to maintain their promises. Pledges and promises of Parliaments, Sovereigns, Cabinet Ministers and Viceroys, solemnly given and reiterated for almost a century, have been broken reeds, so much so that people are sick with disappointment and refuse to-day to pin their faith to despatches and documents which the Indian bureaucracy has torn up at its will and trampled under foot on every conceivable occasion. .... Self-government, says Mr. Nevinson, implies the right to go wrong, and that is a perfectly well-recognised law of constitutional growth. When once this indisputable fact is conceded, what becomes of the bunkum of vested interests about conditions in India not being ripe for self-government? Considerable emphasis has been laid about the unfitness of Indians to govern themselves. But what has been done to ascertain the fitness of Indians to self-government? Take the municipalities; take the district and taluka boards; take in fact any institution which British genius in India has evolved; and scrupulous regard for political honesty ought to convince any one that failure in all these cases is the result of the meddling instinct of the bureaucracy.......... Both the memorandum of the immortal 'Nineteen' and the Congress-Moslem League scheme, while asking for an enlargement of the legislative and executive councils, have unanimously voiced the demand for a definite recognition in practice of the principle of the responsibility of the government to the governed. The various proposals they have made only constitute a first step in that ultimate consummation and do not certainly ask for the transformation of a highly centralised bureaucracy into a set of decentralised self-governing systems in a night. It is the greatest insult to offer to the intelligence of the country to insinuate as Lord Islington of imperishable fame does, that leading Indian politicians and political institutions demand catastrophic changes or a sudden upheaval in the governmental machinery of the country. It is good to hear that His Lordship was not speaking before the Oxford Summer meeting in his official capacity as Under Secretary of State for India. If he did, one should really despair at

the opacity of British politicians to understand the real issue.......... It seems to us that argument never enters the head of an English politician; but overwhelming demonstrations, because they are visible, appeal to him and his instinct of self-preservation. And we in India alone cannot fail to respect the lesson of English history, both past and present." [Elsewhere in a long article on Lord Islington's speech the paper writes :—"Any way, we are constrained to regard Lord Islington's proposals, as cabled to this country, as entirely inadequate and unsatisfactory. They leave the root of the evil untouched and do not go beyond the surface. They fall far short of the principles of the Memorandum and are hopelessly disappointing in the light of the Congress-Moslem League scheme." The *Mahrátta* says :—"As to Lord Islington's scheme, we propose to dismiss it with a very few observations. The Bengal and Madras Committees have already repudiated it as a disappointing scheme.......... What India wants is *Autonomy* in All-India and Provincial and local affairs with a Secretary for India (without an India Council) doing for us the work which the Secretary for the Colonies does for the latter. To ask in these circumstances that 'the provinces should transact more business direct with England' and to suggest throwing before us a few crumbs of 'power' is to laugh at our aspirations for Autonomy. Lord Islington did not speak in his official capacity, but that is no consolation. His speech shows that the march of the times has made little impression upon him: and being a high official his reactionary attitude must act as a great stumbling block in our way. It is well, however, that he has spoken. It is well to know the difficulties in our path." The *Gujaráti* writes :—"It is difficult to understand why Lord Islington should have made a pronouncement on the subject of Indian reforms in the course of a lecture to students at the Oxford Summer meeting. It is fortunate the jurisdiction of the Bombay, Madras, Bengal and Punjáb Governments does not extend to Oxford and its student population, otherwise such a meeting and such a pronouncement would have become impossible.......... The procedure adopted by Lord Islington is seriously open to misconstruction and his intervention at this moment, to the supersession of his official chief, is not of a very assuring character and it is the more open to adverse criticism having regard to the fact that the views to which he gave expression will not inspire the Indian public with confidence in his impartiality or liberality."]

Indu Prakásh (39), 15th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Message* (6), 14th Aug.

5. "The plea of the non-official nature of his Lordship's utterance is only made for the sake of neutralising all possible responsibility. In every other respect the utterance is of the Under Secretary of State. The thoughts are certainly His Lordship's. Does one find there anything except the official or bureaucratic doctrine about the political progress in India? The only point that appears in the speech with any clearness, is that the *progress must be slow*.......... If the noble Lord expects any sensible Indian to be in the least satisfied with these steps he has grossly miscalculated or has been misled into a wrong conception of the present Indian agitation.......... Mr. Lloyd George has placed above Lord Islington another bold and far-seeing statesman; and who knows if Lord Islington has not gone out of his way to address to a meeting of students his 'stationary politics' because His Lordship fears something wrong is going to happen owing to Mr. Montagu's bold far-seeing statesmanship, in the way of the Indians coming by what is their own, and has been withheld from them merely on account of the bureaucratic mistrust!" [The *Message* writes :—"The absurdity of Lord Islington's position in regard to Indian reforms will become patent on a little thinking.......... What he in effect proposes to do is to lay a superstructure on a system whose foundations are narrow and whose top is already too heavy, so that the moment you begin to lay the superstructure the whole thing might topple down.......... Evidently, his Lordship has failed to understand that local self-government in India is nothing but a sham which cannot be relieved by any process of tabloidation and that it requires a more drastic recasting. As regards decentralisation and devolution as between the Imperial and Provincial Governments though his proposal makes a show of approximating to the proposal of the nineteen, the proposal itself becomes ridiculous so long as the personnel of the Provincial

governments is untouched.......... We do not think people are so gullible nowadays as to regard this silly talk with any amount of seriousness."]

Kesari (106), 14th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (39) 13th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 15th Aug.

6. Lord Islington was careful enough to say that he was speaking as a private individual. All will laugh at this exhibition of official caution. If to-morrow Government reforms were seen to differ from those of Lord Islington, no one would hang him. Government apparently want to keep their reform proposals behind the Pardah even more strictly than old Rajputs did their women. Nobody would believe that Government have nothing to do withLord Islington's reform scheme. Lord Islington's scheme is a revised edition of the old decentralization scheme. Indians are ready to undertake any amount of responsibility that Government may throw upon their shoulders. If Government want to put us to shame they should appoint one of us Governor or Governor-General. When perchance European officials turn out to be useless, we suffer the loss and not England. Why then shall we not bear the loss consequent upon the appointment of some of us to high posts? Sometimes there may be a loss, but we shall get the experience, and experience is the first step to fitness. [The *Indu Prakásh* remarks:—We have had enough of the advice 'Proceed slowly; do not be in haste and trust us.' We must know what we are to get definitely after the war. It must be settled how far the officials will be responsible to the people. We do not want the moon immediately; but we do not want to remain any longer helpless babies. We do not want any rewards; we want our rights. We do not think that Lord Islington's scheme fully satisfies our aspirations, but it appears that under it greater powers will be given to the people in local self-government and the Provincial and Imperial administrations. But it is better to wait and see. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—We consider Lord Islington's scheme to be unsatisfactory. Some one holding a higher position than the Under Secretary should have made a pronouncement in the matter and he should have made it clear that Indians would get many more rights than they possess now. The scheme of reforms should be of a comprehensive character and it should be published immediately. Mere committees will be of no use; they will only heighten discontent. The hopes raised by the appointment of Mr. Montagu are being diminished. Real statesmanship lies in an early declaration of policy by Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Montagu.]

Hindusthán (20), 14th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 18th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 13th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 12th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 13th Aug.

7. Referring to the address delivered by Lord Islington at the Oxford Summer Meeting, the *Hindusthán* expresses its disagreement with the remark made by him to the effect that the changes proposed by the 19 elected members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council would increase the number and powers of the critics of the Government of India without giving them any real responsibility, and observes that an increase of powers necessarily carries with it greater responsibility. The paper also does not find anything new or attractive in the scheme he outlined with regard to decentralisation and remarks that people do not demand this sort of decentralisation which takes away powers from the hands of the Indian Government and invests them in the Provincial rulers. It then proceeds:—As long as a larger share is not given to the representatives of the people and the sons of the soil in the administration of the country, as long as they are not placed in the category of the present rulers and given similar treatment, as long as the distinctions that are being constantly observed at present in their connection are not set aside, and as long as a policy of confidence is not freely introduced (in the country), to talk about the "decentralisation" of powers and to describe the popular representatives as persons demanding powers without responsibility is out of place. [The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses satisfaction that Lord Islington has suggested the Australian Commonweath as the model for India. It, however, remarks that it is preposterous to suppose that popular representatives with a majority in the Legislative Councils would think of compelling the Executive to adopt a particular policy without realizing their own responsibility. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the critics of the Indian Government will be prepared to undertake with delight the real responsibilities associated with

"responsible Government" if the former choose to invest them with those responsibilities. It, however, expresses gratification at the proposed change in the constitution of the Provincial Executive Councils and welcomes it as the first instalment of the concession to the claims of India for *swarájya*. The paper wishes that the committee that may be appointed to institute inquiries about the prospective Indian reforms might include two or three experienced Indian politicians and favours the appointment of Mr. Montagu to act as its President. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* seems satisfied with the announcement made by Lord Islington and regards it as a part of the policy of the new Secretary of State for India. It believes that it is a move on Mr. Montagu's part to ascertain the views of the Indian public on the subject of political reforms to be introduced in India before finally submitting a scheme of those reforms to His Majesty's Government. The *Akhbár-i-Islám* characterises Lord Islington's speech as a pronouncement full of hopes which leads the paper to foresee that the régime of Mr. Montagu will not fail to prove beneficial to the interests of India.]

Comments on the notice served on Mr. S. M. Paranjpe under the Defence of India Act.

Prakásh (116), 15th Aug.; *Sandesh* (118), 16th Aug.

8. Those who framed the Defence of India Act will be gratified to learn that its enforcement is not the monopoly of the Madras Government, but that the Bombay Government also is lending them a helping hand in this respect. It appears as if the notice served on Mr. S. M. Paranjpe will prevent him from even having a talk with a party of friends invited to dinner! It makes him a dumb man though possessing the power of speech. This repressive policy pursued by Government, instead of achieving the desired result, only lays bare the real attitude of the bureaucracy towards the ideal of *swarájya* the legitimacy of which they outwardly admit. [The *Sandesh* writes:—The notice charges Mr. Paranjpe with having acted in a manner prejudicial to public safety and also with the intention of acting in such a manner. We are not aware of any instance which can support the first allegation. As regards the second accusation, *viz.*, that he was about to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety, it is but right that Government should disclose the grounds on which they base their allegation. It will then be possible to judge whether the grounds which they held to be reasonable are really so.]

Message (6), 16th Aug.

9. "The Government order says that Government have reasonable grounds for believing that Mr. S. M. Paranjpe has acted in a way prejudicial to public safety. Now, if Mr. Paranjpe *has acted* in a way prejudicial to public safety, he could have been overhauled before a judicial tribunal, and due punishment could have been meted out to him. But it seems the officials concerned are very merciful to the delinquent and have with extreme generosity refrained from taking such steps. Such extreme tenderness may suggest to some that some of the officials concerned might at heart be sympathetic towards extremists like Mr. S. M. Paranjpe. His Excellency Lord Willingdon's Government will, therefore, do well to take care that the impression that some of their officials are possibly partial, is speedily and completely removed. Delinquents who '*have* acted in a way prejudicial to public safety' should, therefore, be dragged into the court and no leniency should be shown to the guilty. But perhaps 'the law is an ass' as some one said and the Government of Bombay do not like to have much to do with it, especially in view of the fact that on appeal to the higher courts, the judgment of Executive Judicial officials is sometimes reversed, to the great confusion of the authorities concerned."

Appeal to Government to pardon all young men interned under the Defence of India Act.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 17th Aug.

10. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* approves of the step taken by the Punjab Government in pardoning certain Musalman students who had fallen victims to disaffected intrigues and had disappeared with the intention of fighting against Government, and hopes that the Government of India will be pleased to show mercy to the many misguided students who have been interned under the Defence of India Act and who now repent of the follies they have committed. It believes such a step will be appreciated by all and tend to allay much of the existing discontent that has been engendered by the repressive acts of Government.

Students and the Government circular prohibiting them from public meetings.

New Times (7), 6th Aug.

11. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta writes to the *New Times*:—"If not for any other reason, I most strongly urge the cancellation of these orders because of sorrow, dissatisfaction and discontent existing at present in the students. I ask is it worth while, is it advantageous to Government itself? On one side are the prohibition orders, which are difficult to carry out and prove as an impossibility to carry out, by the open confession of educationists at a meeting in Madras called by Lord Pentland, and on the other side, sorrow and discontent raging within pure, innocent and loyal hearts; compare the advantages and disadvantages. I urge and appeal not only in the interest of the students, but also in that of India and British Empire. May wisdom guide our rulers......... [The writer then offers the following advice to the students:—] Let the prohibition be taken as a training ground for them; let it be a discipline of life. Let them feel that in laws of nature, no prohibition or internments can stop Evolution and Home Rule; in fact, the quiet and pious force of sacrifice will bring the desired changes earlier. The prohibition is only for physical bodies; minds and hearts cannot be prohibited or interned......... Let us humbly offer ourselves to services of the Motherland and political knowledge can be learnt within a much shorter period than one can get by studying a thousand books.......... Students are prohibited from attending political meetings, but are not prohibited to read and study the biographies of Great Men of Politics and their speeches; these are very valuable to read, grasp and study and I do advise all students to occupy their leisure time to learn lessons from such books."

Comments on Sir Benjamin Robertson's speech at Amraoti (Berar).

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 16th Aug.; *Message* (6), 16th Aug.

12. In the course of his speech at Amraoti Sir Benjamin Robertson, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, warned the *watandars* that Government would not tolerate their connection with the *swarájya* movement. He argues that this movement creates difficulties in the path of Government at a time when the successful prosecution of the war ought to be the sole preoccupation of all people. No one denies that India ought to bear her legitimate share in this struggle along with the other units of the Empire. But why should far off India maintain absolute silence after she has discharged her duty, when every kind of subject is being freely discussed even in those parts of the Empire which are in close proximity to the seat of war?......... England has decided to confer the rights of *swarájya* on Ireland in spite of that country putting her to endless difficulties, whereas our wholly constitutional agitation for *swarájya* is considered to be objectionable! Sir Benjamin dilated on the many benefits of the British rule, but he seems to be unaware that the time when such benefits could satisfy the aspirations of the people has long passed away. England's duty towards India does not end with maintaining an efficient administration. Her avowed object is to fit this country to govern itself. The advocates of *swarájya* maintain that the time for discharging this duty has now arrived. They are aware that this movement is distasteful to officials of the type of Sir Benjamin and that they will lose no opportunity to suppress it. The authorities ought to realise, however, that the movement has passed the stage when it could be stifled by their opposition. [The *Message* also condemns the tone of Sir Benjamin Robertson's speech and remarks:—"It is not by indulging in intemperate rhetoric or wholesale denunciation that public confidence in truth will be restored."]

Suggestion to partisans of Mrs. Besant to approach the Madras Government on her behalf.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 16th Aug.

13. From the declaration made in the House of Commons on behalf of Government on the subject of the internment order passed against Mrs. Annie Besant and her associates by the Madras Government, the *Bombay Samáchár* infers that the order was not passed to suppress all agitation for political reforms as has been popularly believed, but that it was passed to put down Mrs. Besant's methods of agitation. It, therefore, does not approve of the importance attached to the internment order by the United Provinces Congress which recently held its session at Lucknow and which passed certain resolutions in

connection with that order. The paper remarks that it is the primary duty of the well-wishers of Mrs. Besant to banish from their minds all thoughts about her being a martyr for this country and to assure the Madras Government that she would no longer persist in the attitude which compelled that Government to issue the internment order. In view of the regard Mrs. Besant has for the people of India as well as British rule and also in view of the sympathy various responsible authorities have shown towards the ultimate political goal of the Indians, the paper believes that it would not be difficult for the public leaders to obtain the consent of. Mrs. Besant for some such assurance. It expects that good results would follow if some leaders were to approach His Excellency Lord Pentland on her behalf and personally confer with him in connection with the order passed against her.

Comments on the replies of Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants to the Madras Government regarding their political and theosophical activities.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 17th Aug., Eng. cols.

14. "Candidly we cannot say that the communications addressed to the Governor of Madras by Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, now published as a press communiqué by the Government of Madras, are of a nature calculated to advance the political cause of India, which Mrs. Besant has now made her own.......... Thus there are persons who say that Mrs. Besant suddenly and somewhat sensationally shot up as an active political agitator. And in the opinion of these persons, her fundamental object all along has been to rehabilitate and restore Theosophy, by means of a popular political propaganda. The present communications of Mrs. Besant and her theosophic colleagues would seem to lend some colour to these insinuations.......... Mrs. Besant and her colleagues must learn to discriminate between the departments of human life and their own activities. If they do not, then they are unpractical visionaries, whose deliberations, whatever their spiritual and theosophic value, are politically worthless."

The late Mr. Gokhale's scheme of reforms.

Mahrátta (5), 19th Aug.

***15.** "Mr. Gokhale was an *extremist Moderate* and we cannot conceive that in the year 1917 he would have published a scheme over his signature containing the clause that 'the principle of an official majority for the Viceroy's legislature shall be continued at present'. .... We do not propose to go further into details. We shall only say that Mr. Gokhale's scheme falls short of *the National aspirations* of the day as embodied in the Joint Scheme. It is not very likely that even the blindest admirers of the departed patriot will think of going back on the Joint Scheme and fall into love with one that will keep the nation out of *real power at the centre*, simply because the scheme emanated from 'the amiable Mr. Gokhale', 'a few days before his death'. The Aga Khan evidently desires on the part of Indians such 'an advance in the direction of the tail'. But we are sure that he will be disappointed."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 18th Aug.: **Gujaráti* (16), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.; **Rást Goftár* (30), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

16. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* draws the attention of its readers to the points of similarity that exist between the scheme of reforms outlined by Lord Islington and that of the late Mr. Gokhale published by His Highness the Aga Khan and expresses the opinion that Lord Islington must have largely drawn upon Mr. Gokhale's scheme which the Aga Khan must have shown him unofficially. It refers to the favourable opinion expressed by the London papers on Mr. Gokhale's scheme and the contrast they have drawn between the scheme and the suggestions of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and expresses the fear that British statesmen might set aside the suggestions of the Nineteen in favour of Mr. Gokhale's scheme, which the paper regards as having been framed in a hasty manner when Mr. Gokhale was in a weak state of health, without having consulted other people. The paper suggests that a responsible deputation should be sent at an early date to England to educate public opinion and to convince Parliament of the advisability of adopting the suggestions of the Nineteen.

[The *Gujaráti* writes :—"His Highness the Aga Khan, who ought to be in this country at least for the greater portion of the year and give a lead to public opinion in India instead of spending his time and money in England and on the Continent, has thought it proper to publish Mr. Gokhale's scheme of reform in the belief that his memorandum will have a beneficial effect upon Indian thought and contribute materially to the evolution of a sound progressive policy. His Highness has by his long residence outside India lost touch with the forces and influences that have stirred the mind of his countrymen and is entirely wrong in believing that Mr. Gokhale, had he been alive, would have adhered to all the proposals he had drafted without consulting any of his countrymen." The *Rást Goftár* remarks :—"Apart from the solemnity inseparable from such a document, the scheme is a heritage left by a great patriot who was held in the highest esteem by the rulers of the country. What do statesmen of the rank of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Pentland think of the scheme, and will they ventilate their opinions independently of higher authority? We think the publication of the scheme is timely, for it is a definite constructive scheme prepared by a leader whose premature death is regarded as a misfortune even by the opponents of Indian progress. It will be a touchstone wherewith to test the real attitude of our critics."]

Passive resistance.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 19th Aug.; *Mahrátta* (5), 19th Aug.

***17.** There cannot be the least doubt that an effective and widespread scheme of passive resistance would paralyse the administration and make British rule impossible.......... We have good reason to think that some of those who advocate passive resistance have not the least idea to what extremities it may be carried, if once started.......... What those who advocate passive resistance desire is to tickle the old and otiose John Bull a little under his ribs, with a view to call his attention to the fact that his Indian boys have outgrown the school-boy suit of clothing which he had provided for them some fifty years ago. That John Bull does stand in need of being tickled up a bit, and made to pay more heed to the wants of the Indian people, is unfortunately true. But opinion will be divided as to whether resort to passive resistance should be had for the purpose. The kind of passive resistance which men like Sir Subrahmanya Iyer contemplate is of a very mild type.......... It will be a fearful mistake, however, to assume that when the movement is once launched, it will for ever remain under the control and guidance of men so spiritually-minded and experienced as Sir Subrahmanya. Passive resistance will soon turn to active resistance." [The *Mahrátta*, on the other hand, urges that there is justification for a resort to passive resistance and is of opinion that the time for doing so is ripe.]

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 14th and 15th Aug.; *Indu Prakash* (39), 14th Aug., Eng. cols.

18. Though the theory of passive resistance is not unconstitutional the question is when it should be adopted and to what extent it should be followed. The question has been raised in this country mainly because of the prohibition of the Calcutta meeting. But some people do not want to limit its scope and character. It is necessary to lay down first whether its object is to conduct political meetings regardless of prohibition or to continue it till the whole of Government's reactionary policy is reversed or till *swarájya* is gained. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee wanted first to define passive resistance and settle a scheme to carry it out. If the Congress approves of passive resistance in general it is likely that the movement may assume many legal but harmful shapes. The same thing happened in the days of boycott and therefore those who advocate the new movement should first define its character. [In the next issue the paper says that passive resistance is legal and that the word 'unconstitutional' was used by Mr. Samarth at the Bombay Congress Committee meeting in reference to the movement only in the sense that it was against the constitution of the Congress. The *Indu Prakásh* writes :—"The refusal of Messrs. Tilak and Jinnah to be in the Committee appears to us extremely strange and inconsistent with democratic discipline which demands of every man, whether he be as great as the Himalayas or as small as an atom, that he shall obey the mandate of the majority. We are right glad that Mr. Natrajan's proposal was carried."]

Raj Hansa (85), 14th Aug.; *Chandrodaya* (33), 13th Aug.

19. Indians are fully convinced that there is no other way but passive resistance to open the eyes of the officials. There is no sedition in it. Even Brahma is not able to charge passive resisters with sedition. Women in England followed passive resistance and got suffrage. Indians obtained by its great power rights in South Africa and taught the mighty Boers a lesson. Passive resistance is a powerful weapon to realise our ideal silently without any fear and without any threat to the rulers. We hope that Government who have witnessed the methods of passive resistance followed in England, will fulfil the ambition of Indians and see that it is not followed in India. [The *Chandrodaya* remarks:—Patriot Gandhi first began the movement in South Africa. Passive resisters disobey orders felt by them to be improper and unjust and suffer courageously any punishment awarded to them. It appears that repressive orders issued by one or two local Governments will convey matters to extremes. We suggest sincerely to Government to find out some way to keep the people contented and peaceful.]

Gujarâti (16), 12th Aug.; *Hindusthân* (20), 16th Aug.; *Bombay Samâchâr* (59), 15th Aug.; *Prâja Mitra and Pârsi* (28), 13th Aug.; *Jâm-e-Jamshed* (23), 16th Aug.; *Akhbâr-e-Islâm* (56), 18th Aug.

20. The officials have allowed matters to come to such a pass that the people have no other recourse left to them but to take to passive resistance. This opinion is shared by those who are reputed to be thoughtful and cool-headed. Bengal alone was affected by political agitation at the time of the partition of the Province, but at present the whole of India is involved. Do the officials believe that the commencement of the passive resistance movement on the part of the people means the success of their high policy? If the officials consider passive resistance as a welcome movement they should ask the Public Works Department to set about erecting new prisons. We do not think that the officials would like the people to go the length of resorting to passive resistance. They would, therefore, do well to allow the people to express their opinions freely and to refrain from adopting further measures of repression. Lord Hardinge has considered passive resistance as a legitimate and constitutional weapon in political agitation. Mr. Winston Churchill has expressed a similar opinion. Pym and Hampden resorted to the same weapon as a protest against the unlawful orders of Charles I. But since it is injurious both to the rulers and the ruled we hope Government will not drive the people of India to have recourse to it. [The *Hindusthân* writes:—We should be prepared to undergo the worst of difficulties in this world and in order to enable us to pass our ordeals we must have sufficient self-control. We would be courting destruction by entering upon passive resistance without self-control. Not only does the passive resistance movement require leaders endowed with spiritual powers, but it requires followers who possess similar qualifications. Passive resistance cannot be carried out by verbal protestations. We must not commit the mistake of being carried away by misplaced enthusiasm in the matter of passive resistance. The Provincial Congress Committee has, therefore, done well in postponing the consideration of the question for a fortnight more.] [The *Bombay Samâchâr* expresses its approval of the step taken by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in not expressing its opinion in favour of adopting passive resistance and appointing a committee to formulate a clear definition of 'passive resistance'. The paper is of opinion that resort to passive resistance will prove harmful to the real interests of India and asks its readers not to be deluded by the catch expression which might lead young men into a course of conduct that would be far from law-abiding and constitutional. It asks the Provincial Congress Committee to work in co-operation with Government and not to resort to passive resistance, an objectionable and highly injurious method of political agitation. The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* and the *Jâm-e-Jamshed* also sound a note of warning against the adoption of passive resistance and ask the Moderates to rise to the occasion and prevent the nation from falling a victim to harmful sentimentalism. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* praises the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee for the tact and wisdom they have shown in dealing with the question of passive resistance.]

Jágruk (new), 10th Aug.; *Kalpataru and Anand-vritt* (104), 12th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 11th Aug.

21. The *Jágruk* say that the 'educate' leaders want to throw the heavy responsiblity of the defence of India on the British Government while appropriating the loaves and fishes of the internal administration of the country to themselves. Referring to the question of passive resistance it wishes that the antecedents of the woman for whose sake the serious step is going to be undertaken by the leaders had been at least noble, but that is far from being the case and declares that in the end the leaders are likely to find themselves bamboozled. What intolerable oppression, it ironically asks, is being practised by the authorities on the masses that our leaders have no other alternative but to resort to passive resistance? [The *Kalpataru* writes:—In our opinion passive resistance is not as easy as it appears to be. The success of this movement depends on the patience, endurance and tenacity of those who resort to it. On calm consideration it must be admitted that our people do not possess the requisite qualifications to ensure success in such a step. We are also of opinion that the present is not the proper time to inaugurate such a movement. It is however certain that resort to it will one day be necessary. The *Indu Prakásh* while approving the passive resistance movement says that its scope should be clearly defined before inaugurating it.]

Advocacy of passive resistance and boycott as the only means of combating official high-handedness.

Young India (14), 15th Aug.

22. R. S. G. writes in *Young India*:—"Passive resistance, the successful resistance of unjust executive orders, to which a conscientious person cannot reconcile himself, is a legitimate and peremptory duty of every true son of his country. It has a moral justification, as well as the acceptance and approval of civilized humanity.......... Faith in the justice of our cause and confidence in ourselves alone would strengthen us in those efforts which would prove the harbinger of events justifying our struggle and exalting us as a nation. This self-confidence is the more essential in view of the fact that much is heard about us of speculation, as to who is the eventual arbiter of our destinies.......... It is unmistakably clear that we are the makers of our own status, our strength is the solution to the riddle and no amount of faith in external factors alone would ever aid us in getting at what we aspire for.......... Mere wailing would help us to get to nowhere when it is open to us to place our money in foreign banks or not, when we are free to insure our lives in foreign companies or not, when our choice is unfettered to order goods from foreign firms or not and, if foreign goods were needful, to get them directly from the manufacturers or not.......... Action in such matters—really potent passive resistance that it is—is calculated to prove a most powerful supplement to the resistance to executive high-handedness and misuse of authority.

Appeal to the people to take the vow of *swadeshi*.

Sandesh (118), 10th Aug.

23. The *Sandesh* makes use of the recent celebration of the birthday of God Shrikrishna to dwell upon the 'depressed condition to which India has been reduced on all sides', and declares that the reason why there have been no incarnations of God now as there were in old times is that the people have as yet no consciousness of their degraded condition and that the 'flame of divine discontent has not as yet been kindled in the hearts of the people. The writer, therefore, calls upon the people to rouse themselves to action and to take the vow of *swadeshi*, as it includes all matters. It goes on:—To-day is Shrikrishna Jayanti. From to-day not even a bit of foreign cloth or a pinch of foreign sugar should be consumed. These things must not be forgotten while working for Home Rule. Shrikrishna will not be far off when the step is taken with fixed determination.

The 4th of August ought to be a day of a new vision of sympathy, friendship and co-operation between the Indians and the English.

New Times (7), 3rd Aug.

24. **In the course of an article headed "August 4th", the *New Times* praises the spirit of high resolve displayed by the English and the French in connection with the war, and the fairness and genius for constructive administration displayed by the English. It then remarks:—"It is unfortunate that young India interprets English genius by a reference to contemporary events in India. How long will India and England wander thus through the wood of error?** How long will it take for both to awake out of the dreams of disintegrating criticism to the reality of a comradeship, a union of service in a common cause? How long will last the clouds which have crossed between the two? Misunderstandings between both are multiplying; and it seems, sometimes, to an Eastern lover of the West as if it were not possible to stand long the strain of the situation.......... Shall the 4th of August be simply a memorial day? May it not be a day of a new vision of sympathy, a new friendship between Indians and Englishmen—a day of mutual trust and confidence between the officials and the people, so that disintegrating reaction and criticism may give place to constructive co-operation."

Comments on the reply of the Governor of Bengal to the deputation about the prohibited Calcutta meeting.

Kesari (106), 14th Aug.; *Message* (6), 12th Aug.

25. We do not know whether the Bengali leaders were satisfied or felt insulted by the reply they got. It is a question for consideration whether meetings should be held after giving the assurance required by officials. We hope the Bengali leaders will give due consideration to the point that it would be an admission that former speeches were violent if assurances regarding future meetings are now given.] [The *Message* writes:—"The Lord Sahib of Bengal would revoke the order if an assurance were given that precautions would be taken as to the language used. The assumption that such language would be used is a grave reflection on the good sense of Bengal, and we think that the Bengalis should rather hold no meeting than give such an undignified assurance as has been asked for."]

Mrs. Besant and the Presidentship of the next session of the Indian National Congress.

Gujaráti (16), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

***26.** "It is very doubtful whether the action of the Provincial Congress Committees which have voted in favour of Mrs. Annie Besant's appointment as president of the forthcoming session of the Congress has done to her cause a real service.......... It is, however, a significant circumstance that no less than 42 votes including that of the Honourable Mr. Jinnah were recorded in favour of the Raja of Mahamudabad as against the 54 votes in favour of Mrs. Besant. There are not a few people who appreciate her work just as her out-and-out or blind admirers do, but have not much confidence in her judgment. Whilst strongly disapproving of the action of Government in interning her, they are not prepared to place themselves under her leadership. Although their voice has been drowned for the time being, it is very likely that the Reception Committee of the Calcutta Congress will find themselves constrained to invite the All-India Congress Committee to elect another President."

Kesari (106), 14th Aug.

27. The *Kesari* expresses its belief that Mrs. Besant will be very likely elected President of the next Congress, but at the same time it thinks that Government will, on that very account, be obstinate enough to continue her internment till December. It opines that just as Government are resolved, people also should adopt a firm attitude. It avers that if Mrs. Besant had not been interned the Raja of Mahmudabad would have been elected President and that he should be appointed her Deputy, if she is not released. It then refers to the question of passive resistance and says that the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has postponed the decision thereupon. But it holds that such questions cannot be permanently shelved as they have been put forward when the heart of the nation is full of the sentiment.

Comments on Government replies to interpellattions in the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Sind Advocate (9), 2nd Aug.

28. One question of Mr. Bhurgri was if Government knew that students had hitherto been permitted to serve as volunteers at Congress, Moslem League and Provincial Conferences. The whole world knows that this is so, but the Government of Bombay declared that they were ignorant of it, and they will make enquiries! If a Government does not know such a public fact, it proclaims itself as.........we will *not* say what. The most charitable view we can take of such a reply is that the Government were joking. Another question was about Deputy Superintendents of Police. The Police Commision had recommended that Deputy Superintendents—which posts were created for Indians specially—should now and then be elevated to the office of Police Superintendents. How many have been so promoted?......... Neither the answer nor the fact stated in it will, we are afraid, raise the reputation of the Government which has plainly frustrated the purpose of the Commission and broken the promise which the Government of India and the Secretary of State held out on the ground of the Commission's recommendations. .... Then, Mr. Bhurgri asked if Government knew that the officials at Larkana had openly expressed to some people their hostility to the Home Rule movement, and whether the Police Superintendent had there sent for one Seth Thanwardas (who had sent letter to *the Hind Vási* newspaper) and scolded him; further whether the Municipal hall had been first allowed for public meetings, but then the Collector sent for the president of the Home Rule and then even an open air meeting was forbidden? The Government simply replied that they did not know! Yes, but if you avert a question like that, you must, when you do not know the facts at least enquire of those concerned. To do otherwise, and merely state in Council 'we do not know' is not sufficient."

Phœnix (8), 1st Aug.

29. Commenting upon the Government reply to the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri's interpellation in the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council on the subject of the working of section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the *Phœnix* remarks:—"The fact that Government resist the idea of publishing papers regarding the working of section 110 cannot but lead one to suspect that all is not well in this best tract of India in connection with the proceedings instituted under the Badmashi Chapter. If the section has been found to be working satisfactorily as stated in the reply, there is no reason why the papers on the point should be withheld from the public. The matter should not be allowed to rest here. Efforts should again be made to get the publication of papers regarding the working of section 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code in Sind. We trust the honourable members from Sind will take note of it.........." [Coming to the Budget discussion, the paper remarks:—"The Muhammadans in Sind greatly appreciated Government's grant of rupees one lakh for secondary education; but much more was needed to be done in this direction. The Sind Muhammadans, as we have several times pointed out, should press for the acceptance by Government of the Sind Muhammadan Educational Cess Bill. In view of the fact that Government has already allowed the introduction of Mr. Patel's Bill for compulsory primary education under which a Municipality is authorized to levy an educational cess, there is no reason why Government should oppose the Bill which levies an educational cess on Muhammadans in rural tracts for the promotion of their education."]

Co-operative Credit Societies and political movements.

Praja Bandhu (27), 12th Aug.

30. The *Praja Bandhu* associates itself with the protest that is being raised against certain rules that Government mean to apply to the Co-operative Credit Societies in the Presidency. It is of opinion that the experience gained by Government in the matter of the Co-operative Credit Societies does not warrant them in introducing rules for keeping them aloof from politics inasmuch as no Co-operative Society is known to have dabbled in politics. It considers the new rules as vexatious and such as would officialise

the working of the societies to their great detriment. It thinks that Government have been actuated by baseless suspicions in introducing the new rules.

His Excellency the Governor's speech at the Fergusson College.
Kesari (106), 14th Aug.; *Subodh Patrika* (42), 12th Aug.

31. Commenting upon Lord Willingdon's speech at the Fergusson College, Poona, the *Kesari* says that while officials are free to impress upon the minds of students their views, the students are prohibited from hearing the other side. It further remarks that the prohibition enforced against students is primarily for the benefit of the authorities and adds:—If Lord Willingdon would consult the files of 1909, he will see that the circular issued that year was protested against even then. The officials themselves admit that it was not acted upon. Hence the boys suffered in discipline and character thereby. How will the officials honestly answer this question? In 1909, there was no Press Act, no Defence of India Act and no Conspiracy Act. If students remained obedient even after listening to lectures in those days of full independence what grounds are there to believe that their character will be spoiled by attending lectures in the present days of gagging? Moreover in those days there were independent schools so that those students who were against restrictions about attendance at meetings, could attend them. But Government have now suppressed independent schools and also prohibited students from attending meetings. This is like giving a beating to a man after gagging him. [The *Subodh Patrika* remarks:—Where was the necessity for His Excellency to harp upon a circular issued at Cambridge in the remote past? We wish His Excellency had not made the attempt to justify the Bombay Government's circular which had practically become a dead letter and which has now been given a new lease of life by His Excellency's Government.]

Young India (14), 15th Aug.

32. The discrimination which has been made against meetings on Home Rule appears to have been a mere after-thought introduced in the resurrected circular, because it was found necessary to allay the suspicions of the "elder" Congress propagandists. The reply to Mr. Manmohandas Ramji's question knocks the bottom out of the complacent theory that temperate speeches made on the subject of self-government are exempt from the comprehensive purview of the circular. Though personally Lord Willingdon might rightly consider it undesirable that young men should get their heads filled with oratory of an 'intemperate character', the circular, the replies have made it clear, is distinguished for its impartiality, so far as speeches of whatsoever complexion on politics are concerned. Students may in future acquaint themselves with approved official politics of the day from 'leading gentlemen and statesmen' who are well known perhaps in the sanctified ante-chambers of Government Houses and gubernatorial camps. As we have said, students might listen to an address on the Allies' war aims from Principal Covernton on war anniversary day or to a digression on politics, physics and civics by Father Goodier; but they may not attend a meeting addressed by Pandit Malaviya or Syed Wazir Hasan. They may be treated to an expatiation on India's failure to help the Empire by the Lord Bishop of Bombay; but they cannot listen to an indictment of the Indian bureaucracy by the grey-bearded lion of Bengal. Such is the wonderful and ingenious logic of the Bombay Government which Lord Willingdon would fain defend in an address to the Principal and the students of the Fergusson College!"

Gujaráti (16), 13th Aug.; *Sanj Vartamán* (31), 10th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 13th Aug.

33. His Excellency has advised the students to invite political leaders to attend their debates with the permission of their Principal, but his advice cannot be easily put into practice. They dare not invite political leaders whose names stand on the black list of the Police and so they will have to invite the so-called leaders of the people who are sycophants of Government. Does His Excellency imply, by asking our students not to be carried away by catch words and phrases, that leaders of political movements in India live on them alone? While His Excellency gives us such advice Sir Stafford Northcote as Rector of St. Andrews

University is reported to have said: "The taking of the youth out of the State is like taking the spring out of the year!" But it is a far cry from St. Andrews to Bombay! [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The exhortations made to students to abstain from politics lead them to believe for certain that there must be something wrong in the administrative machinery of Government, for they argue that without such a radical defect they would not have been prevented from merely attending political meetings and listening to lectures. The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—One of the main reasons of the poor response to the appeal to join the Indian Defence Force is that Indians have lost their martial spirit owing to being disarmed. The conditions of service are not the same for Indians and Europeans and nothing has yet been done to admit Indians to higher commissioned ranks. There will be a better response if these grievances are removed. We do not think that intemperate language has been used at any of the lectures organised by the Home Rule League. People have been driven to use strong language on account of the repressive measures of Government. But strong language is not sedition. We see no objection to students attending political meetings provided they do not take any active part in them. No harm is likely to be done if students attend political meetings; on the contrary attendance at such meetings will make them better citizens. The *Bombay Samáchár* exhorts Indian students to give a ready response to the appeal of His Excellency to join the Defence Force. It considers His Excellency's explanation about the orders regarding students and politics as satisfactory and asks people not to be carried away by the misconstruction put upon the speech in certain quarters.

His Excellency the Governor should stop police highhandedness.
Kesari (106), 14th Aug.

34. Referring to the Hubli (district Dhárwár) Police who wanted to assert their right to attend a private meeting, the *Kesari* says:—Lord Willingdon says that he is sympathetic towards constitutional agitation. What then does it mean that the police should commit such pranks freely in his régime and that no one should hold them to account? How much more are the powers of the police to extend? [It then refers to the prohibition of a dramatic performance in aid of the War Fund by the Vengurla (Ratnágiri) Police and says:—Such instances of police highhandedness occur daily. Has not the time come for a sympathetic Governor like Lord Willingdon to stop them? When the police were being criticised in the Council Lord Willingdon asked for particular instances and deprecated general criticism. Many instances like the one detailed above must have been noticed by him. But nobody knows what measures were adopted by him and what punishment was inflicted upon the police who persecuted the people. How many more days can this evasion continue?]

Reflections on a recent case of suicide by a woman in Bombay.
Indu Prakásh (39), 9th Aug., Eng. cols.

35. Referring to a recent case in Bombay in which a young woman committed suicide to escape from a warrant of arrest issued for disobeying the court's order in the matter of restitution of conjugal rights, the *Indu Prakásh* remarks:—"It would be against all known law and equity for a court to arrest a wife and send her to her husband's place, or send her to jail for disobeying the order of the Court to go and reside with her husband, besides being absolutely inhuman. The bailiff, one wonders, how he had a warrant of arrest! Or was it a mere make-believe to browbeat the wife? However that be, we are of opinion that a wrong use, if not a positive abuse, of judicial process has resulted in the loss of a young life for the sake of a decrepit old man of fifty-five. We know the matter will always remain clouded in obscurity, because the principal person affected is not going to care for that life. The police will remain quiet, because the jury have returned a verdict of suicide. The question will, therefore, always remain unanswered what kind of warrant the bailiff had in his hand that frightened the already disgusted young woman into committing suicide. We shall never know who is guilty of driving the young woman to cause the loss of her own life."

Comments on the Shiroda (Ratnágiri) police prosecution case.
Indu Prakásh (39), 11th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Rást Goftár* (30), 12th Aug.

36. Commenting on the Shiroda (Ratnágiri) police prosecution case, the *Indu Prakásh* remarks:—"The whole matter is simply astounding. We are not at this distance able to appreciate which of the tin-gods' wrath instituted this long humbug of persecution of an honest police patel and a loyal citizen who was working hard in aid of the War Relief Fund. We are nowadays getting a surfeit of gubernatorial warnings all harping that the whole Empire's resources are at present concentrated on the winning of the war. Are those orations merely intended for the citizens? Are they not at all meant for the police officers? Here is the case of a citizen trying to help the Empire and the police in substance helping the enemy. Lord Kitchener said they would rather lose India than lose the war. The Ratnágiri police ideal appears to be rather to lose the war than to lose their cockney prestige. Clear on the face of it it is a perverted exaggeration of prestige.......... Looking at the order of the Assistant Collector he does not appear to have made, or to have thought it necessary to get made, any inquiry into the substance of the mendacious report of the Sub-Inspector of Police, Vengurla. If that is the way the higher authorities are to exercise their power, what is the worth of the safeguard desired by the Government in entrusting powers of dismissal and suspension in those higher authorities?......... Adequate comment is beyond our capacity. The police administration is getting more and more expensive every year. And some members of the police department justify that increased expenditure by behaving prejudicially to the cause of the Empire. The infringement of the civil right of the people by such a low animal as the head constable in this case taking on himself peremptorily to stop without any order a public dramatic performance is certainly less of an offence than acting prejudicially to the cause of the Empire. And if the guilty officials are not punished for the latter, they certainly can remain secure against any apprehension in connection with the former. We await anxiously what action Government take in this matter." [Commenting on the Shiroda case, the *Rást Goftár* remarks that if there be even a substratum of truth in this example of alleged police *zulum* as is mentioned in the *Bombay Chronicle* it is necessary for Government to deal with the police in a strong manner, because, adds the paper, officers of lower rank have now-a-days become very overbearing and are severely oppressing people in the villages.]

Comments on the action taken by the police in connection with the meeting at Hubli (Dhárwár).
Shubhodaya (89), 10th Aug.

37. Referring to the letter of the District Superintendent of Police of Dhárwár regretting that the public was not informed in time of the prohibition of the Hubli meeting, the *Shubhodaya* remarks:—What is the meaning of the letter? The District Superintendent of Police is not at all sorry that the meeting was stopped. He regrets that those who arranged the meeting were not informed in time by the police of the prohibition. What a strange ruling! We regret to see that the Police Superintendent does not possess a proper knowledge of the District Police Act which lays down the duties of the police. Section 53 of the Act says that the police should regulate the business going on in a public place. Nowhere does it say that it should be stopped. On market days Durgad Bail (in Hubli) is full of people. Will the police disperse them? The Durgad Bail belongs to the public. Police should confine themselves to their duties. They can only regulate meetings and processions and they cannot stop them.

Comments on the Sind Settlement Committee's Report.
Sind Advocate (9), 2nd Aug.

38. "In Settlement Committee's Report it is triumphantly pointed out that in the Punjab to which (and not to Bombay) the conditions of Sind correspond—so they say—the period of settlement is twenty years, and hence the demand for thirty years, settlement is extravagant......... It is no doubt true that in the Punjab the term is at present twenty years, but ever since Lord Lawrence's strong recommendation for thirty years an agitation has been carried on for an increase of the interval; and it was only the other day that in the Punjab Legislative Council a motion brought forward by a responsible non-official member was defeated simply by the casting vote of the President, *i.e.*, the Lieutenant-Governor. What does that show? Nothing but this, that in the Punjab there is even stronger opinion in favour of the thirty years' settlement and the Punjab will soon have it. The ignorance of the officials is less pardonable because that of which they have proved themselves guilty is matter of current history."

The Hyderabad (Sind) authorities and the Home Rule movement.
Young India (14), 15th Aug.

39. "The Sind-Hyderabad authorities seem to be bent upon obtaining some notoriety for their reactionary tendencies. It is not long ago that they obtained a measure of success in this direction, and they seem to be determined upon obtaining a larger measure. Viewed in this light, their latest exploits in prohibiting the holding of all sort of pro-Besant meetings seem perfectly justified and the benighted character of the Province of Sind has only offered untold facilities to the authorities for indulging in antics in repression. It seems to us that this craving for notoriety would have been limited if the Central Government had shown some solicitude to be in closer touch with the state of things in that part of the Presidency. But the recent interpellations have elicited the fact that the central authority is lamentably in the dark regarding the antics of the Sind officials, and we are afraid that that knowledge has only encouraged them to indulge still further in the pursuit of footling tactics."

Indians in South Africa.
Baroda Vartamán (57), 18th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 16th Aug.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 16th Aug.

40. Referring to the incident that took place at Johannesburg some time ago in which an Indian died as a result of his being thrown out of a tram car by a white man, the *Baroda Vartamán* remarks:—On the complaint being lodged the magistrate convicted the white *Lát* and inflicted a fine of Rs. 750 or nine months' imprisonment and let him go! The price of a poor Indian's life is Rs. 750! It is stated that another Indian was similarly thrown off from a car, but his soul being tenacious escaped getting redemption at the hands of the white man! Dear me! We thought that the painful chapter relating to South Africa had closed as a result of the efforts of *Mahátma* Gandhi; but no, it is the same old round again! The brave General Smuts praises the Indian army and shows great sympathy for the Indians, but will he be able to say what is the significance of the proposition "the South African situation has satisfactorily improved" when the white *sahebs* of South Africa can escape on the payment of a fine of fifty pounds after taking the life of an Indian by throwing him off as if he were a beast? A contemporary rightly inquires what punishment would have been awarded to an Indian for killing a white in that manner. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* dwells upon the overpowering desire of all nations for their national and economic development and believes that a permanent peace can be established only on the basis of allowing all nations development of their trade and commerce in a free manner and also of allowing them the use of all parts of the earth. It regrets that the people of the same empire have not yet been prepared to make some such arrangements in their mutual relations with one another. The paper then refers to the movements said to have been set on foot for the exclusion of the Indians and other Asiatics from South Africa, for preventing them from acquiring immoveable property and for placing trade restrictions on them and regrets that the attitude of the local authorities in that connection is also not reassuring. It concludes with inquiring how the hopes of the Allied nations and their Governments for a permanent peace are likely to be realised under these circumstances. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also adversely criticises the light nature of the punishment awarded in the case above referred to. If the law in that country (South Africa) has provided a fine of 50 pounds sterling for the offence of manslaughter, the paper sarcastically remarks, ruffians have a fine opportunity of knocking off the heads of men and play with them as if they were balls. If, however, it adds, the law permitted a severer punishment for the offence, the magistrate must not have considered an Indian life to be of higher value than that of a costly animal.]

Comments on the taking of security from the *Sanjibani* of Calcutta.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 15th Aug.

41. We think that the reasons advanced by the Bengal Government for the demand of security from the *Sanjibani*, that it had been warned twice and that the declarant was an uneducated man, are worthless. The list of warnings recently issued by Government contained the names of newspapers that did not know that they had been warned. No one supposes that the paper has published objectionable articles because Government have warned it. It is not proper that security should be demanded because a compositor has come forward to make the declaration. So long as the policy of the paper is not really objectionable it is necessary that anyone coming forward to make the declaration should be allowed to do so without any security.

Comments on the fresh forfeiture of the *New India* security.
Message (6), 18th Aug.

42. "Considering that the Madras Government is not yet out of the first security forfeiture of 'New India' under Mrs. Besant, we wonder that that Government should have been so hasty to utilise the sweeping and arbitrary powers in a second case. The first case is still under appeal before the Privy Council by special leave of that august judicial tribunal; and it would have been certainly more judicious if it had waited until the Privy Council had delivered its judgment. We can only explain the hastiness of the Government of Lord Pentland on one of two assumptions, *viz.*, that it does not care sufficiently for any of your judicial tribunals and that sort of nonsense or that it is extremely nervous about the validity of its action. Perhaps, there are other 'valid' reasons which entitle the Madras Government to confiscate the property of a loyal and law-abiding 'Citizen of the Empire,' without going through the common formalities of a judicial trial, but those reasons are not so apparent to us. The present action should, however, convince the people that the provincial autocrats and bureaucrats do not care in the least for your so-called public opinion. Those who have suddenly begun in the city to exhibit a love for the 'constitution of the Congress' as they alone could interpret it, ought to take note of this fact. We presume Lord Pentland's Government is determined to put to complete test the power of endurance in the present political agitation. If that be so, we assure it in advance that it will be disappointed if it expects that the present agitation is one of those passing phenomena of the Indian atmosphere, destined to disappear like a gathering of clouds."

LEGISLATION.

Muhammadans and the Honourable Patel's Education Bill.
Sind Moslem (11), 4th Aug.

43. After quoting the views of those who took part in the debate in the Honourable Mr. Patel's Education Bill in the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Sind Moslem* remarks :—"We believe the Honourable Mr. Lawrence and Honourable Mr. Ghulam Husain were to some extent reasonable in expressing their fears in this connection. For we believe some clauses in the bill of which the Honourable Mr. Patel made a mention in his speech, particularly clause No. 15, will come in the way of the poor Muhammadan parents and there is likelihood of their coming into trouble. It is, therefore, the duty of all Moslem educationists in Sind and their well-wishers to go carefully into these clauses so as to safeguard the interests of the poor Muhammadan parents before the bill is finally passed. It may not be out of place here to mention that we are in favour of compulsory and *free* education and *not only* compulsory education."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the institution by the Bombay University of a degree of Teaching.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

*44. "The institution of a degree in Teaching by the Bombay University promises to lift up that profession into a higher plane. Of course we are not confident that the institution of a degree alone will lead to the desired results. In fact what is wanted is training institutions for men who have a real love and liking for the profession and who mean to devote themselves to it throughout their life. And although in the natural sequence of affairs the degree should have followed the establishment of such institutions, we hope the latter will not be long in following the degree. The great satisfaction to us is the recognition of the importance and greatness of the profession."

Alleged waste of stationery in the Educational Department.

Subodha Patrika (42), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

45. "'Is not India at war with Germany'? is a question which naturally rises to the lips of those who have an opportunity of witnessing the waste that is going on roundabout us in the use or rather misuse of stationery by Government offices and particularly by the Educational Department. Circular letters of not more than a dozen lines typed on highly glazed foolscap paper mentioning the names of students debarred, books sanctioned or proscribed, etc., are sent out frequently from the offices of the Inspectors. The information contained in these circulars could be easily printed in the form of a tract once a month and thus considerable economy could be practised not only in stationery but in postage. We do not intend to criticize at length the value of the contents of these letters which are often of a worthless character not certainly worth the paper on which they are typed. Government offices and especially the Educational Department ought to set a lesson in economy by ceasing to waste money on mere red tape. It is astonishing to find that when paper of all descriptions has become awfully dear, the Director of Public Instruction should have yet issued no circular asking schools to practice economy in the use of exercise books. We are glad to find that the Educational Department of the United Provinces has set a good example in this respect."

RAILWAYS.

The G. I. P. Railway strike.

Kesari (106), 14th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 15th Aug.

• **46.** Referring to the G. I. P. Railway strike the *Kesari* says:—Government have given an indifferent reply that they cannot interfere though they shed crocodile tears in season and out of season over the poor condition of the labourers. Do not the local officials know that the British Ministers have intervened in labour strikes in England and have made the capitalists pay more wages? The heartless conduct of the G. I. P. Railway officials and the allowances granted to their white fellow countrymen on higher pay and the refusal to consider the grievances of Indian labourers getting lower pay give rise to indignation in the hearts of self-respecting Indians. The officials who have refused to grant allowances to labourers getting less than Rs. 50 have granted increments to guards, station masters, etc. We do not think that the Agent will consider sympathetically the grievances of workshop labourers. They should place them before the Home Board through Mr. Baptista. [The *Indu Prakásh* advises both the parties not to prolong the quarrel but to come to a settlement. It asks the men to return to work and requests the Agent to consider their claims.]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 16th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 17th Aug.

47. *Sánj Vartamán* considers the scale of salaries proposed by the Agent of the G. I. P. Railway for the workshop operatives as unsatisfactory and hopes that the Railway Company will see its way to put an end to the strike. Should the Railway Company not be able to settle the matter, the paper suggests that Government should intervene and bring the strike to an end and thus avoid further loss to the Company and the fifteen thousand operatives involved in the strike. It considers the demands of the strikers to be perfectly reasonable. [The *Bombay Samáchár* on the other hand warns the operatives against playing into the hands of certain selfish individuals who have been giving them false hopes, and asks them to resume work forthwith and then bring their grievances to the notice of their superiors as suggested by the Kámgár Hitwardhak Sabha.]

Mahrátta (5), 19th Aug.

***48.** "We confess we cannot understand the justice or expediency of Government standing by and looking on as if they were not concerned at all in the welfare of the many thousands of poor men, women and children who are suffering on account of the unreasonable obstinacy of the Railway Company. These poor people are surely members of the 'masses' for whom so much solicitude is so often professed in bureaucratic quarters."]

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Kennedy Sea Face (Bombay) and Government.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23) 13th and 15th Aug.; *Sánj Vartmán* (31), 14th Aug.

49. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* disapproves of the proposal contained in the letter addressed by Under Secretary, Public Works Department, Bombay, to the Bombay Municipal Corporation suggesting that the latter body should build a new road along the Kennedy Sea Face from the Marine Lines Railway Station to Chowpati. It inquires how the Bombay Municipaltiy, whose revenues are limited, can undertake such an expensive work when a wealthy public body like Government are unable to build this road. Do not Government know, the paper further inquires, that the Municipality cannot cope with other more important and pressing demands for want of funds? It believes that the proposed new road, if built, will only serve as a promenade for well-to-do people and declares that the Municipality should not undertake its construction at the present time. It is of opinion that by acquiescing in the present proposal the Corporation will be creating a bad precedent so far as its own interests are concerned. [In the subsequent issue the paper refers to the reply forwarded by Government to the Bombay Municipality declaring their inability to make provision for lighting the Kennedy Sea Face and watering the ride alongside it and remarks that the reasons assigned by Government for their inability are ridiculous. It raises the question if Government have not money enough even to provide about two hundred lamps for the time being on the sea-face, the cost of which would hardly come to one thousand rupees. Such a reply, the paper opines, creates great dissatisfaction among the large bulk of the public. It does not approve of the Government policy of relying upon the opinion of three or four Government officials and disregarding the most urgent and, at the same time, inexpensive demands of the people. The *Sánj Vartamán* hopes that the Bombay Municipal Corporation will refuse to accept the Government proposal about the former building the new road along the sea-face. It also raises the question whether the Municipality can build a road upon ground which belongs to others.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

***50.** Writing on the subject of the improvement of the Kennedy Sea Face, Bombay, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"We have the authority of the Under Secretary to the Bombay Government, Public Works Department, that 'from reports Government have received, it appears to them that the nuisance is not so serious as is represented in the petition.' We are at a loss whom to connote by the word Government. As we understand it, we would request His Excellency and his three honourable colleagues to enjoy a walk along this disgraceful part with their Secretaries and Under Secretaries. That to us appears to be the only way to bring the nuisance home to those who deny its existence.......... We cannot understand why, failing the Trust, Government should not undertake to finance the construction of the road and why the heavy burden of five and a quarter lakhs should fall on the rate-payers of Bombay. It is equitable to make the Municipality maintain the road, not to construct it."

Comments on the proposal to levy a tax on professions at Matheran.

Rást Goftár (30), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

***51.** Commenting upon the proposal to levy a tax on the professions at Matheran, the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"Now if it were explicitly stated in terms that these professional gentlemen carrying on their professions in Matheran would have to pay such taxes, we could admit the reasonableness of such a demand, but engineers and architects and contractors of buildings can scarcely go to Matheran to look for business. The station is a small health resort, and not a great place of business. If the proposal that these professional people will have to pay this tax merely because they belong to those professions, although they do not carry on their professions in Matheran, then it is an iniquitous proposal which must be unhesitatingly and emphatically condemned, and against which every inhabitant of Matheran should energetically protest. In fact, the matter should be brought at once to the notice of the Bombay Government so that this preposterous proposal may be vetoed."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 24th August 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY : PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 34 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 25th August 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION —

British Rule:

A justification of the Government circulars prohibiting students from attending political meetings 18
Alleged friction between Hindus and Muhammadans at Jubbulpore . 20
An open letter to the Head Priest of the Borahs 21
Comments on a recent speech of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu . . . 22 & 23
Comments on the announcement about Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India . . . . 1—6
Comments on the late Mr. Gokhale's scheme of reforms published by High Highness the Aga Khan . . . . 9—13
Lord Islington's pronouncement on Indian Reforms 8
Mr. Montagu's statement in Parliament about India's political future. 7
Muhammadans and the Home Rule movement 19
Necessity of the British retaining control over the internal administration of India 17
Passive resistance . . . . 14 & 15
The Bureaucracy's love of power is placing obstacles in the way of reforms 16

Excise: Comments on a case in which a false charge of corruption was brought against an Abkári Inspector in the Kaira District . . . 33

His Excellency Lord Willingdon:

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's remarks about the Indian Defence Force at the Fergusson College 30
Regret at Her Excellency Lady Willingdon's bad state of health and the need for her to leave Bombay to recuperate 31

Indians abroad: Alleged prohibition of respectable Indians from visiting America on business 29
Press Act: Comments on the forfeiture of the security of *New India* . . 32
Public Service: Complaint that Government has been excluding Brahmins from Sub-Judges' appointments 35
Revenue matters: Protest against Government orders directing Inamdars of Bijápur to keep a record of rights for their villages 34
Sind: Alleged need of police reorganization in— 36

B 202—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War:

Comments on the announcement regarding commissions to Indians in the Army . . . . 24—26

The — 27

What should be done to make the Indian Defence Force popular . 28

EDUCATION—

A lecture on the modern system of education in India 43

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's address before the Secondary Education Conference . . . . 40 & 41

Comments on the secondary Educational Conference at Simla regarding teaching of English in secondary schools 42

The last Convocation of the Bombay University . . . , ... 37

The Vice-Chancellor's Convocation address at the Bombay University . 38 & 39

RAILWAYS—

The G. I. P. Railway strike . . . . 44—48

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the Government resolution on the working of Local Boards in the Presidency 49

Government should lay down a general policy as regards the constitution of all Local Boards 50

Municipalities do not enjoy real self-government 51

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMIINSTRATION.

Comments on the announcement about Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India.

Mahratta (5), 26th Aug.

*1. "There are features in the announcement which may well raise a smile on the face of the most serious and angry thought within the bosom of the most forgiving. 'The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples must be judges of the time and measure of each advance.' That statement is truly humorous—and at the same time ominous.......... The contention of the people is that these authorities have not discharged their responsibilities in a commendable way. Much that could have been done in the last 50 years—not to speak of earlier days—has been left undone.......... In fine, by the 'irresponsible' and wholly unsatisfactory manner in which the 'responsibility' so much talked about has been discharged so far by our Government during quite a long period of rule, while other civilised Governments were taking rapid strides forward in the work of the true all-round development of the several peoples for whom *they* were responsible, our Government has, in our opinion, lost, morally speaking, the right of putting forward the plea that '*they must* be the judges of the time and measure of each advance.'.......... England is *a trustee.* And the right of a trustee to control the destinies of his ward is but limited. Without going further into detailed argument over the matter, we put it as our categorical National demand that the time and measure of each advance shall be roughly settled to-day.......... If this is not done, and if the fixed period which is to elapse before India really governs herself and is an equal member in the Empire is unreasonably long, say over 30 years, we may assure our rulers that India cannot breathe contentedly.......... For the Government of India is practically a big bureaucratic clique that never will think of letting the people move forward except under *compulsion* of some kind. The announcement, as it stands, is nothing more than a declaration of *pious wishes,* but even in this declaration there is an exhibition of 'small-heartedness.' A truly bold and statesmanlike declaration would have contained a definite date, as indicated above, by which the evolution of the Governmental machinery in India would be completed (or, at any rate, energetic attempts made to complete it). It would have been free from the exhibition of want of trust in the people.......... *Indian ability* is not questioned. But Indian 'sense of responsibility' and desire for 'co-operation' are questioned.......... We are told that the Government of India are in complete accord with His Majesty's Government in the matter of the progressive realisation of responsible government in India. Who would have thought that the authors of the most unreasoning repression directed against forceful constitutional agitation have been all the time thinking of giving us 'as soon as possible' 'substantial reform' leading to the progressive realisation of responsible government? Would it be an illogical deduction from facts that the *complete accord* of the Indian Government is a latter-day, a very recent *change* brought about by the *unexpected failure* of the policy of cruel repression which is still stalking abroad in our peaceful country. If we are right in our guess, then the lesson for us is obvious.......... Let us not forget ourselves, let us not forget our duty to our country, and the best and the only way of fulfilling it adequately, when our best leaders are in internment and our most cherished rights are made mockery of. We must declare for passive resistance as the only remedy that National Honour imperatively demands under the circumstances." [Elsewhere the paper writes :—" Mr. Montagu's speech on the Mesopotamia affairs, extracts from which are given elsewhere, breathes sentiments which are *glaringly incompatible* with the tone of the 'announcement'. 'The history of this war shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it!' A man who speaks thus from the bottom of his heart can't possibly subscribe without a twitch of the conscience to the ungenerous and unjust aspersions on loyalty implied in the closing portion of the announcement." In another article the paper urges the need of "forceful agitation" to strengthen the hands of Mr. Montagu. It also declares that unless Mrs. Besant, etc., are released, the Indian leaders will refuse to confer with Mr. Montagu and thus his mission will be fruitless.]

Bombay Samáchár (59), 23rd Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 21st Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 21st Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 22nd Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 22nd Aug.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 22nd Aug.

2. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the announcement about Mr. Montagu's proposed visit to India in connection with the political reforms to be introduced in this country will not fail to produce feelings of joy among the entire Indian people. It declares that the proposed visit affords a strong proof of the determination the British public to give India her due place in the Empire. It observes that the announcement demonstrates how uncalled for was the misunderstanding that has prevailed in some quarters with regard to the policy of the Indian authorities since the commencement of Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty. The paper appeals to the Indian politicians of all shades of opinion once for all to set aside all their preconceived ideas and prejudices and co-operate with Mr. Montagu in making his visit a complete success so far as the interests of India are concerned and to make a beginning in that direction by dissociating themselves from thoughtless and extreme measures. It wishes that the programme of Mr. Montagu's visit should be so arranged that he might be able to attend the coming sessions of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League. The paper then goes on to suggest that if that course be not feasible, the leaders of these two bodies should arrange to hold the sessions at Delhi and at a time which would render it practicable for the Secretary of State for India to attend them. [The *Hindusthán* remarks that the people of India have become indebted to Mr. Montagu for his undertaking a voyage to India at a time when travelling is attended with peril. It declares that his forthcoming visit will enable Mr. Montagu to see India in her true aspect and to realise how exaggerated and misleading are the statements that are being made about the Indian people by certain Anglo-Indian journalists and *ex*-Governors. The paper also expresses the belief that Mr. Montagu will find India in quite a different mood if the Government of India will liberate the Indian political prisoners before he visits this country. The *Sánj Vartamán* regards Mr. Montagu's proposed visit to India as a step farsighted and full of political wisdom. It also dissuades Indian politicians holding extreme views from keeping aloof from co-operation with Government. It expresses the opinion that Mr. Montagu's visit will prove fruitful of beneficial results if, instead of keeping himself confined to Delhi, he prefers to come in close touch with the Indian public. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the time has come for the realisation of the message of "hope" which His Majesty left to the people of India on his leaving this country. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* greatly approves of the provision that has been made for affording the Indian public ample opportunity for the discussion of proposals that will be formulated as a result of Mr. Montagu's inquiry in India before submitting them to Parliament, and believes that such a course will tend greatly to strengthen British rule in India. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also enthusiastically welcomes the announcement.]

Rást Goftár (30), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

*3. "We should be less than human if we do not own to a feeling of elation at the announcement that Mr. Montagu, the new Secretary of State for India, is coming out to India to make personal inquiries as to reforms that should be introduced in India at an early date. We say a feeling of elation is prefectly justifiable, but there must be no feeling of exultation, because it must not for one moment be supposed that we are in sight of the promised land and the goal has been nearly won. We here in India have had the bitter experience how the hardly won progress of years may be lost in a few months. Even now while the war of human liberty is going on and India has been spending her blood and money freely, the forces of re-action were let loose in this country and all the agencies that tend to alienate the people were at work. The highhanded manner in which many things were being done in several provinces shewed as if India were a rebellious country instead of one the splendour of whose loyalty has filled with admiration the whole world.......... Unchecked the bureaucracy would have brought affairs in India to a serious pass; they were steadily alienating all the best men in the country, and the movement of alienation would have spread rapidly......... This danger has been averted."

Indu Prakásh (39), 21st Aug.

4. It is well that Mr. Montagu is coming here just at the nick of time. The Viceroy also is to be on tour in November, but it is not known whether Mr. Montagu is to accompany him or to remain at Delhi to carry out his purpose. It would be well if he toured about the country himself inasmuch as he would thereby come into personal contact with the popular leaders and derive light from them on many public questions. We are sure that even the most out-and-out Home Rulers will welcome Mr. Montagu's visit. We are of opinion that the Gokhale scheme, if so modified as to give half of the Imperial Executive Council seats to Indians, and also otherwise altered will suit our present purposes. It is well that Mr. Montagu is going to institute personal inquiries. It should not be forgotten that he is coming out at the invitation of Lord Chelmsford.

Message (6), 22nd and 25th Aug.

5. After expressing its "great satisfaction" at the announcement of Mr. Montagu's coming visit to India and the admission of Indians to commissioned ranks in the army, the *Message* remarks:—"There is statesmanship in all these decisions and our own opinion is that much of the credit is due to Mr. Montagu. Though the announcement regarding Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit is couched in the orthodox bureaucratic phraseology, we think it is entirely the genuine desire of Mr. Montagu to satisfy himself regarding Indian conditions at the present time.......... Indeed, it seems to us that Mr. Montagu with his personal knowledge and acquaintance with Indian affairs has felt sceptical regarding the bureaucratic versions which have been allowed to reach England regarding the unfitness of Indians for any form of advance towards self-government but what the bureaucratic Councils think they can 'safely' permit in this country.......... While we heartily welcome the announcements, we feel we must utter a word of caution to our own countrymen against being led away by any mirages regarding the nearness at hand of the Indian millennium. Until we are sure that the most earnest efforts are being made on the other side, we cannot speed down in our work of political salvation; but we must continue to press for the immediate reversal of the unjust and arbitrary policy of repression and for the release of those who are made to suffer merely for their convictions." [The paper writes in a subsequent issue:—"Bureaucrats may fear a great blow to their sense of prestige in any policy which starts with such an act of justice and statesmanship. But if perfect harmony is to prevail the only course which prudence and consistency dictate is the one we have urged here. If it can be followed in Ireland there is no reason why it should not be followed in India with better results."]

Indu Prakásh (39), 23rd Aug., Eng. cols; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 23rd Aug., Eng. cols.

6. "Some papers have opined that Mr. Montagu's visit will encourage extravagant hopes. We do not agree. When the demands of India are not extravagant, how can her hopes be extravagant? Mr. Montagu will find that India is really in an economic plight and that the only way to improve the conditions is to grant fiscal autonomy to India. Secondly, progress must be made in the direction of making the executive responsible to the Legislature. That is the *sine qua non* of real self-rule. Mr. Montagu realizes that the gospel of stationary humanity, exploded everywhere in the world, cannot hold good even in India. A noble-minded Englishman, at the helm of Indian affairs, visiting India, is a great event. The stars will certainly bless Mr. Montagu's visit, which we do expect to prove of highest good to the cause of progress."

[The *Jam-e-Jamshed* writes:—"It is scarcely using the language of rhetoric to say that the arrival of Mr. Montagu in India heralds the opening of a new era in the history of India's political development with a new spirit of tolerance and mutual co-operation animating it. It remains for the Government of India to mark their recognition of this new spirit by releasing all those interned for political reasons during the last few months, including Mrs. Beasant."]

Mr. Montague's statement in Parliament about India's political future.

**Gujarāti* (16), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Dnyān Prakāsh* (36), 22nd Aug.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

7. "The procedure adopted by His Majesty's Government in announcing the policy they propose to follow in the further governance of India was not altogether a happy one. .... Further, we cannot say that the announcement of the policy is couched in language which will inspire the people of India with very great confidence or evoke an outburst of unalloyed gratitude. Just as Lord Islington was careful to repeat his formula of reform by cautious, nay, over-cautious stages, the announcement is permeated by the same spirit of timid hesitancy......... The concluding portion of the announcement is not only wanting in grace but looks more like the schoolmaster's exhortation to his pupils to be on their guard or of good behaviour, if they wish to be treated with greater leniency or consideration. Surely in a country where was penned Queen Victoria's graceful and magnanimous Proclamation, the penultimate sentence, in which is asserted the exclusive right of the British Government and the Government of India to determine the time and measure of each advance according to the degree of co-operation on the part of the Indian people and of confidence that can be reposed in them, could have been clothed in a more graceful garb and in a spirit far removed from that of proud pedagogism or self-conscious omniscience and omnipotence. It is scarcely conceived in good taste and has a distinct flavour of self-centred Curzonism about it." [The *Dnyān Prakāsh* on the other hand remarks that the announcement will gladden the people of India and urges that nobody need take objection to the statement that complete self-government will be reached by gradual steps. It declares that it is but proper that further advance should depend upon the way in which we avail ourselves of the opportunities that may first be accorded us. It points out that though the advance is to be determined by the British Government and the Government of India, Indian public opinion is also to be taken into consideration, and concludes by saying that after all, everything will depend upon the magnanimity which Mr. Montague will show in bringing about a satisfactory solution of the whole question. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"The goal to which all India is determined to attain is now gracefully acknowledged and accepted by His Majesty's Government. With that goal in view the policy of 'progressive realisation of responsible Government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire' is laid down. The decision to take substantial steps in this direction has been arrived at. And Mr. Montagu comes out to determine what these steps should be. It would indeed be rash to prejudge Mr. Montagu's decision. But his previous utterances, his known sympathies and his liberal traditions amply justify the hope that the voice of the country will be heard and respected."]

Lord Islington's pronouncement on Indian Reforms.

Subodh Patrika (42), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

8. "We cannot congratulate Lord Islington on what Reuter wires out as his 'pronouncement on Indian reforms'. We have had quite enough of this spectacle in India of Provincial satraps making their own 'pronouncements' one after another, if not under instructions from the Government of India, at any rate without let or hindrance from them, while the Viceroy himself is maintaining sphinx-like silence......... It is difficult to know how the Under Secretary considered himself at liberty or called upon to take as the subject of a lecture to Oxford students a question which is officially before the India Office and the Cabinet and go into details in advance of the really responsible functionary, the Secretary of State."

Comments on the late Mr. Gokhale's scheme of reforms published by His Highness the Aga Khan.

Mahrātta (5), 26th Aug.

***9. "We print elsewhere the letter of the Honourable Mr. Shastri,** President of the Servants of India Society, to the *Hindu* with reference to Mr. Gokhale's scheme of reforms. It will be seen that Mr. Gokhale's standpoint in preparing the draft was to give the authorities a chance to try and 'avert agitation during the war and ensure the fullest co-operation of the people'. The authorities did not take the chance. How the people of India might have received the announcement of reforms on the lines of Mr. Gokhale's draft it is idle to speculate. But a free-will gift of even Mr. Gokhale's reforms coming from a close-fisted Government would no doubt have gone far to make the people hopeful. But 'what might have been' does not help us now. Government, instead of honouring the memory of Mr. Gokhale whose 'greatness' has been in official and Anglo-Indian quarters so fulsomely admired after his death (though while living he was the 'No. 62' of the C. I. D.'s 'marked men') by taking some action in accordance with his suggestions on Indian reforms, thought proper to take another course—and we are reaping the harvest now. To put the late patriot's scheme now before the public, when the march of events has necessarily rendered it extremely unsuitable (whatever merit it might have had for a few months after it was drawn), is to make oneself ridiculous."

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

*10. After surveying the political situation in India since the time of Lord Curzon, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"From all this it is clear that the present situation on all hands is considered to be of a very grave character. Different provincial governments with varying degrees of alacrity have been vainly trying a repressive policy. Far from repressing, it has served to popularise the ideal of Home Rule. The lecture of Lord Islington on the Indian political reforms has come far too late, and has no effect in allaying the present agitation. If Government sincerely desire to put down or at least render innocuous the Home Rule movement, they should retrace their steps from an untenable position and try to regain the support of the Moderates by definitely availing themselves of the statesmanlike suggestions made by the late Mr. Gokhale, and recently published by His Highness the Aga Khan. This memorandum does not go so far as to advocate Home Rule in the Besantian form. It rather seeks to prepare Indians for fuller powers."

Message (6), 21st Aug.

11. "If those who have discovered in Gokhale a hero and a statesman when he had been gathered to the majority, had taken the trouble to discover it when he was alive and acted on his advice, born of close knowledge and experience, we ourselves feel much of the ground for the present agitation would have been removed. To pretend however that the draft which Mr. Gokhale had prepared within six months after the outbreak of war for a high Government official represented the sum total of all that the Indians wanted is the greatest humbug that we have yet come across in these days. To these Mr. Shastri has given a crushing reply, and we ourselves think that no more effective answer could be given. '*If Mr. Gokhale were alive to-day*' says Mr. Shastri, '*he would be among the strongest exponents of the essential principles embodied in the Memorandum of the Nineteen and in the scheme adopted by the National Congress and the Moslem League*'."

Kesari (106), 21st Aug.; *Sandesh* (118), 21st Aug.

12. The flag of Indian *Swarājya* was first hoisted when the Congress and Moslem League scheme of reforms was passed by the Indian National Congress. Government are now engaged in capturing this position and it seems they want to do that by bombarding us with schemes containing smaller reforms than those embodied in the Congress scheme, but we do not think that this their selfish attempt will succeed. Their latest attempt is the publication of the Gokhale scheme. If these schemes had been published before the Congress scheme was out they might have been considered. But when our demand has been definitely settled there is nothing left to consider about. Have Government ever published up till now of their own accord

any scheme of granting rights to the people before any demand was made for them? The tradition has all along been that people should tire themselves out by demanding a right, that Government should first ridicule the demand and try to sow discord among the people and then offer something when there are clear signs that if nothing is given there would rage discontent in the land and that perchance there might be riots. Government should always be frank in speaking out their mind. But that is not their way. They are always adopting tortuous and elusive methods in making known their sentiments, which only excite ridicule. Instead of showing over-modesty on their part, this only shows their clandestine way of doing things. They might think this a skilful way to feel the situation, but they do not appear to know that it only gives rise to distrust. Mr. Gokhale's scheme is not now worth the paper on which it is written; if it had been published at the beginning of the war, probably it might have been useful in moderating the demand for *Swarájya.* The Honourable Mr. Shastri who is the successor of Mr. Gokhale has hastened to disown it and he says that the scheme was prepared at the request of a high official authority (probably it may be at Lord Willingdon's request) to put into a definite form the reforms that should be granted by Government before the agitation became strong. So the scheme is not Mr. Gokhale's; it is Lord Willingdon's. The scheme was prepared in order to stop agitation, but not a single reform mentioned in it having been introduced the *Swarájya* movement was begun. But now Government instead of carrying out the reforms have begun to speak against the movement and to resort to legal outrage. So the secret treaty between Government and Mr. Gokhale stands annulled. His Highness the Aga Khan himself is no longer in the forefront and it is ridiculous for a discredited Moderate to try to mislead the nation by publishing the testament of a dead Moderate. [The *Sandesh* says:—Indian popular party will accept neither Lord Islington's scheme nor Mr. Gokhale's scheme. It has already settled its minimum demand and it will never go back upon it. We congratulate the Honourable Mr. Shastri on his explaining clearly the genesis of the Gokhale scheme.]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 18th and 20th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 21st Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 21st Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 18th Aug.

13. Mr. Gokhale's scheme of reforms might have served a good purpose in the year 1914 when it was framed, but the world has made large strides since then and so the scheme cannot be said to be suitable to India's present requirements. It is likely that attempts will be made in certain quarters to utilise the scheme in dealing a blow to the political aspirations of Indians and so, in order to counteract them, a deputation should be sent to England as soon as possible. [In a subsequent issue the paper discusses Mr. Gokhale's scheme and declares that since it was framed by Mr. Gokhale without consulting his friends and at a time when the world had not been convulsed by the war, it will not appeal to the Indian people and that nothing short of the suggestions made by the nineteen members of the Viceregal Legislative Council will satisfy the political aspirations of India. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while admitting that Mr. Gokhale's scheme falls short of the present requirements of India, believes that some of the suggestions contained therein about giving the Imperial Legislative Council control over military and naval affairs and giving the King's Commission to Indians, will tend to support the demands put forth by the Joint Committee of the Congress and the Moslem League. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—In view of the explanation coming from the Honourable Mr. Sastri about Mr. Gokhale's scheme it is clear that Mr. Gokhale himself did not consider it complete or final and it would be inadvisable to regard it as an authoritative document. The *Hindusthán* is of opinion that the scheme embodies many important suggestions in spite of its being incomplete owing to its having been framed before the war, since the beginning of which the world has moved rapidly along the lines of progress.]

Passive resistance.
Gujaráti (16), 19th Aug.

14. Commenting upon the resolution of the Provincial Congress Committee in the matter of passive resistance, the *Gujaráti* writes:—The question of resorting to passive resistance is being discussed at present

because the officials make use of certain repressive measures as it suits their whims and the people cannot get their grievances redressed, and they have not also the means of doing so. People want justice and the right use of legislative measures; they do not want to be at the mercy of the officials. Passive resistance consists in a person being prepared to undergo physical hardships when his feelings are not respected. He thereby means to show that the legislation is faulty and that the administration is defective and badly conducted. We do not think that there is anything wrong or unconstitutional in passive resistance. Those who resort to passive resistance break the law, but they do not come in the way of the law being put into force nor do they advocate the subversion of the Government established by law. They do not consider a certain legislative measure as conducive to public happiness and so they refuse to respect it and are prepared to undergo punishment and sufferings rather than submit to what they consider as unjust. Nothing but passive resistance on the part of Indians will convince the people of England that the allegations made against Mrs. Besant and her associates, of stirring up the people against Government, are false. [Elsewhere the paper gives a substance of the views expressed in *New India* and the passive resistance memorial number of *Indian Opinion* wherein the question of passive resistance in all its aspects is discussed and it is shown how the weapon can be successfully used against Government and society alike for getting rid of harmful laws and customs.]

Subodh Patrika (42), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

15. "We are not anxious to anticipate the decision of the committee which has been appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee to define what is meant by passive resistance, but we certainly wish that the question had not been at all countenanced by the joint conference of the Congress and the League. Apart from the value of passive resistance which in the condition of India as it is is *nil*, there are other and more important considerations which should have weighed with the joint conference to reject the proposal. Experience has shown that when boycott was resorted to in this Presidency as in other Provinces ten years ago it was the students who were made the victims of the subsequent Government repression and those who advocated boycott escaped scotfree. There is reason to fear that history will repeat itself if boycott and passive resistance are resorted to again, as a protest against Mrs. Besant's internment. Mrs. Besant who only two years ago wrote that a 'handful of passive resisters in three hundred millions of passive acquiescers is futile and their abstinence helps the bureaucracy' is evidently not in favour of the use of this weapon, herself. Why then have anything to do with a measure which instead of achieving the end meant for it, is likely to embroil young men and students in its meshes and thus ruin their careers for ever?"

The Bureaucracy's love of power is placing obstructions in the way of reforms.

Indu Prakásh (39), 23rd Aug.

16. If we bring before our mind's eye the occasion when lower classes in England demanded and got rights from King John or from the official nobles (*sic*) and the occasion when Charles I had to pay with his life for his lust of power and when irresponsible bureaucracy was wholly sacrificed and the occasion when the first Reform Bill was passed, we find that the bureaucracy is always unwilling to give up its powers and that the agitation is in proportion to its unwillingness. The French Revolution of 1789 is a dreadful picture of this tug-of-war for the possession of power and the Russian Revolution is a mild and revised edition of it. How can India remain quite unaffected by this wave? Official responsibility to the people was the underlying principle of all the various demands made in India. Though the old "*swarájya*, pure and simple, and boycott" have now reappeared as "Home Rule and passive resistance", the only demand made is that officials should be responsible to the people. Even in Mr. Gokhale's scheme the same principle is embodied. But the jaundiced *Englishman* of Calcutta sees in it the admission that India is not yet fit for *swarájya*. What responsible leader says that India is at this moment fit for completete *swarájya*? But it does not mean that India can never be fit. It cannot be that India is to pass her days in slavery of officials. We must get into the water before learning to swim. Though irresponsible officials may try to threaten us that we might be drowned, it only means that they do not want to part with their powers.

Necessity of the British retaining control over the internal administration of India.

Jagaruk (new), 17th Aug.

17. The *Jagaruk* admits the necessity of further liberalising the Indian Legislative Councils and also granting autonomy to the Provincial Governments, but it denies that all parties are unanimous as to the granting to the Legislative Councils of complete control over the Executive, as represented by the organs of the educated classes. It declares that in the interests of the well-being of the masses of the country, it is absolutely necessary that the British rulers should retain control over the internal administration of India for several years to come, and it expresses surprise that 'our leaders' should still be blind to or try to belittle the agitation carried on by the non-Brahmins and Zamindars of Madras and the Indian Christians of that part of the country in furtherance of the above view.

A justification of the Government circular prohibiting students from attending political meetings.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 20th Aug.

18. The *Bombay Samáchár* thanks the Punjab Government for the mercy they have shown to certain misguided youths who intended to fight against Government and expresses the hope that the Government of India will show similar mercy to many youths who have been interned under the Defence of India Act on their expressing their repentance for their lapses. The paper is of opinion that such incidents afford full justification to Government to issue orders prohibiting students from attending political meetings and it hopes that those who have raised an uproar against these orders of Government will now be induced to acknowledge the propriety of the orders when they see that disaffected intriguers work with a view to influencing the minds of students and bringing them into their clutches.

Muhammadans and the Home Rule movement.

Islámic Mail (143), 13th Aug., Urdu edition; *Muslim Herald* (145), 17th Aug.

19. Referring to the part which some Muhammadans are playing in the Home Rule agitation the *Islamic Mail* exhorts them to consider carefully how the grant of self-government would affect their co-religionists. It holds that the Brahmins are really aiming at power to be vested in them solely under the guise of self-government, and it fears that some of the first fruits of Home Rule would be the prohibition of cow-killing, and the loss of reputation by British officers who would be called upon to enforce disagreeable orders such as compulsory attendance of unwilling scholars at schools. It asserts that Muhammadans are kept in subjection everywhere by the Hindus, and most of all in those places where they show signs of an awakening. It regards those people who have joined the Hindus as renegade Musalmans, and though it favours the policy of maintaining amicable relations with all classes of Indians, since all must combine to ameliorate the condition of their fellow-brethren in this country, it declares the members of different sects and religions ought to preserve their individuality intact. [The *Muslim Herald* also opposes the grant of self-government to Indian on the following grounds: the Muslim League does not voice the aspirations of all Indian Musalmans, and its conferment would be injurious to the interests of Muhammadans. The paper cites the treatment which Hindus have meted out to Moslems at Jubbalpore where according to a report published by the *Vakil* (which the paper reproduces elsewhere) the Muhammadans have had to shut up their mosques owing to the misconduct of the Hindus.]

Alleged friction between Hindus and Muhammadans at Jubbulpore.

Muslim Herald (145), 24th Aug.

20. The *Muslim Herald* publishes a second extract from a newspaper called *Al-asr* on the subject of strained relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Jubbulpore. The latter paper reports that the Hindus shout and play music in front of the mosques thereby hurting the religious feelings of the Moslems. Three Musalmans have been sent to jail as a result of a rial arising out of these troubles,

while the Musalmans have shut up the mosques and have memorialised the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and His Excellency the Viceroy for a redress of their wrongs. The paper ridicules the demand for Home Rule while different sections of the people have not yet learnt to live amicably together.

An open letter to the Head Priest of the Borahs.
Akhbár-e-Islám (56), 25th Aug.

21. Under the heading "An open letter to Saiyedna Táher Saifuddin Saheb" the *Akhbár-e-Islám* publishes a letter from an unnamed correspondent to the Head Priest of the Borahs in which he pointedly inquires of the latter if he was right in excommunicating some Borahs and if in doing so he could be said to have properly discharged his duty as a true *Dái*. He also considers it to be the duty of the Mullaji to remove the belief entertained by some Muhammadans that by the excommunication he has broken one of the principal tenets of Islám which enjoins fraternity and cordiality among the professors of that faith. The writer is not sure how far the belief held by others that the order of excommunication was the result of the Mullaji being led away by others, is true. He is also not at one with those who believe that by resorting to the desperate remedy of excommunication the Mullaji has achieved a permanent victory over his opponents. In most respectful terms he inquires of the Head Priest what guarantee there is that the voice of his opponents that he had stifled by means of the powerful weapon of excommunication would not rise up with redoubled vigour on some occasion in future and whether his advisers are able to give him such a guarantee. The writer then goes on to suggest that the Mullaji has practically done very little in the matter of progress and education among the Borah community. He observes that the reputation of the Borahs as an enterprising and prosperous community is unreal and that the advisers and subordinates of the Mullaji desire to keep him in the dark about the internal rottenness of the community. He then dwells on the desirability of appointing a body of men to supervise and control the actions of his subordinates. The correspondent further inquires of the Mullaji why he does not establish educational institutions and thereby remove the evils of ignorance, superstition, misdirected fanaticism, &c., from among the community.

Comments on a recent speech of Mr. Bhupendranath Basu.
Kesari (106), 21st Aug.

22. Commenting upon Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's recent speech at Calcutta, the *Kesari* remarks:—Mr. Basu has not yet joined his appointment but he already feels that he constitutes the Government. If he wants his peace to be undisturbed he should try to grant *swarájya* to India as soon as he assumes office; otherwise he knows by experience how troublesome the Bengali agitators are. Bureaucracy is like an army in a fortress invested by the people. Public leaders joining temporarily any office should behave as a soldier of the investing forces joining by mistake or deliberately the army within would behave if he is made to put on the uniform of the invested army by its General and asked to guard the bastions. Though he has to remember his oath which he takes when he joins the office he should not forget that the soldiers investing the fortress are his own brethren. Or rather he should look more after the interests of the army outside than inside the fortress. If it does not so happen we had better write the obituary notice of a leader when he accepts office than congratulate him on his appointment.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 23rd Aug., Eng. cols.

23. "If Mr. Basu can bring it home to the minds of Mr. Montagu, Mr. Lloyd George and the leading British statesmen that India is being threatened with a great crisis on account of the rigidity and inflexibility of the bureaucracy, he will deserve well of his country. He ought to realise that the best and the greatest national forces of India are mobilising for a great constitutional campaign, and every attempt should be made to avert such a struggle on moral grounds and considerations of expediency. The Government here have declined the invitation to place themselves at the head of the best national forces in India. Let the British Government do so and help the evolution of Indian nationhood."

Comments on the announcement regarding commissions to Indians in the Army.

Gujaráti (16), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

*24. Commenting on the announcement about commissions to be granted to nine Indian officers, the *Gujaráti* writes:—"Training Schools at Quetta and Wellington are maintained at present at the expense of the Indian tax-payer, but under some divine dispensation they are not meant at all for the benefit of Indians! Let us hope this shameful state of things will cease in the name of at least elementary fairness and ample facilities will be honestly provided for the military education of selected candidates by the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. It would be a thousand pities if the inexpressibly sad story of the Civil Service Examination in England and the association of Indians with the higher branches of administration were again to be repeated in the settlement of the important question that is now being considered by the Secretary of State for India and the Imperial Government."

Bombay Samáchár (59), 24th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 21st Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 22nd Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 21st Aug.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

25. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its joy at the announcement made by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons as regards the decision of His Majesty's Government to remove the bar to the admission of Indians to commissioned ranks in the army. It refers to the various instances in Indian history in which Hindu and Muhammadan commanders fought valiantly and loyally on behalf of their rulers professing an alien faith, and, dwelling upon the hitherto unflinching loyalty of the Indians towards their rulers, remarks that the British Government should also repose confidence in them. It wishes that over and above admitting Indians to commissioned ranks in the army provision should be made for giving them complete scientific military training in all its diverse branches, *e. g.*, military engineering, artillery, etc. [The *Hindusthán* also welcomes the announcement and remarks that there is no doubt Indians will prove themselves worthy of the honour done to them. It hopes that the commissioned ranks will be more widely opened in due course after those who have been recently admitted have proved their merits. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that if the present selections had not been confined to men belonging to the Imperial Cadet Corps, it would have spread great satisfaction both among the Indian public and the Indian Army. The *Sánj Vartamán* says that the Indian public hope that the scheme which the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Government are considering about the admission of Indians to commissioned ranks in the future will be in keeping with the present liberal spirit of Messrs. Llyod George and Montagu. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"The bar which had hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to commissioned ranks in His Majesty's Army has now been removed and with it has been wiped off the blot that besmeared England's fair name......... What could have been a handsome, graceful concession that might have fired the imagination of India and touched and vibrated the chords of gratitude within her now comes in as a matter of course, a surrender to legitimate demands."]

**Rást Goftár* (30), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 21st Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 24th Aug.

26. Welcoming the initiation of the policy of giving to Indians Commissions in the Army the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"It is added that a scheme for giving proper training to selected officers or cadets will be shortly considered. When such a scheme is prepared it should be a real and genuine thing such as to open a new career to deserving Indians, and not a replica of Lord Curzon's blue turbanned Imperial Cadet Corps.......... We must have our own Woolwich and Sandhurst and the door must be opened to competition." [The *Indu Prakásh* says that the nation need not go into ecstasies over the grant of commissions to nine brave Indians for their valuable services in the war, but admits that a good beginning has been made in breaking through the fort of the racial distinction. It declares that it marks a distinct stage of progress and calls upon educated Indians to join the army in view of the concession now made. The *Dnyán Prakásh* also expresses

its gratification that a distinct promise has been given in Parliament for freely opening the higher posts in the army to Indians and hopes that steps will at once be taken for imparting the necessary military training to Indians selected for officers' posts.]

The War.
Gujaráti (16), 19th Aug.

27. A certain school of historical students was of opinion that Austria-Hungary would be split up since it was composed of many races, but such a thing has not yet come to pass. It is now three years and three weeks since the war commenced, but Austria-Hungary stands erect. It is a matter of no small surprise that Germany, Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria stand on one side, while the rest of the world is ranged against them! In spite of Germany and its allies being our enemies we cannot help admiring their spirit of co-operation and power of organisation. Our hearts similarly admire the French for the brave manner in which they have withstood enemy onslaughts. Gigantic Russia with its vast territories embracing half of Europe and half of Asia has reached such a plight that it seems as if it will be shattered to pieces. The British Empire which seemed as if it was on the point of disruption has become all the more united. There has been such a loss of men and money that we need not be surprised if all the talk of about indemnities and fines turns out to be mere talk. The war has been in progress for the last three years and at last it turns out to be a contest of tiring out each other. If the railway line connecting the Rumanians with the Russian forces goes into the hands of the Germans the Rumanians will have to evacuate Moldavia and take refuge in Russia. This will place the Germans in possession of a rich harvest of which they are in need. We are in the dark about the internal condition of Russia. Politicians are doing their duty in encouraging us with the hope of Russia being reorganised. But is it possible for Russia to be saved from falling by the encouraging words of outsiders? Should Russia fall, its disruption will follow immediately. Germany has centered its hopes on the disorganisation of Russia. On the other hand, if Russia breaks down, England will be made safe in Asia. Germany's life will be prolonged if Russia concludes a separate peace or if it does not fight with all its might. German submarines have worked havoc with steamships and they seem to have almost paralysed the world's trade. There is now trade in munitions of war only and the sea is ploughed only for that purpose. Progress in shipbuilding is not in proportion to the losses by submarines. It is probable that the terrible loss has created a sense of weariness in all the nations and that they might be conducting secret negotiations.

What should be done to make the Indian Defence Force popular.
Hindusthán (20), 20th Aug.

28. Remarking that it is the duty of every Indian to try to become fit for the defence of his motherland, the *Hindusthán* observes that the Indians should not fail to avail themselves of the present opportunity accorded to them by Government by joining the Defence of India Force. It then goes on to make some suggestions which, it believes, if carried into effect will make the scheme of the Defence of India Force a success. The paper suggests that Government should extend the period fixed at present for enlisting in that Force and as a sort of incentive to the Indians to join it, Government should, over and above gratifying the aspirations of the people, place confidence in them; that the scheme should not be of a temporary character and that Government should assure those who enlist that they would not be disbanded after the termination of the war; that the discontent of the Indians should be removed by granting them commissions in the army on the same conditions on which they are granted to the members of other nations composing the British Empire; that those who in the beginning do not come up to the military standard of physical fitness should be enlisted to form a second line force, those who become fit after six months' training to be taken up in the first line; that students of 15 to 18 years of age should be enlisted for the formation of a "third line" force; that officials should cease to view gymnasiums with distrust and that Government should open schools at hill stations for imparting military training to the men belonging to the first and second line forces during the hot weather.

Alleged prohibition of respectable Indians from visiting America on business.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 19th Aug.

29. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* refers to the hardship caused to two Parsi young men who had obtained passports to go to America, but who now cannot proceed to that country on account of the prohibition issued by the American Government against all Indians except *bonâ fide* students, missionaries and tourists. It alleges that Indians are not allowed to share a cabin with Europeans or Americans on steamers after leaving Hongkong for America and that they are made to travel in first class cabins and to pay more than the usual fare. It expresses the hope that the Government of India will use their influence with the Government of America and remove the bar against respectable Indians paying visits to America for business purposes.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's remarks about the Indian Defence Force at the Fergusson College.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

30. An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Kaiser-i-Hind*:—"I cannot help feeling that while speaking of the failure of the response to enlist in the Indian Defence Force and the consequent disappointment His Excellency Lord Willingdon has not spoken the *whole* truth. It was really a charming manœuvre of the Governor to attribute this failure to such petty difficulties as the 'distances of many of the colleges from the headquarters of the corps at Poona' and the serious interference with educational studies. I call this a manœuvre advisedly. For I cannot believe that Lord Willingdon does not hear and see what is going on about him, far less that His Excellency came to speak before the students of the Fergusson College on the University Company without having studied the actual facts. I must acknowledge it was a pleasant way out of what may have proved a harsh and hard situation and perhaps it was Lord Willingdon's inward knowledge that such harshness was not justified that prompted him to pass over the root cause of the failure to enlist in the Indian Defence Force. But it does not add to the prestige of the head of the Province to ignore the correct issue and avoid facing it. However I must remember that Lord Willingdon had no hand in the framing of this Act."

Regret at Her Excellency Lady Willingdon's bad state of health and the need for her to leave Bombay to recuperate.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

***31.** "The absence of the Lady Willingdon, C. I., from the activities of this Presidency is keenly felt by all classes with whom, by her sympathy, zealous regard for and watchful interest in their welfare she has endeared herself for several years past. A lady of the most wonderful energy and indefatigability, Her Excellency by her initiation of and association with the gigantic movements for war relief work has proved what solid work and the will to work could achieve. We regret much that she has had to leave the surroundings of her activities under medical advice.......... Her holiday is indeed well-earned and we hope and wish along with the Presidency that her stay at Maymyo may benefit her health and that she may soon be back amongst us to resume her great task in the interest and welfare of humanity. What Bombay owes to Lady Willingdon cannot be forgotten and Bombay wishes her health and vigour and speedy return to the scene of her activities."

Comments on the forfeiture of the security of *New India*.

Kesari (106), 21st Aug.

32. Writing about the forfeiture of the *New India* security the *Kesari* writes:—The forfeiture of security is like sport to Government, but it places newspapers in jeopardy of their life. How long can a man or society, however rich, stand it when Government begins to forfeit security after security? Moreover under the Press Act, it is not merely money that will win the fight. Nationalist journals have no other recourse but to try to live and to feel it a glory to die in the attempt, taking it that the present fight is a divine test of our national efforts.

Comments on a case in which a false charge of corruption was brought against an Abkari Inspector in the Kaira District.

Rást Goftár (30), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

*33. Commenting upon an Abkari case in the Kaira District, the *Rást Goftár* writes :—"The case in question reveals gross departmental bungling and an instance of how the Department was bamboozled by a shop-keeper who presumably had a grudge against the Inspector........ The Inspector in question, an officer of long standing, had been in good odour with his superior officers. Some time ago a shop-keeper lodged a secret report against him. A trap was laid, and one fine day the shop-keeper handed the Inspector at Nadiad Railway Station a letter containing currency notes and addressed to the shop-keeper's brother with a request to deliver it on his way to the addressee. But before the Inspector could deal with the letter as requested, he was arrested and searched in the presence of a 'punch' on a warrant issued by the Collector and District Magistrate Mr. Ghosal....... The case was then submitted to the Honourable Mr. Arthur, the Commissioner of Excise, and that official who bears the reputation of being just and impartial acquitted the Inspector. So far so good; but a stigma all the same attaches to the Inspector beside the pain and humiliation that he suffered. Soon after, the Inspector was transferred to an unhealthy and out-of-the-way place in the Khándesh District. The case suggests its own commentary. Will any man with any sense of self-respect care to take employment in a Department where he is exposed to such grave risks to his reputation and stability of service? We trust that the shop-keeper against whom there is a *primâ facie* case of bringing a false charge against a public servant will be severely dealt with. We trust Mr. Ghosal will deal for the future with his subordinates in a more considerate manner."

Protest against Government orders directing Inamdars of Bijápur to keep a record of rights for their villages.

Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 21st Aug.

34. Government have ordered all the Inamdars of the Bijápur District to maintain a record of rights in all their *Dumala* villages and to produce all the papers before the Mamlatdar. Incessant quarrels are going on between the Inamdars and their tenants about the tenancy rights. The object of Government may be to do good to the rayat, but they will again give a start to dissensions between Inamdars and their tenants. Every rayat will maintain that he is a permanent tenant and the Inamdar will try to oppose him. The orders issued by Circle Inspectors in these cases are not final and both the parties will have to go to Court. Land has not been properly surveyed in all the inam villages and survey settlement cannot be introduced in them without the consent of the Inamdars. Orders issued now regarding the record of rights which cannot be introduced without any survey settlement seem to be illegal as they have been given without the consent of the Inamdars. The rights of Inamdars and tenants vary as against each other, and how can a register be made of these indefinite rights? We do not know under what law Inamdars have been asked to produce the papers. Section 70 of the Vatan Act and section 85 of the Land Revenue Code are not applicable to the accounts of inam villages, if properly interpreted. It is improper to settle about the rights of Inamdars without consulting them.

Complaint that Government has been excluding Brahmins from Sub-Judges' appointments.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 25th Aug.

35. Mr. D. H. Bhat writes to the *Dnyán Prakásh* :—We see from the appointments of Sub-Judges made by Government that they do not find persons qualified for those posts except among Gujaratis and Prabhus. There is only one caste disliked by Government and that is the Brahmin caste. Brahmins cannot but feel indignant at the partiality shown in the matter of the appointment of Sub-Judges. There was a time when pleaders used to refuse the posts of Sub-Judges. But now times have changed. Chiefly Brahmins are put to loss by the appointments of Sub-Judges now made by Government, and there is a possibility of hatred arising between Brahmins and other communities owing to this. I humbly request Government not to take the credit of causing such hatred. Government

would not have hesitated to haul up a man before a court of law if he had privately tried to foment such hatred.

Alleged need of Police reorganisation in Sind.

New Times (7), 31st July.

36. Referring to the discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council over the Honourable Mr. Patel's resolution on the subject of the need of an inquiry into the working of the Police Department, the *New Times* writes:—"So far as Sind is concerned, it seems to us that the Police Department requires to be reorganised. Reports have come to us again and again of thefts committed, in several places, under circumstances which are a very sad commentary on the present organisation of the Police authorities......... In some places, indeed, the sense of insecurity is so great that the Punchayats have to engage the services of their own men to protect life and property. We are glad that the capable Commissioner in Sind is preparing proposals on the subject and we hope that they may prove fruitful at an early date. Tremendous is the responsibility placed on the police; and we are sick at heart when we read the story of repeated thefts and robberies committed in some of the villages. The policeman who dodges his duty deserves to be most severely punished."

EDUCATION.

The last Convocation of the Bombay University.

Gujarâti (16), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

*37. "His Excellency Lord Willingdon, who as Chancellor presided a the last Convocation of the Bombay University delivered a short but very happy address to the young men who were admitted as graduates of the University......... Lord Willingdon has a happy knack of deftly and gently hitting a situation without being offensive and in our opinion His Excellency's advice is so appropriate that we commend his address to the notice of every one, whether a graduate or undergraduate. It deserves to be carefully studied and pondered over both for the felicity of its phraseology as for the golden words of wisdom it contains. The Vice-Chancellor followed him with an address which in some respects marks a departure from the tone and style of the generality of the Convocation addresses......... As one who has been associated with the actual daily work of the University for years past, he approached his subject from a more practical point of view but with a candour and courage which Vice-Chancellors as a rule find it inconvenient to exhibit in their formal Convocation addresses. He gave bold expression to certain truths in the very presence of the Chancellor which it was very necessary to proclaim unfettered by conventional etiquette. Mr. Setalvad accomplished this delicate task with firmness and courage but with dignity and self-restraint that were indeed commendable."

The Vice-Chancellor's Convocation Address at the Bombay University.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

*38. "The public utterances of the Honourable Mr. C. H. Setalvad have rarely come upto expectations. Such has been in some respects his address as Vice-Chancellor of the University delivered on the occasion of the Annual Convocation. There ran in it a deference of the old system and the attempt to show that our University education has been a success......... He quoted authorities to show what the University man ought to be, yet he overlooked the fact that with the notable exceptions whom he mentioned and a few more our system has produced little better than cramming machines......... He harped once again on the subject of interference by Government and the repressive policy of Lord Sydenham which he had already exhausted at the time he presided at the Educational Conference at Ahmedabad. We hope that the appalling figures of illiteracy which he presented have reached proper quarters. Those who talk of putting a stop to University education might well digest these disgraceful figures. We have enough of professors and educationists to take care of our boys at college. As Mr. Setalvad so correctly pointed out, it is not right to have them guiding educational policy. Control of University government ought correctly to be in the hands of men of general culture and business."

Bombay Samáchár (59), 24th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 23rd Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 23rd Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 24th Aug.

39. Referring to the speech delivered by the Honourable Mr. Setalvad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University at the recent University Convocation, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes in support of the plea urged by him for placing the University on a more popular basis, and for further liberalising its constitution by extending the elective principle. It shares in the hope expressed by the Vice-Chancellor that the extension of His Excellency Lord Willingdon's term of office will lead to the University enjoying, both during his régime as well as in those of his successors, a fuller measure of independence. The paper dwells at length on the advantages resulting from a University independent of external control and remarks that instead of leaving it at the mercy of those who are morally bound to act up to the wishes of a particular party, its governance should be committed to the hands of those who are anxious for its development and who wish to turn it into a useful institution. It suggests that out of the hundred fellows of the Bombay University fifty should be elected by the registered graduates. The paper agrees that there is a vast scope for higher education in India, and trusts that His Excellency will be able to help in saving the enormous brain capital of the Presidency from being frittered away in the shape of continued illiteracy. [The *Hindusthán* wishes that the various suggestions made by the Honourable Mr. Setalvad during the course of his address may be carried into effect as soon as may be practicable. It also favours the view that a larger measure of independence should be granted to the Bombay University and expresses regret at, what it calls, the present illiberal system according to which 80 out of 100 fellows are nominated by Government. The *Sánj Vartamán* also endorses the suggestion that educated citizens should be given the supreme control over the local University and believes that such a course would infuse new spirit and enthusiasm among the public in the affairs of the University. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the public pray that His Excellency may have the glory of placing the local University on a higher and more independent footing before the termination of his régime in consonance with the British policy in India, which, as recently declared by the authorities in England, should be one of making government in India more and more responsible to the people.]

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's address before the Secondary Education Conference.

Message (6), 23rd Aug.

40. "People who are interested in the English *versus* vernaculars controversy will find abundant food for thoughtful reflection in an observation or two which His Excellency Lord Chelmsford addressed to the Secondary Education Conference which met at Simla on Monday. These observations are conceived in a different key from those which he addressed to the Educational Directors' Conference not quite so many months ago. The optimistic note of January this year has given place to a note of pessimism in August. It is no doubt a long period in these momentous times. Men are changing; their ideas are changing. And the change such as it is, is a very good sign of health. We do not doubt that His Excellency must have had very good reasons of state for the change of front on his part. He told the present Conference that he had much sympathy 'with those who deplore the neglect of the vernaculars'; but he asked those good people to remember that 'the substitution at this time of the day of the vernaculars for English is beyond the bounds of practical politics even if the Government were willing to consider such a policy'. Of course we quite understand the difficulties confronting such a change as the one for which the vernacularists are contending. To say nothing of Government and what it might or might not do, we ourselves feel that the advocates of the vernaculars are considerably handicapped in the struggle. All the advantage is on the side of the study of English and few seem to possess a love for the vernaculars because the Government has discounted them. It therefore offers a most cogent and perfectly logical argument why we should have Home Rule in which the administration is carried on with the wishes of the general public. Then and then alone will it be possible to effect even gradually any change at all."

Kesari (106), 21st Aug.; *Sandesh* (118), 25th Aug.

41. The *Kesari* also complains of the change in His Excellency the Viceroy's attitude, and declares that the high hopes that His Excellency's Delhi speech had raised have disappeared by his present pronouncement. It further complains that the suggestive questions placed before the conference go to confirm the suspicion as to how the question of the medium of instruction is likely to be decided by the conference and remarks:—It is not the ideal of education to become proficient in English only. All are not able to complete the course and only 5 per cent. of those who join the primary schools take up the collegiate course. Is it desirable to burden every boy with English in the primary course? Soon primary education is to be made compulsory and this forcing of English upon the students will be intolerable. [The *Sandesh* expresses its gladness at the acceptance of the resolution that the last school examination should be also held in the Vernaculars as well as in English and requests the leaders to see that it is enforced.]

Comments on the secondary Educational Conference at Simla regarding teaching of English in secondary schools.

Jám-e-Jámshed (23), 24th Aug.

42. Referring to the discussion that took place at the Educational Conference which met at Simla to consider the question of the teaching of English in secondary schools, the *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while recognising the importance of English education, supports the demand of the Indian patriots who wish that the authorities should not entirely devote their attention to developing the study of the English language at the cost of the vernaculars. It maintains that the Directors of Public Instruction in India should formulate some such scheme as would help the development of the Indian vernaculars without, at the same time, hindering the progress of English education. How can the people, it further inquires, blame the authorities for not attaching due importance to the development of the vernaculars when Indians are so sharply divided among themselves on the subject of the instruction to be given in the vernacular?

A lecture on the modern system of education in India.

Young India (14), 22nd Aug.

43. "Mr. Ernest Wood, Secretary of the National Board of Education, delievered a lecture on 'Preparation for Citizenship' at the Morarji Goculdas Hall on Sunday......... He referred to the stunting effects of the present system of education on the growth of India's young men and emphasised the view that the reason for the stagnation of Indian society was to be found in our schools.......... The emotional side which has played a great part in the prosecution of the present world-wide war has been neglected and even ignored in Indian education and all those requirements which go to develop in the youth the capacity for self-government have been strictly excluded lest educated Indian youths should some day refuse to act as 'clerks' to 'uneducated superiors'.......... So long as the work of educating Indian youth rests in the hands of unsympathetic foreigners or so long as that work is dominated by political considerations, it is futile to expect that things would adjust themselves to the progressive needs of the country.......... The policy which determines Indian education is essentially bad and is determined by men who, however well meaning they may be, can have no adequate perception of the real needs of the country. And the methods adopted to give effect to that policy are equally so and instead of producing healthy, intelligent and self-respecting citizens, they cramp the whole outlook of young men on life and tend to make them selfish, narrow-minded or even lifeless. It has been increasingly felt that this policy and these methods cannot be allowed to preponderate for any further length of time if the Indian nation is not to commit intellectual and moral suicide and find itself face to face with intellectual anarchy."

RAILWAYS.

The G. I. P. Railway strike.

Young India (14), 22nd Aug.

44. "Apparently the strength of the men's determination, resulting from a sense of grave injustice, was not recognised and the various authorities concerned must have reckoned with a certain amount of cocksureness that the strike would fizzle out. The Strikers' Relief Committee, which was organised at a psychological moment entirely out of motives of public charity and philanthropy and not, as is basely alleged by blasphemous tongues, to serve the political ends of the Home Rule agitators, was an unexpected factor, which added to the growing consternation of the authorities. When the work of relief had been carefully organised and proceeded with for a few days, a little game of bluff was attempted and what may be characteristically described as stage-management was attempted with a view perhaps to strike terror into the hearts of the men and harass the relief committee in gratitude for their trouble and expense! The Police Commissioner stepped on the scene with his armed hosts and is said to have at one time waxed eloquent over machine-guns, bloodshed and that sort of stuff. Certain gentlemen went to Poona in consequence thereof and waited on His Excellency Lord Willingdon, to come back none the wiser than that the head of the Government was too full of Home Rule agitators and passive resistance. Our old, old friend Mr. Robertson seems to have largely shared the honours of the tabletalk by his cheap flings at Home Rulers, and why not? Is not the Home Ruler at the present moment the *bete noir* of the bureaucracy and is not Mr. Robertson himself one of the foremost bureaucrats that our presidency can boast of? To let alone Mr. Robertson, Lord Willingdon regretted his inability to intervene between the men and the railway, but promised to see what he could do in his individual capacity. Lord Willingdon arrived here on Sunday and after a busy day or two spent in interviewing the public gave his decision for which the men had longed for, late on Monday. The decision does not amount to much in effect nor is it in any sense reassuring to the men about their interests. .... Although Lord Willingdon's letter does not help them in any tangible manner, they have agreed to go back out of respect to the personality of the head of the Government.......... Bureaucrats, both in the Government and the railway management, need not, therefore, lay the flattering unction to their souls that the strike has collapsed owing to their firmness.......... Now that the men have returned to work, we trust Lord Willingdon will exert all the influence and weight of his high position and obtain for them the very modest terms for which they are now asking." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The Home Rule agitator has come to be the *bete noir* of bureaucratic India and it is perfectly understandable that it should attempt to lay all the evils at his door. But that persons set in high positions of responsibility, authority and trust, should try to exploit that theme to deny justice or fair treatment to the men who have suffered and who have made great sacrifices indeed takes one's breath away. A little exercise of intelligence ought to convince anybody that the Home Rule agitator can be the last person who would attempt any diversion from his main purpose. Yet the libellous assertion has been freely indulged in, in order to discredit a perfectly legitimate movement and in order, it seems to us, to justify the coercion of men for attempting to have their grievances remedied by perfectly peaceful and law-abiding means.......... Here are 6,000 men—not a small number—, mostly illiterate though not ignorant or stupid as is commonly supposed and almost unused to collective effort on such a vast scale. In order to draw public attention to their sense of injustice and hardship, they go on strike and remain on strike for a month and four days, unmoved by threats of physical pain or the aggravation of moral wrong. Does this not offer sufficient food for calm impassioned reflection without one needlessly trying to hunt for the skeleton at the intellectual feast which such reflection offers?......... The public is now convinced that illiterate and cosmopolitan as is this great community of workmen, it offers splendid field for an organising genius. If proper attempts are made to organise and train these labour masses to collective effort and collec-

tive action, it should be easy to raise them from a state of economic serfdom and make them self-respecting and respected members of the body politic." In a contributed article Mr. L. G. Khare writes :—" The fact that more than ten thousand workmen, belonging to all classes and creeds and serving under economic conditions which became unbearable under war times, have co-operated in organising thoroughly and constitutionally a strike is an event pregnant with meaning.......... The point which should not escape public attention is that it is possible for Indian workmen, whatever their difference in religion and language, to combine for the redress of their common economic grievances.......... Nobody doubts the right of the police of any country to keep the peace. In fact it is considered that it is one of their primary duties. It appears to be supposed, however, in higher police circles in Bombay that Mr. Vincent and his men have been saddled with the additional duty of interfering in an arbitrary way with those Indians who, instead of keeping quiet in a *Jo-Hukum* attitude, have chosen to distribute grain and render relief to the families of the strikers. This may be one of the extraordinary ideas of keeping the peace, prevalent in Indian police circles. Rudeness to Indian journalists, afterwards to be suitably apologised for, is another, but it is a pity that Mr. Vincent and those of his subordinates who seem to have their own code of manners do not understand that they are unfortunately helping to create an impression that, in this quarrel between capital and labour, you have on the one side, the administration of the G. I. P. in India *and* the police officials of the City, that is, the Government, while on the other side are the strikers, goaded on by those awful races—the Home Rulers."]

New Times (7), 11th Aug.; *Indu Prakdsh* (39), 22nd Aug, Eng. cols.; **Sunday Tatler* (13), 26th Aug.

45. In the course of a lengthy article in which it dwells on the significance of the strike by the hands in the G. I. P. Railway Workshops, the alleged duty of Government to intervene between the strikers and the Railway Company, the duty of the employers of labour to see that their men are well-off, etc., the *New Times* remarks :—" All over the world, increasing attention has been paid to the conditions of labour, and efforts have been put forth by employers to contribute to the welfare of their employees. The Western world is moving in the direction of industrial democracy. Unfortunately, the situation is different in India; old traditions continue; and the authorities fight shy of new ideals. The Government that gives support to a system of Western industrialism is reluctant to support the methods which would assuage the evil results of that system. The Government has nothing to do with business—such seems to be the attitude of the powers that be; every one turns a deaf ear to the labourers' complaints and though the Bombay workmen have shown a spirit of reasonableness, and have expressed their desire to submit to arbitration and accept the results of arbitration, they have received no response. The theory, the temper, the attitude of mind of the old employer continue: profit of the employer rather than social profit and the workman's welfare continues to be the object in view; and it is not yet understood how great a harm to society is caused by strain and irritation among the employer and the employee. Labour in India must be liberated from all forces working against the well-being of the workman. Labour must protect its legitimate human interests. And, therefore, labour must become vocal in mediation, representation of grievances, arbitration and settling of labour disputes. Labour should be represented on our municipal corporations for the social betterment of the workman and the better building of our civic life." [The *Indu Prakdsh* remarks —" We are glad that the strikers have at last resumed work, thanks to the gracious assurances from His Excellency Lord Willingdon which were conveyed to the men. His Excellency the Govrenor by his unvarying kindness, geniality and chivalrous disposition has won the hearts of the people of this city. His Excellency has indeed become a great social force." The *Sunday Tatler* writes :—" Thus a great crisis has been averted by His Excellency Lord Willingdon who, in the *rôle* of a diplomat, has scored most successfully. The appreciative reference

made in the Government Press Note to the Commissioner of Police and all ranks of the City Police is well earned and deserved. It is impossible for the lay public to realise with what tact, energy and discretion the Police have handled the situation during the last few weeks, adverse influences notwithstanding, and what would have been the result otherwise."]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 22nd Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 25th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 23rd Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 22nd Aug.

46. The public thank His Excellency Lord Willingdon for his tact in putting an end to the Railway strike. We hope His Excellency will impress upon the Railway officials the necessity of dealing with their workshop operatives in a more liberal spirit. The strikers behaved with admirable patience and the Police Commissioner, Mr. Vincent, and his assistants have rendered valuable services during the period of the strike. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* and the *Hindusthán* also thank His Excellency for his kindness in using his personal influence to put an end to the strike.]

**Rást Goftár* (30), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.; **Mahrátta* (6), 26th Aug.; **Indian Social Reformer* (3), 26th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 23rd Aug., Eng. cols.

47. "An appeal to Government to step in and put an end to the strike also failed, for the bureaucracy recks not of philanthropic benevolence. On a personal appeal being made to him Lord Willingdon rose to the height of the occasion, came down to Bombay from Poona, interviewed all and sundry concerned, was able in a couple of days to send an assuring letter to the representatives of the men on strike and everything is at an end, and the men have gone back to work. From the first the men have been saying that they would cheerfully accept any decision of the Governor and they have loyally kept their word. Such a tribute from common working men is a very high compliment to the ruler of a Province or Presidency, but except Lord Willingdon no other provincial ruler in India enjoys at present so large a measure of popular confidence, including that of the proletariat." [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"It is in deference to the wishes of His Excellency that the strikers have gone back to their posts. We hope that Lord Willingdon will endeavour to see that they are not shabbily treated. No unorganised class can have a chance of getting its grievances respectfully and adequately considered and redressed. Labour must be organised here as it is in other countries. That is the outstanding lesson which the strikers and the general public in sympathy with them should take to heart." The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"But for the kindly intervention of Lord Willingdon, it is extremely doubtful if the strike would have terminated so peacefully and so soon. The Press Note has overlooked the humanitarian services rendered by that section of the public which actively mitigated the sufferings of the men on strike". The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"Just now the Home Rule League is the *bete noire* of the bureaucracy and its members were suspected of inciting the strikers to hold out. A more silly figment of the brain cannot be conceived. Surely the Home Rule League has more important work to do than fomenting a dispute, which can have no political result, between employers of labour and their men. The mere suggestion is proof of the incompetency of the men who make it. However, all's well that ends well, thanks to the humanity and wise intervention of Lord Willingdon."]

Message (5), 22nd Aug.

48. "The immediate result though not very satisfactory has all the same to be welcomed. It puts an end to what at one time threatened to become a serious labour crisis in the history of Indian industrialism. The men of course have immense faith in the wisdom and sympathy of Lord Willingdon and they have taken his assurance in a generous spirit of resignation. We hope now that the impending crisis has been averted, the railway authorities will be given definite instructions to deal with the men's grievances in a generous and liberal spirit."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Government Resolution on the working of Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 22nd Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (28), 21st Aug.

49. Referring to the resolution recently published by Government on the administration of the District and Taluka Local Boards of the Bombay Presidency during the year 1915-16, the *Bombay Samáchár* considers the sum of rupees 35 lakhs and odd spent by these Boards after education during the year to be very small, regard being had to the vast area of about 1¼ lakh of square miles under their jurisdiction. In view of the pecuniary help these Boards are expected to get from Government after the war, the paper presses upon them the urgency of allowing education to grow even at the cost of some extra drain on their existing means. It further remarks that some measures should be devised to remedy the inconvenience these Boards have to suffer as a result of the delay caused under the present system in securing the income intended for being spent on educational purposes. The paper maintains that it is necessary for those Boards that have been conceded the right of electing their own Presidents to prove that the representatives of the people possess the capacity of successfully performing the task entrusted to them. [While commending the Government action of extending the elective principle with regard to 16 out of the 19 District Local Boards of the Presidency the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that so long as the Local Boards are suffered to remain in a financially weak condition, so long as Government do not grant them, from their own revenues, substantial aid for meeting their general wants and so long as the income to be derived from certain taxes is not placed at their disposal, hopes can scarcely be entertained about the administration of these Boards being carried on in a manner beneficial to the interests of the public.]

Government should lay down a general policy as regards the constitution of all Local Boards.

Kesari (106), 21st Aug.

50. General opinion is in favour of the retention of Taluka Local Boards, but from the way in which Mr. Martin seems to be pursuing his inquiry it appears that it is intended to do away with these Boards. It is desirable that Government should put an end in time to this suspicion entertained by some people. Though Government have not directly contradicted the impression they have, by increasing the number of elected members of the Taluka Boards in Kaira and Poona Districts, shown that they want to retain the Taluka Boards. Still we cannot but laugh at the unnecessary precautions Government take in introducing this reform. Who knows what time it will take to reach all the Districts of the Presidency? The conduct of Government appears to be eccentric and partial as they consider every case separately and do not follow any particular principle in constituting these local bodies. Is it because Sind is backward that not a single Local Board has a majority of elected members in it? Why is it that Ratnágiri and Broach Districts only have a majority of nominated members? Thana though the headquarters of a District has not got an elected majority in its Municipality. How can we defend the non-existence of a single elected member in Mehmadabad and three or four other Municipalities in the Northern Division? Government have not followed any comprehensive policy but have depended on the individual recommendations of local officers. Government should henceforward follow a general policy and grant to all Taluka Boards the right of having two-thirds elected members. It is necessary to stop altogether the policy of differentiation made between different Boards.

Municipalities do not enjoy real self-government.

Kesari (106), 21st Aug.

51. Government saddle the Municipalities with works involving great expenditure and pay half the costs. We do not know what good will ultimately result from these works, but at present they are only productive of discontent. It is so mainly because the actual cost greatly exceeds the estimated expenditure, and as the additional expenditure is not previously sanctioned by the Municipalities they have to bear it all of a sudden. We have already written about the

great burden of the excess of expenditure borne by the Poona Municipality in connection with the drainage works. The Karad (Sátára) water works had to bear an additional expenditure of Rs. 20,000 simply for exchanging the machinery and the total excess over the estimates in this case was Rs. 67,000. The Karad Municipality had not sanctioned this unbudgetted expenditure till now, but the officials on it got the resolution passed, taking advantage of the absence of some of the members who had gone to attend the Poona Municipal Conference. So long as the Public Works Department does not take the sanction of the local bodies before incurring the expenditure and so long as officials saddle the bodies with the expenditure by devious methods, can it be called local self-government? And who will be proud of it?

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 31st August 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 35 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 1st September 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council: Contradiction of a reply given to an interpellation at the last meeting of the — 31

British rule:

- Alleged friction between Hindus and Mussalmans at Jubbulpore . . 28
- Comments on Lord Islington's views about political reform in India . 13
- Comments on Lord Sydenham's letter in the *Times* on Lord Islington's speech at Oxford . . . . 14 & 15
- Comments on one of Mr. Basu's speeches at Bombay 32
- Comments on Mr. Montagu's speech on the Mesopotamia Commission report 7
- Comments on the attack of the *Madras Mail* on Mr. Montagu . . 4
- Comments on the election of Mrs. Besant to be President of the next National Congress . . . . 19 & 20
- Comments on the Madras Manifesto on the expediency of passive resistance . . . . 8—12
- Comments on the reported grant of self-government to Portuguese India. 23
- Comments on the resolutions passed at the non-Brahmin Conference at Coimbatore 16
- Comments on the Trichinopoly meeting of students resolving to attend Home Rule meetings 17
- Criticism of the work done by the Bombay City Food Prices Committee 30
- Criticism on Lord Hardinge's treatment of his Executive Council in the matter of the Mesopotamia Campaign 25
- If the Government of India and the Secretary of State really set store by the goodwill of the people of India they should not wait a minute in annulling the internment of Mrs. Besant 22
- Mr. Mahomed Ali should be elected President of the Moslem League just as Mrs. Besant is being elected President of the Congress . 21
- Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India . . . . 1—3
- Mr. Montagu's statement in Parliament about India's political future . 5 & 6
- Parsis and Home Rule 26
- Reflections on the internment of Mrs. Besant and the duty of Government to help India to become free 18
- Reflections on the situation in Ireland 29
- Suggestion that Government should stop the raising of house rents in Bombay under the Defence of India Act 24

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

British Rule :—*concld.*

- The late Mr. Gokhale's Reform Scheme . . . 33
- What should the Muhammadans do to improve their political condition . . . 27

Excise : Alleged hardships of a country liquor licensee in Bassein Taluka (district Thána) . . . 36

His Excellency Lord Willingdon :

- Comments on the address delivered by — at the Fergusson College, Poona . . . 34
- Comments on the formation by Her Excellency Lady Willingdon of a Children's Branch of the Women's War and Relief Fund . . . 35

Public Service : Complaint against the Mahálkari of Valod (district Surat) . . . 37

War :

- Comments on the announcement about the grant of Army Commissions to Indians . . . 40 & 41
- Comments on the portrait and message sent to the widows, mothers and daughters of Indian soldiers killed in the — . . . 39
- The — . . . 38

EDUCATION—

- Alleged aspersions against Muhammad in two Gujarati books . . . 49
- Alleged need of abolishing the system of Mulla Schools in Sind . . . 47
- Comments on the Bombay Law Student's petition to Government . . . 45
- Government should not take any action prejudicial to the study of Urdu in the Bombay Presidency . . . 48
- The people of Lárkána (Sind) should not depend upon Government or the Municipality for the High School so badly wanted by them . . . 46
- The Secondary Education Conference . . . 42—44

RAILWAYS—

- Comments on the Government Press Note on the Railway strike . . . 53
- The G. I. P. Railway Workshop strike . . . 50—52

MUNICIPALITIES—

Bombay :

- Comments on the recent house collapses in — City . . . 54
- The Cumballa Hill War Hospital and the — Municipality . . . 55

Complaint that the bulk of the Municipalities in Sind have boards composed wholly of nominated members . . . 57

Hyderabad : Comments on the proposal to substitute a terminal charge for octroi in — (Sind) . . . 56

Why it would be unfair and inadvisable to introduce house-tax in towns in Sind . . . 58

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India.

Young India (14), 29th Aug.; *Subodh Patrika* (42), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

1. "Whatever may have to be said of Mr. Montagu's intentions—we believe they are real and earnest—it seems to us that the declaration concedes nothing in effect to the Indian people, nor does it take away from the anomaly of bureaucratic government to any desirable extent.......... The declaration following upon the heels of the repressive tendencies which are proving themselves so irrepressible in the Government is calculated to leave no reassuring effect on the disturbed minds of the people.......... We, therefore, regard the fissiparous tendencies already visible among Indian leaders with a certain amount of grave apprehension. The time is not yet for any relaxation in our efforts or agitation to secure the goal which we have steadily and consistently kept in view.......... We urge therefore with all the emphasis at our command that the country should continue to maintain its agitation firstly for the reversal of the policy of repression and withdrawal of the internment orders against Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, and secondly for the realisation of the reforms contained in the Congress-League scheme as the absolute *minimum* with which we shall be content for the time being 'as the first step in the progressive stages' alluded to by Mr. Montagu in his declaration." [The *Subodh Patrika* writes:—"Whatever the actual outcome Mr. Montagu's visit may be—and we are sure it will not be disappointing—the Secretary of State has decided to take a step which is calculated to assure Indian public mind which had been made unnecessarily suspicious and irritable by the irresponsible and provocative utterances of some of the provincial rulers while the Government of India kept a sphinx like silence on the vital question of the future Government of India."]

Mufid-e-Rozgár (144), 26th Aug.

2. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* welcomes the announcement regarding Mr. Montagu's proposed visit to India and states that by walking, as it were, in the streets of Indian cities the Secretary of State for India would learn what stage of civilisation the people of this country have reached and for what they are fit. It suggests that the people should arrange to give Mr. Montagu a hearty reception such as was accorded to His Majesty in 1911, and concludes by striking an expectant note regarding the ultimate decision of the authorities on the question of Home Rule for India. [Elsewhere the paper publishes an ariticle on the unsuitability of full-fledged representative government for countries such as China, Persia, etc. It maintains, that the premature grant of self-government to India would do immense injury, and that the authors of deliberate obstruction would but do harm to themselves. It considers it desirable that the people should try to make themselves fit for representative institutions, and holds that the country cannot march forward without the benevolent protection and fatherly care of Government. At the same time the paper declares that an extreme necessity for obtaining an instalment of political concessions exists, and it hopes that these will be made after the termination of hostilities.]

Kesari (106), 28th Aug.; *Karnátak Vritt* (83), 28th Aug.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 2nd Sept., Eng. cols.

3. It is a unique occasion and it is a special favour to Indians that the Secretary of State is coming to India personally to discuss the question of *swarájya* with us. The very fact that no Secretary of State for India cared to visit India for the last fifty years shows how wisely the administration of India is carried on. Lord Crewe no doubt visited India a few years ago, but he was only a Minister in attendance on His Majesty the King-Emperor but the present Secretary of State will visit the country by himself and will thus receive all the honours. At the same time he must be prepared to answer straight questions and it will not be in keeping with his dignity to return to England without granting us Provincial autonomy which

Lord Crewe at the time of his visit assured he was going to give. Those who pretended to consider it a great sin to speak a word about *swarájya* during war time, will, it is hoped now that Mr. Montagu is himself coming to talk of *swarájya*, open their lips and speak freely. It is a question how far real public opinion will be allowed to be represented in the discussion or inquiry to be conducted by Mr. Montagu in India. His time will be divided between officials and the public but what time he would devote to both separately is an important point. Otherwise he might come to India at our expense and go back with the opinions of the officials. While here he will of course be the guest of white officials and naturally their point of view will be fully placed before him. But will he devote a considerable portion of his time to listen to the people? Will he see anybody freely or will the list of persons who are to see him be drawn out by the officials? It is said that some crafty Anglo-Indian officials take simple-minded visitors to see Khonds and Bhils as types of Indian civilisation. Mr. Montagu may not be so simple-minded but it would be better if he would try to see things for himself. We hope he will give a hearing to one and all. Whatever be the ultimate outcome let there be a truce between the officials and the people during his stay in India. If Mrs. Besant and others be still in internment who would feel any enthusiasm for discussion with Mr. Montagu? Similarly Government might also expect people not to resort to passive resistance. But as it depends upon Government themselves whether there should be such a reaction, the responsibility would be theirs. In order that Mr. Montagu may be successful in his mission, there should be peace in the country. Government should amend their old policy of repression and give us an assurance that they would not begin it anew. [The *Karnátak Vritt* says that Mr. Montagu's declaration is worded ambiguously in order to postpone the reforms demanded by the people. It finds it very disappointing that Mr. Montagu wants every step of advance to be determined by the Government of India and the British Government. But still it does not want to give up all hopes. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"The announcement of Mr. Montagu's intended visit to India has raised a chorus of welcome, but we cannot characterise this welcome to be as hearty as it might have been expected to be. On the one hand we have the Anglo-Indian journals preaching caution to him.......... On the other hand we have the numerous organs of the Home Rule movement, giving so to speak only a conditional welcome to him......... For ourselves, we cannot but regard this attitude as rather unreasonable."]

Comments on the attack of the *Madras Mail* on Mr. Montagu.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 1st Sept.; * *Mahrátta* (5), 2nd Sept.; *Dnyán Parkásh* (36), 1st Sept.

4. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* denounces as foolish effusions of a demented mind the remarks made by the *Madras Mail* in its issue dated 29th August 1917 under the heading "A Word to Mr. Montagu". The paper regards the remarks of the *Madras Mail* as almost bordering on disloyalty, and ridicules its belief that it has the power to bring about revolutions in Governments and Ministries. It wishes to know whom the *Madras Mail* means by the term "conservative Indians" and remarks that it is labouring under a delusion if by that term it means to connote the illiterate and dumb masses of the people who are familiar with the principles of *swarájya* on account of the existence of representative bodies among them. The paper, however, welcomes effusions of the type above referred to on the ground that they will enable His Majesty's Government and the British public to judge Anglo-Indian opinion at its proper value. [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"The *Mail* promises to *dethrone* Mr. Montagu 'in quick succession to any change here', such as the Secretary of State is understood to be contemplating! Poor Mr. 'Montagu'! If he wishes to keep his place, he must act as 'the most obedient servant' of the *Madras Mail* and Company. This *company* is in desperate love with 'the men on the spot'—*those Time-honoured beings that love to stick to the spot* like vice, never caring *what the hour of the day is*, and what it demands of them on pain of being set down for miserable laggards and receiving the punishment of the laggards as it

is put down in the Penal Code of the Government of Providence established by the Law That Itself has made.......... How will Mr. Montagu act? It is hoped that he will be firm, *if we are firm* and strengthen his hands by adopting the *passive resistance programme* and bringing it to his notice in an unmistakable manner that India will no longer tolerate any trifling with her grievances". The *Dnyán Prakásh* hopes that Mr. Montagu will disregard the selfish outcry of the Anglo-Indians and show firmness in doing what is just.]

Mr. Montagu's statement in Parliament about India's political future.
Message (6), 29th Aug.

5. "It would be unfortunate indeed if leaders of Indian thought are divided at this stage in their opinions regarding the reforms. Yet it seems to have been the effect produced on the minds of Indian leaders—a section of them at any rate, by the recent anouncements. Mr. Montagu's declaration in the House of Commons, it should be remembered, does not take us any further and it would be foolish to regard it in any but an academical light. It is the barest statement that any responsible Minister ever made and savouring too much of a highly gubernatorial touch. What Mr. Mantagu will achieve when he visits this country and confers with the Government and Indian leaders does not in the least matter to us. What is clearly wanted is that we should keep up our agitation for reforms until the Imperial Government gives us a definite pledge that they accept the Congress-Moslem League scheme as the minimum of reform which it is determined to carry out in the Indian admininistration and in order to give full effect to it immediately at the close of the war, it will take steps from this time onward to prepare the ground.......... However closely one may read the Secretary of State's message, one is doomed to disappointment to find any definite promise in it. The only thing which gives hope is the knowledge and insight he has displayed in his Mesopotamia speech regarding the needs of the Indian administration. But that speech is that of a politician of the Opposition Bench and not as a responsible Minister of the Crown. Lord Morley was even more promising when he came to office than Mr. Montagu. But what was the outcome of Lord Morley's work at the India Office?......... Whether Mr. Montagu will emulate his quondam political chief is more than we can surmise at present. We think, however, our countrymen ought to be forewarned about the results of expecting too much from Mr. Montagu's visit and abandoning at this stage our work."

Prakásh (116), 29th Aug.; *Shetkari* (41), 26th Aug.; *Sandesh* (118), 30th Aug.

6. We have already expressed our conviction that our stars would ultimately lead us to our goal of *swarajya* through the dark shadows of official high-handedness. The Imperial Government have now definitely recognised our ideal of self-government within the Empire. Although the views expressed in the Government of India notification are very gratifying, we would warn our people not to forget their own duty in this respect. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 was of the same character and was similarly worded. It has, however, remained not only a dead letter but our progress has suffered a setback almost every year. High officials of Government like Lord Curzon even went so far as to dub the proclamation as an impossible charter. In the face of these facts it is natural that the present declaration of Government should also be viewed with suspicion. The repressive policy pursued by the bureaucracy in late years has embittered the relations between the officials and people. Although the Imperial Government have displayed fine statesmanship in making the present declaration we do not think they have conferred on us any very extraordinary boon. They would have laid themselves open to the charge of double-dealing if they had tried to keep us in perpetual bondage after drawing the sword in defence of a tiny country like Belgium and also asking us to sacrifice our all in the cause of liberty. Mere declaration of policy, however, is not enough. Indeed our former experience in this respect is not encouraging. The Imperial declaration has been hedged in in various ways and if we abate our agitation their desire to grant us self-government will remain in embryo for several years more. Even after the seed of *Swarájya* has germinated there are several vested interests which will endeavour to stunt

its growth. We will reach our goal, therefore, only by redoubling our present efforts. [The *Shetkari* says that the wording of the announcement does not inspire much hope and adds that the declaration is only a white flag of truce displayed to put a stop to the wordy warfare now raging in India. The *Sandesh* says that the present declaration of policy by a Secretary of State is not sufficient and that it should be confirmed by an Imperial proclamation.]

Comments on Mr. Montagu's speech on the Mesopotamia Commission Report.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 28th Aug.; **Indian Social Reformer* (3), 2nd Sept.

7. The *Bombay Samáchár* regards the speech made by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons during the debate on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report as one characteristic of a really Liberal statesman. It remarks that, unlike other statesmen whose views get changed after they come into power, Mr. Montagu has kept to the above views expressed by him before he was appointed Secretary of State for India, as may be judged from the announcement he has made declaring the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to India. The paper observes that the statement made by Mr. Montagu to the effect that he made the above announcement in response to the demand made by the Government of India urging for a declaration of policy with regard to India must now dispel the delusion that had, in some quarters, gathered round the Viceroy's silence in connection with the present situation. [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The point of view which Mr. Montagu urged on the House of Commons is the very one which we have been endeavouring to impress on our readers. The system of government in India has to be radically reformed not primarily as a concession to the claims of the Indian people for a greater share in the government of the country, but because the system has ceased to be efficient as an instrument of good government. The functions of government may be roughly classified under three heads: the law-making, the law-interpreting and the law-executing. We maintain that, under all three heads, the present system of Indian government has proved more or less a failure.......... While over fifty years of English education and contact with modern ideas have filled the people with fresh hopes and aspirations, the administration has remained impervious to the surging influences of the new century. Apart from the aspirations of Indians, we say that the administration cannot remain what it is without serious danger of collapse."]

Comments on the Madras Manifesto on the inexpediency of passive resistance.

Young India (14), 29th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 28th Aug.

8. We pity those gentlemen of Madras who have rushed to print with their anti-Passive Resistance Manifesto. There was time enough for such a feat, and we wish they had exercised a little more restraint on their generously impulsive natures.......... They have taken it upon themselves to point out the 'inexpediency of Passive Resistance in the present situation', and they seem to think that that situation has been greatly modified by the announcement of Mr. Montagu's intended visit. We have nothing to quarrel with this council of caution. But we think we have a right to ask what is it that has led these gentlemen to modify their views. The mere announcement of Mr. Montagu's visit does not ease the political tension in this country, which is really too acute to be eased off thus.......... Passive Resistance may not be prudent; it may even alienate the sympathies of the allies of the Congress in England, though we are not so sure about it. But is that the reason why one should give up what one feels to be right?...... It was indeed with feelings of the utmost satisfaction that we noticed from a telegram which we received on Sunday that in spite of the Manifesto the special Provincial Conference at Madras had passed a resolution in favour of Passive Resistance by an overwhelming majority. [The *Indu Prakásh* on the other hand welcomes the appeal of the Madras leaders to suspend adoption of the passive resistance movement pending the result of Mr. Montagu's visit to India. It remarks that though hot-headed and impatient people will not approve of this decision and will heap the choicest epithets such as 'cowards', 'mendicants', etc., on the signatories to this appeal, the

action taken in Madras is the right one. It observes that resort to passive resistance is only justified when all other legitimate means of obtaining redress fail.]

Kesari (106), 28th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 29th and 30th Aug.

9. We agree with some of the prominent leaders of Madras who have issued a manifesto against passive resistance when they say that nothing should be done to excite the people. But it is the action of Government that first causes public resentment. The Madras manifesto has also given a sound reply to the argument urged by the Bombay moderates that passive resistance is unconstitutional. If Mrs. Besant and others are released and if the policy of Government is toned down then there will be no occasion for passive resistance. But so long as this does not happen, so long as meetings are prohibited in the Delhi Province and processions in Sind have to submit to police *zulum* and so long as even private meetings in the Dhárwár District are prohibited, the question of passive resistance is not yet over. Our leaders should therefore either get these repressive orders cancelled or permit the adoption of passive resistance. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—The special Madras Conference does not want to adopt passive resistance to stop the repressive policy of Government or to obtain rights of *swarájya* as some Bombay people want to do, but it wants to limit it to the right of holding public meetings. We cannot hold rightly that all the officials want to prohibit protest meetings as a rule and it is therefore unnecessary and improper to proclaim a general pasive resistance. If we only talk of passive resistance and do not act up to it, the efforts of some people who want to poison the mind of Mr. Montagu will be strengthened. There is no doubt that Mrs. Besant should be released so that discussion on political subjects might proceed calmly. But we should move the question in the Council and it would be suicidal to adopt Passive Resistance immediately. In another issue the *Dnyán Prakásh* supports the Madras manifesto against passive resistance and says that India's duty at present consists in strongly agitating for the entire abandonment of the repressive policy and the release of Mrs. Besant and others and the acceptance of the Congress scheme of reforms by Government.]

Gujaráti (16), 2nd Sept., Eng. cols.

*10. "The signatories to the manifesto issued in Madras, whilst deprecating any resort to a policy of passive resistance at this juncture for reasons which, in our opinion, are sufficiently cogent, have characterised those who have opposed the proposal on the ground of its being inconsistent with the Congress constitution, as 'sticklers for legal propriety'. In expressing themselves to this effect with an air of superiority they do not seem to us to have studied the existing provisions of law with sufficient care. Excepting resignations by members of the Legislative Councils and municipal and local boards and like measures, we do not think passive resistance can ever be legal, though it may be morally justified under exceptional circumstances. But that is a matter for individuals to decide and it is not a course for organized and constitutional bodies to recommend or adopt, unless they are prepared to run the risk of being proclaimed 'unlawful associations'. We go further and say that even a newspaper is not at liberty to advocate measures of passive resistance that interfere with *maintenance of law and order*, because under the Indian Press Act I of 1910, the printing press in respect of which security has been deposited under the Act is liable to be forfeited, if it is responsible for the publication of a newspaper, which encourages or incites any person to interfere with the administration of law or with the maintenance of law and order.......... We fail to see why Mrs. Besant's followers want the support of the Congress and its subordinate organizations, if they wish to enter upon a policy of passive resistance. Similarly, Congressmen, as individuals, have a clear choice before them. They need not wait for anybody's counsel or recommendation. Their own conscience is their guide and if they are not prepared to act up to its imperative dictates, they are not justified in drawing organized and constitutional bodies into the vortex of unknown troubles and dangers and drag them to destruction."

Mahrátta (5), 2nd Sept.

*11. "It is impossible to have patience with those who would, in the name of 'prudence', counsel adherence to a path that leads to National dishonour and an irreparable loss, in the bargain, of a rare opportunity of gaining some *material* instalment of reforms !......... What is the dominating feature of the situation ? It is the Repressive policy—the Students' circulars, the special ban on the Home Rule Home Rule and 'League' lectures, the fantastic and fanatical operation of the Press Act and the Defence Act and the Police Acts, the prohibiting of processions and public meetings, and so on and so forth....... These—and not the announcement—are the dominating features. The announcement has come—and so far as its essential part is concerned, it has been universally condemned as *a bureaucratic draft*. And the little 'healthy' *change* that it may be taken to show is more the result of our agitation culminating in the passive resistance resolution of the Joint Conference, than of anything else. Mr. Montagu is coming—but what is he coming for? It is *to ascertain the strength of our forces on the spot. It is to ascertain the strength of our feeling against the repressive policy on the spot.* If we create *a fictitious 'calm'*, it will prejudice our cause and not further it. A true Englishman cannot understand men feeling strongly—and yet refraining from even the simple programme of passive resistance. Go, talk to any common man in England, or any statesman (who speaks unvarnished truth like Mr. Bonar Law or Sir Edward Carson)—and you will learn the truth about the men you have *to move*. The Britishers cannot be moved by any thing but *strength*. Their women wanted the vote—and what a struggle they have had before they got it. Not 'a calm', but a 'a storm', is the proper atmosphere for the British intellect and emotion to grasp the realities fully and properly. And you cannot expect the best results from the 'coming inquiry' until the realities are properly grasped by Mr. Montagu and his colleagues. Any attempt, therefore, to create a fictitious calm deserves to be severely condemned, as both dishonourable and 'gravely inexpedient'."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 27th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 1st Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 27th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 26th Aug.; *Hitechhu* (65), 19th Aug.; *Gujaráti Punch* (18), 26th Aug.

12. The *Sánj Vartamán* strongly disapproves of passive resistance as a measure to remedy the present political situation in India, and remarks that passive resistance is a weapon which, if not properly handled, is likely to degenerate into an illegal instrument. It observes that in view of the serious endeavours His Majesty's Government have made, since the appointment of Mr. Montagu as Secretary of State for India, to improve the political situation in India, it will bespeak foresight on the part of the Indians to give up even the consideration of the question of passive resistance. The paper accordingly commends the manifesto issued by some of the political leaders of Madras advising the people of that Presidency to give up the proposed boycott and policy of passive resistance. It opines that the release of political prisoners who have been interned without trial under the Defence of India Act will greatly tend to make the mission of Mr. Montagu a success. [The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its satisfaction at the conclusion arrived at by the sub-committee of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee against the adoption of passive resistance. It congratulates Mr. M. K. Gandhi on his dissuading political bodies from adopting passive resistance as part of their work, and hopes that the responsible bodies in the country will follow his advice. The paper suggests that since England is displaying at present genuine sempathy towards India by sending the Secretary of State to make inquiries on the spot, it is the duty of patriotic Indians to unite in co-operating with him. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also approves of the advice contained in the manifesto issued by the Madras leaders and expresses the opinion that the political leaders of all the presidencies should act upon that advice. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also deprecates the adoption of passive resistance and believes that its adoption will only tend to strengthen the hands of the opponents of Indian aspirations. The *Hitechhu*, on the contrary, supports the adoption of passive resistance and observes :—If the need had at any time arisen in India for the adoption of passive resistance

it is now. Severer restictions are being experienced from day to day on the liberty of the press and freedom of speech. The case of the last internments illustrates the kind of danger in which individual liberty has been placed. It is degrading to the Indians if they do not carry on the constitutional agitation of passive resistance for the sake of Mrs. Annie Besant. The *Gujdrati Punch* remarks:—When officials do not respect the wishes of the people there is no wonder if dissatisfied persons resolve to carry on passive resistance in a constitutional manner. May God give the youths as well as the leaders of the country strength sufficient for carrying on passive resistance in order that they may prove successful in this constitutional fight of theirs.]

Comments on Lord Islington's views about political reform in India.

Sind Advocate (9), 16th Aug.

13. "The *London Times* says with its usual complacency that the pronouncement of Lord Islington, Under Secretary for India, before the Oxford students will give satisfaction to all and sundry. We wonder whether the *Times* means it.......... Lord Islington's proposals would be disappointing, and very disappointing even if a great war had not brought in its train new possibilities, new view points, new aspirations and new every thing. Indeed, we could expect nothing better of the narrow-minded Commission which has given us that monumental document of despair on the Public Services in India.......... But to do him justice, Lord Islington is quite prepared to be liberal in the bestowal of toys and fine toys at that, on educated aspiring Indians.......... Lord Islington says that he contemplates the Australian Commonwealth as a model for India. But judging from his poor proposals he does not seem to mean it at all."

Comments on Lord Sydenham's letter in the *Times* on Lord Islington's speech at Oxford.

New Times (7), 18th Aug.

14. Commenting upon Reuter's summary of Lord Sydenham's letter in the *Times* regarding Lord Islington's speech at Oxford, the *New Times* writes:—"He (Lord Sydenham) says that Lord Islington's 'description of the Government of India as a vast bureaucracy is a misuse of language borrowed from the vocabulary of a small section which employs the term for the purpose of opprobrium'. Lord Islington's description will be endorsed by any close observer of Indian life; and it is strange that Lord Sydenham with his experience of Indian administration should hesitate to describe the present Governmnet as subject to the bureaucratic system. The story of internments and deportations and the operations of the Press Act and other measures will not be easily believed in by the liberty-loving Britons; but they have only to visit India to know how great is the sway of even the small official functionaries, how despotic are the methods of many, how often they ride roughshod over the feelings and matured convictions of the people and their representatives, how rigorous is censorship of the Press, how even the so-called local self-government of municipal corporations is subject to the scrutiny of inquisitive officials, how small is the number of officials who realise the sanctity of the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity guaranteed to us by the constitution of the great Empire to which we belong. If ever an administration was bureaucratic, it is the administration of the Indian Government. [The paper then quotes Lord Sydenham's remarks about the duty of Government towards the masses, and continues:—]This official petting of the poor 'masses' has a touch of 'ultra-altruism'; it reminds us of a famous Bengali saying: *ati bhakti chore lakshan*: trust not the man who professes excessive love. Think of the official apostles of the poor, 'the vast masses of India!' It is dangerous, say these *ati-bhaktas* of the Indian administration, to betray these poor ignorant ones of India into the hands of educated Indians; it will be, they say, 'to ignore our duty,' to allow 'the vast masses' to fall into the hands of a 'little oligarchy' of Indians lest they be trampled upon by their 'educated' brethren! The uneducated, the 'inarticulate masses' must be protected against their kith and kin! This is official patriotism! .... A bureaucracy that is ill-disposed to *educated* India

must never hope to be trusted by the masses; for enshrined in the hearts of the masses are eminent representatives of educated India—men such as Gokhale, Gandhi, Tilak, Arabinda Ghosh, Surendranath Banerji. Lord Curzon's experiment of opposing the educated failed miserably; it will not do to repeat it; it will not be honest, it will not be right to adopt an attitude which means estrangement and loss of fellowship."

15. Lord Sydenham has formed a correct estimate of the present political situation. As all classes enjoy equal opportunities under the British Government it is essential in the interests of the masses that British power should not be weakened. This, of course, does not solve the whole political problem. It is equally necessary that Government should adopt a more liberal policy and diffuse knowledge among the masses. If Lord Sydenham really sympathises with us—and we believe he does—he should advise his countrymen not to make us dependent on British power for ever, but gradually make us self-reliant. ......

Jágaruk (new), 24th Aug.

16. The political parties in a subject country may choose different methods of agitation, but they have all ultimately to recognise that the country's salvation depends on the attainment of *swarájya*. The resolutions passed at the non-Brahmin Conference recently held at Coimbatore go to show that just as the Moslem League which had its origin in the desire to oppose the Congress propaganda ultimately left behind the latter body in demanding *swarájya* these non-Brahmin Conferences are naturally bound to take a similar line We, therefore, congratulate the Conference on the demands it has made and feel confident that the non-Brahmin Conference which is about to be held at Belgaum will also pass similar resolutions leading to *swarájya*. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* also declares that the Coimbatore Conference, in spite of the desire of its organisers, has supported the cause of *swarájya*.]

Comments on the resolutions passed at the non-Brahmin Conference at Coimbatore.

Kesari (106), 28th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 29th Aug.

17. "A special message to *New India* from Trichinopoly says that 200 college students openly signed as conveners of a political meeting and expressed their determination to attend Home Rule meetings in future. We offer our hearty congratulations to the students, who have displayed such exemplary moral courage. There was a time when students along with the rest of the community were cowed down by repressive orders and unwarranted encroachments on their liberty and freedom. But that time has definitely passed away. The behaviour of the Trichinopoly students is certainly worthy of the new spirit of patriotism which pervades the minds of all men to-day......... We should certainly be glad to see that the various Governments concerned take a hint from these manifestations and withdraw the orders gracefully and voluntarily, before being forced to such a course by pressure of inevitable circumstances."

Comments on the Trichinopoly meeting of students resolving to attend Home Rule meetings.

Young India (14), 29th Aug.

18. Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta writes to the *Hind Vási*:—"I, as one of the Home Rule Leaguers can say definitely that Mrs. Besant's political activities had always a helpful effect and created not in the least any ill-will, malice or hatred.......... She, in her wisdom and knowledge of India, had understood fully the under-current of India's aspirations, and she knew that this current required a bold and free guidance. The Government of India have had ample opportunities to guide the people to reach the goal of their aspirations, but it was a pity the bureaucratic authorities would not be divested of their illusions and they have not yet been able to see through. When men in power cannot see, the Creator and His Agents must take up the work in their own hands, and as one of the servants of the Lords, one so faithful, one so unselfish, so self-sacrificing, it came to the lot of Mrs. Besant to work for India. Her work, as I said

Reflections on the internment of Mrs. Besant and the duty of Government to help India to become free.

Hind Vási (45), 16th Aug., Eng. cols.

above, was to unite and not to separate. The authorities have got a very handy instrument in stating that she created disturbance during the war. Nothing could be a greater falsehood. I challenge every one to read her articles on the war from the very beginning upto date, and they will see for themselves how absurd their statement is.......... It is an insult not only to Mrs. Besant, but to India, to say that Mrs. Besant's activities have disturbed war operations. Ah! little do these authorities know what Great Personages stand behind Mrs. Besant to protect her, and her adherents, and to guide India: Those who are the real rulers of the world. These Agents of God have given ample opportunities to our rulers and they shall yet give more, because they are the Lords of Love and Wisdom. But let it not be too late. These opportunities cannot be given always and eternally. If the British cannot make themselves worthy instruments to make India free, God's Agents must and shall do so."

Comments on the election of Mrs. Besant to be President of the next National Congress.

Gujaráti (16), 2nd Sept., Eng. cols.

***19.** "The news from Calcutta is anything but encouraging.......... We confess we do not understand the action of the Reception Committee in confirming Mrs. Besant's nomination, whilst she is still interned. Is the Reception Committee certain that Mrs. Besant will be released about the end of September, by which time the next President ought to be nominated or before the last week of December when the Congress is expected to meet at Calcutta? If not, what is the meaning of the step that the Reception Committee has taken? But even assuming that Mrs. Besant is going to be released—and perhaps she may be freed from internment subject to certain conditions or unconditionally—is it wisdom to create more difficulties and complications in a province like Bengal where more than a thousand internments have taken place, by placing her in the presidential chair? Supposing she is prevented from entering Bengal, what is to be done at the eleventh hour? Further, assuming no such order is issued, has Mrs. Besant that tact, sound judgment and foresight to enable her to pilot the ship of the Congress through all the rocks ahead at this hour of crisis? We are afraid the Honourable Mr. Bhupendranath's appeal to his countrymen to show the highest statesmanship at this hour has fallen upon deaf ears."

Rást Goftár (30), 2nd Sept., Eng. cols.

***20.** Referring to the election by seven out of the eight Indian Provinces of Mrs. Besant as President of the next Congress, the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"In other words, a person who has been interned by the Madras Government on account of her 'dangerous' activities—an opinion which was cheerfully endorsed by Mr. Chamberlain as Secretary of State for India—is deemed by the whole of Educated India as the fittest person for the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress, the highest honour that the country can confer on any one. In the deliberate opinion of the whole country Mrs. Besant, who has been deprived of her liberty and debarred from her numerous activities, is as worthy of honour and trust as Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, member of the India Council, and Sir S. P. Sinha, member of the Bengal Executive Council, for both of them were Presidents of the Congress. Thus the Government and Educated India are as wide apart as the poles, whereas co-operation between them is necessary."

Mr. Mahommed Ali should be elected President of the Moslem League just as Mrs. Besant is being elected President of the Congress.

Kesari (106), 28th Aug.

21. The *Kesari* says that ultimately Mrs. Besant is likely to be elected President of the next Congress. It quotes Sir Subramania's letter asking the people to approach Parliament and even the King-Emperor for the release of Mrs. Besant at least temporarily during the Congress Session. It is of opinion that Mr. Montagu will release Mrs. Besant if a strong agitation is carried on and that Mr. Montagu may even consult her during his visit. It calls upon the Congress Committees to elect Mrs. Besant unanimously. [Further on the paper pleads for the election of Mr. Mahommed Ali as President

of the Moslem League. It holds that the release of these leaders is necessary if Mr. Montagu does not want to look at public questions through official spectacles and if he wants to have an open and frank discussion on them with public leaders.]

If the Government of India and the Secretary of State really set store by the goodwill of the people of India they should not wait a minute in annulling the internment of Mrs. Besant.
Sind Advocate (9), 16th Aug.

22. In the course of a lengthy communication to the *Sind Advocate* on the subject of the internment of Mrs. Besant, in which he dwells at great length on her virtues and abilities, her claims on the gratitude of Indians and the duty of the latter to carry on her work, Mr. Chandiram J. B. of Rohri, Sind, remarks:—"If the Government of India or the Honourable Mr. Montagu knew the realities of a situation, could fathom and probe the depth of the feelings of intense dissatisfaction to which the minds of thousands of thoughtful and loyal to the core people have been worked up by as a result of this indefensible action of the Madras Government, and really disliked playing an ostrich policy, and set store by the feelings of goodwill of the people, they would not like to wait a minute in undoing and annulling this irritating and exasperating blunder. But divorced from the first-hand knowledge of things and being probably supplied with inaccurate and wrong information they may not soon make up their minds to reverse the action."

Comments on the reported grant of self-government to Portuguese India.
New Times (7), 13th Aug.

23. Referring to the report that the Portuguese Government has granted self-government to Portuguese India, and remarking that the Hindu population will now be on a footing of equality with the Christian population, the *New Times* continues:—"When will British India have a similar concession? England is the mother of freedom; she is offering home rule with both hands to Ireland. She is anxious to protect the rights of nations; and is for the autonomy of Poland and Finland. She has already granted self-government to the Dominions; to speak to England concerning the desirability of self-government is to preach to the converted; even a Government of archangels will commit grave political blunders when it cannot fully retain the confidence and co-operation of the people.......... The Indian Government should, in a spirit of bold statesmanship, co-operate with the people in the task of achieving self-government; to stand aloof from the aspirations of Indians, which owe their birth and progress to India's political contact with England, would be a calamitous error."

Suggestion that Government should stop the raising of house rents in Bombay under the Defence of India Act.
Indu Prakásh (39), 30th Aug., Eng. cols.

24. "Life in Bombay has become a hardship to the large majority of people, owing to the cost of living which was already prohibitive, having become still more so during the last three years of the present war...... ... Here is a most proper case for Government to act under the Defence of India Act. They can declare under this Act that the landlords shall not raise rents during the continuance of the war and six months afterwards. This declaration under the Defence of India Act should have a retrospective effect, so that house-rents, where raised, should be restored to the *status quo ante bellum*, although even as they stood then, they were sufficiently prohibitive. The Government would in this measure have the support of all save the vested interests concerned."

Criticism of Lord Hardinge's treatment of his Executive Council in the matter of the Mesopotamia campaign.
Message (6), 31st Aug.

25. "One of the charges against Lord Hardinge in regard to the Mesopotamia affair has been that he 'abrogated the functions of the Executive Council and practically raised himself and the Commander-in-Chief' to the position of the 'Government of India'. While we are at one with the Indian leaders in their grateful attitude towards Lord Hardinge and in their rising as one man to his rescue, we cannot ignore the fact that that part of the accusation which relates to Lord Hardinge's stultifying his Executive Council *has* truth on its side.......... We yield to none in our admiration for his sympathy with Indian feelings, sentiments and aspirations and for the courageous position he took in regard to the emigration question. But our admiration cannot make us blind to the fact that he—even he, we say—could not fully overcome the tendency towards autocratism which is natural to rulers over a people to whom they are not responsible. Another question which emerges out of the preceding one, is whether the Executive Council of the Viceroy acted wisely or not in not insisting upon their being consulted. For our part, we think that the Council erred in meekly allowing itself to be nullified so far as the Mesopotamian campaign was concerned. For whatever is being done in the name of the Government of India, the Council, as a body, is responsible.......... Indian members of the Executive Councils, Viceregal or Provincial, have often loyally set aside their individuality in the interests of the body of which they formed a part. May we not pertinently inquire whether they have equally often and equally heartily insisted on their right to be consulted in *all* important matters, transacted in the name of the Government of which they formed a part?"

Parsis and Home Rule.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 30th Aug.

26. Referring to the fact of a section of the Parsi community being against the Home Rule movement, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that a small community like the Parsis will not be benefited by keeping aloof from the movement which, it thinks, is calculated to bring about the political regeneration of India. In view of its legitimate character, as proved in various Indian High Courts, and in view of a similar declaration made by the British Government in favour of self-government for India under British rule, the paper cannot comprehend why a community like the Parsis which is believed to be taking the lead in education and the political progress of the country should not contribute its share in the Home Rule movement. It dismisses the plea of those who argue that the community, being very small in number, will be crushed by the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities if India were to be granted *swarájya*, by observing that the Parsis, by reason of their innate intelligence and the moral teachings of their religion, will be able to hold their own under any such changed condition of things in India, just as they continued to flourish in the time of the Hindu and Muhammadan rulers before the advent of British rule. The paper maintains that the interests of the Parsis lie in their joining hands with the other Indian communities in carrying on constitutional movements for the purpose of securing political rights for the crores of people of this country and declares that any attempt on their part to keep away from the Home Rule movement will be only calculated to create estrangement between them and the other sister communities in India.

What should the Muhammadans do to improve their political condition?
Islámic Mail (4), 26th Aug., Eng. cols.

27. "The time has come for the real leaders of people, zemindars and men in business to assert their power and to take the lead of things in their hands. The educated have held their tyrannical sway too long so that it has now become impossible to sit quiet, and those who have the welfare of their people and of their country at heart would be failing in their duty if they did not organise their forces in a proper way. .... It is imperative for the Muhammadans to organise their own forces to be able to safeguard their own interests. Let them join hands with Hindus if they so desire; let them follow Mr. Jinnah's policy if they think it will be advantageous for them. Let them even join the Home Rule League if they think it will benefit them in the long run; but let them first put their house in order and call together the force at their command. These are certainly the days of democracy and if they would follow the democratic principles we cannot have any objection to it. But let them first emancipate themselves from the one man rule of Syed Wazir Husan or Mr. Haque. If they wish to fight the bureaucracy, they are welcome to it, but let them first do away with the worst autocracy which dispenses their fate without their knowledge and consent. We do not say that they should not ask for representative government. Let them demand it by all means. But first organise the basis of the representation so that when we ultimately achieve representative government we may not be handicapped by our unpreparedness and let the Hindus reap all the fruits of our labours......... Mr. Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer complained the other day in the Council that there are many Municipalties and District Boards where not a single Muhammadan has ever gone by election. It is no doubt a deprorable state of affairs, but quite natural in the present condition of Muhammadans. They lack cohesion and organisation, and disintegration resulting in the gain of the other communities is the inevitable result. The little oligarchy at Lucknow is the sole arbiter of our destinies, and as it is in the hands of the Congress we are at the mercy of the Hindus who dominate the Congress. Let us organise our power and our resources, let us form real representative associations where every Muhammadan unit, every village, every town has a voice, let us prepare ourselves for our share in the coming concessions. Muhammadans should not have to depend either upon the generosity of Government or upon the good graces of the rival Communities."

Alleged friction between Hindus and Musalmans at Jubbulpore.

Muslim Herald (145), 31st Aug.

28. The *Muslim Herald* reports that the Musalmans of Jubbulpore where the mosques have been shut up after a dispute with the local Hindu community, wired to the *Moslem League* at Lucknow which, however, did not even so much as acknowledge its receipt. The paper holds it to be the duty of the League to have sent someone for ascertaining the true facts of the case which might have been published broadcast to allay the anxiety of Musalmans in other parts of the country. It is of opinion that the apparent unconcern of the League springs from a desire to keep in the good books of the Congress of which, indeed, it has become an integral part. [Elsewhere the paper republishes an article from the *Mashriq*, newspaper of Gorakhpur, in which besides the Hindu-Muhamadan tension at Jubbulpore, mention is made of eleven other subjects of dispute between the two communities. These refer to Muhamadan representation on public bodies, holidays, *Id* sacrifice, service under Government, and opposition to Urdu.]

Reflections on the situation in Ireland.

Rdj Hansa (85), 28th Aug.

29. As Sinn Feinners are powerful, the British Government admitted them into the Irish Convention. But they are not satisfied with this respectful treatment and disturb the work of the Convention. They put up their own men at bye-elections and thus got into the House of Commons. Even if loyalists and nationalists agree to any scheme of *Swardjya* Sinn Feinners will come in the way. They do not want *Swardjya*; they want a republic. The Sinn Feinners are likely to be successful in Parliament. Young Irishmen are mostly Sinn Feinners. Though war is going on in the vicinity they do not join the army. They cannot be compelled to join by conscription. As they have no other work to do they are cogitating over lawless ideas of revolution and rebellion. Those in the know are afraid that they might turn against the Imperial Government by taking advantage of some opportunity, as they are volunteers. It is regrettable that though Government are making varied attempts to remove Irish discontent, it is reappearing like a comet.

Criticism of the work done by the Bombay City Food Prices Committee.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 31st Aug.

30. The appointment of the Food Prices Committee had only a temporary effect on the rise in prices. The Committee has rendered no account of itself beyond publishing periodically a price list that is unintelligible and confusing to the poor and illiterate masses. It is, in the first instance, very necessary to assertain whether the prices fixed by the Committee are not unduly high. The public should be informed of the method adopted by the Committee in fixing the prices and whether any steps are taken to see that the prices fixed are adhered to by the merchants. The Committee might do well to keep its meetings open to the public and invite the press

representatives. The Committee would do better to make the price-list simpler than at present, and fix the prices of commodities for such small measures as are commonly known to the poorer people. The Committee has taken a practical and effective step in opening two shops for the poor, but many more such shops are required to relieve the public from the unduly high prices they have to pay to the retail merchants.

Contradiction of a reply given to an interpellation at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council.
Kesari (106), 28th Aug.

31. With reference to the alleged highhandedness of Mr. Hood, Assistant Collector of Kolába, reported in paragraph No. 8 of Weekly Report No. 12 of 1917, the same correspondent writes to the *Kesari*:—I have been obliged to write this letter because Government have said in their reply to the Honourable Mr. Belvi's interpellation that my allegations were baseless. A few days after the publication of my letter, one of the speakers at the Kolába District Conference made reference to it and condemned such conduct and another speaker supported my statement. The Collector would have contradicted the speakers then and there but he did nothing of the kind nor were the speakers called upon to explain the matter afterwards. Government say that they have made an inquiry but we do not know when they have made the inquiry. The gentleman at whose place the incident occurred should have been asked and the inquiry should have been chiefly conducted in his village. But nothing of any inquiry is known there. The gentleman is ready to declare on oath that the report of the *Kesari* is true. Even the *Saheb* himself must have found it hard to wash off the black stain on his extra white hands caused by the grime of the wheel-pin. I am surprised as to how big officials can dare to declare without any inquiry that the incident that occurred in broad daylight before some villagers is quite false. The statements made in my former letter are quite true. What more proof is required than the fact that the Saheb Bahadur has not yet returned to the owner the wheel-pin he took away?

Comments on one of Mr. Basu's speech in Bombay.
Message (6), 1st Sept.

32. Commenting on Mr. Basu's speech at the Servants of India Society's rooms, the *Message* writes:—"We admire Mr. Basu's faith in the future. But what we do not understand is his complacent omission of all reference to the internments of thousands of poor Indians, unknown to fame, and also of those great leaders of the Indian National movement like Mrs. Besant and Mr. Mahommed Ali. His silence on this most important point was simply provocative beyond measure and Mr. Basu went on to talk cant about so many other things that we should or should not do."

The late Mr. Gokhale's Reform scheme.
Jágaruk (new), 24th Aug.

33. The *Jágaruk* welcomes the late Mr. Gokhale's reform scheme and remarks:—Mr. Gokhale recognised that it was to the interests of the masses that British control over the internal administration of India should continue for several years to come. A comparison between the schemes of Mr. Gokhale and the present-day Moderate politicians will show how the latter have taken leave of moderation in making their demands. These people are avowedly bent on depriving the British of all real power. It is necessary, however, that the present administration should be more liberalised and the Provincial Governments made more autonomous. We would also urge that provision should be made for the adequate representation of all classes in the Legislative Councils.

Comments on the address delivered by His Excellency Lord Willingdon at the Fergusson College, Poona.
New Times (7), 17th Aug.

34. In the course of the first instalment of an article on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech at the Fergusson College, the *New Times* remarks:—"The Order stands self-condemned as an effort to inflict on students a policy of isolation; whereas Government ought rather to help students to enter sympathetically into the strivings of our national life and thus equip them to be ready for their work in the University of Life.......... The circular seeks to

isolate students from the new national life; it cannot succeed: patriotism is a sacrament of our young men's life; they will pay the price of sharing in the sacred work of lifting India; they will suffer; and though they submit to Cæsar's will, they will continue to cling with passionate loyalty to the National Ideal.......... The policy which has prompted the circular is foredoomed to failure. His Excellency expressed disappointment at the small number of those who had enlisted in the Bombay University Company: does His Excellency know the real cause of the inadequate response? Government have followed a policy and proposed to themselves a programme which have provoked the people: the authorities have alienated popular sympathies and the bureaucracy still go their way muddling through a work the most responsible ever entrusted to a Government on this planet. If we may foretell the future from what we see before us, we are inclined to say that the present policy, if persisted in, will prove a source of great anxiety and unrest."

Comments on the formation by Her Excellency's Lady Willingdon of a Children's Branch of the Women's War and Relief Fund.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 2nd Sept., Eng. cols.

***35.** "To the ever energetic and able mind of Lady Willingdon is due the great opportunity that has been afforded to the children of this Presidency to understand and realise and bear a share in the supreme responsibility that rests to-day upon every human being......... It is the genius of Lady Willingdon that has introduced the idea of helping the State into the minds of young children. The formation of a Children's Branch of the Women's War and Relief Fund is an admirable method of inculcating the spirit of social service into young minds. Apart from the immediate benefits that the Children's Branch will bring to the needs of the moment it will serve to arouse a feeling of patriotism and a sense of duty in those who will be the citizens of to-morrow and who, it is essential, should understand the great issue at stake. We trust that Her Excellency's efforts will be crowned with the completest success and the Children's Branch achieve what is expected of it."

Alleged hardships of a country liquor licensee in Bassein Taluka (district Thána).

Rást Goftár (30), 26th Aug.

36. The *Rást Goftár* publishes a petition submitted by a poor and blind Parsi widow to the Collector of Thána wherein the petitioner states that she has been deprived of her license to sell country liquor at Papri in the Bassein Taluka on the ground of her not personally attending to her shop and prays that the license may be restored to her as she is very poor and as all her belongings to the extent of Rs. 500 which she had reserved for her funeral expenses have been invested in the War Loan. She alleges that she was coerced to do so by the Assistant Collector of Excise. [The paper expresses surprise and indignation that Government officials should have no compassion on the poor widow who was made to subscribe to the War Loan and asks the Collector of Thána to grant relief to the poor petitioner.]

Complaint against the Mahálkari of Valod (district Surat).

Political Bhomiyo (71), 30th Aug.

37. A Muhammadan correspondent addresses a letter to the *Political Bhomiyo* in the course of which he describes how during the *régime* of Mr. Anderson as Collector of the Surat District Mr. Bhailal Venilal, Mahálkari of Valod, called an old respectable Borah Mia Kashaji Yusafji in his court and insulted him by pulling his beard and uttering disrespectful terms for the action of a Muhammadan who, through mistake, had dug a grave in the ground which was formerly used as a cemetery by the Borahs. With reference to that incident the correspondent characterises Mr. Bhailal, as an arbitrary and churlish Magistrate and attributes his above act of mishandling the "Mutawali" in open court to the grudge he entertained against the Muhammadans in connection with the construction of a certain hospital at Valod. He then refers to the prosecution instituted against Mr. Bhailal, in connection with the above incident, in the Court of the District Magistrate, Surat, and alleges that Mr. Bhailal managed to square the prosecution witnesses through the influence of his father-in-law, Mr. Lakhia, one time City Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Surat. The correspondent then goes on to observe that Mr. Bhailal has occupied this post of Mahalkari of Valod four or five times during the course of the last 12 years and is heard often to have passed remarks that he would not leave the Muhammadans in peace. In conclusion, the correspondent appeals to the Commissioner of the Northern Division to transfer Mr. Bhailal to some other Mahal and thereby give relief to the Muhammadans.

The War.
Baroda Vartamán (57), 27th Aug.

38. It has been the enemy's boast that his line of defence has not been broken in spite of the continuous attacks of the Allies. The Allies, on the other hand, declare that they are not fighting for acquiring territory or penetrating the enemy's defences but with the sole intention of inflicting the greatest possible losses upon him and tiring him out. The reports show that the object of the Allies is being achieved. Unforeseen circumstances might tend to prolong the war, but the Allies will continue to fight till victory is achieved and German militarism is crushed. The Rumanian situation is very grave. The enemy is advancing towards Odessa and the proposal of transferring the Rumanian capital to the South of Russia leads us to the conclusion that the enemy will be successful in that quarter. Should the enemy succeed in conquering Moldavia he will derive no small benefit by securing corn and other necessaries from that country. The Bulgarians are bombarding Monastir and the great fire at Salonika is supposed to be due to enemy machinations. The Italians, however, have commenced their offensive on the Carso and the French have achieved a splendid success near Verdun. Let us hope that the Allied offensive will succeed in upsetting enemy plans.

Comments on the portrait and message sent to the widows, mothers and dauthers of Indian soldiers killed in the War.
New Times (7), 15th Aug.

39. "Her Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress is presenting a beautiful portrait to the widows and mothers and daughters of the Indian soldiers who have died nobly for the King and the country in this War; and the portrait is accompanied by a message still more beautiful.......... The message will move the hearts of bereaved families, and is a gracious tribute to the courage and devotion of Indian soldiers. If every repesentative of England in India adopted a similar attitude of sympathy to the Indian people and endeavoured to change the deplorable conditions which would be a disgrace to any civilized community in the West, a new chapter would be opened in our history and England would feel proud of her connexion with India."

Comments on the announcement about the grants of Army Commissions to Indians.
Jágaruk (new) 24th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 29th Aug.

40. The *Jágaruk* remarks that Mr. Montagu has performed an act of supreme importance by removing the bar which precluded the admission of Indians to commissioned ranks in the army. It would have been an act of unpardonable injustice, it says, to continue this bar after the Indian soldiers had proved their loyalty and bravery by freely shedding their blood in the present war. It observes that Government have indeed placed the political agitators in a very awkward predicament by beginning to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people. It adds that these agitators will be very much mortified to find their weapons of misleading the people taken out of their hands. [The *Dnyán Prakásh*, on the other hand, remarks:—We do not understand what is meant by giving commissions to those who have them already. The officers whose names have been announced as the recipients of commissions belong to the Imperial Cadet Corps and were given the King's commissions several years ago. What then is the meaning of giving commissions as rewards for bravery to those who were already commissioned officers? We are indeed unable to solve this riddle and would like Government to enlighten us on this point.]

Kesari (106), 28th Aug.

41. Indians will surely feel glad at the cancellation of former insulting regulations that rankled in the hearts of brave Indian soldiers. Though the bar is removed so far as regards the Army it still exists in the Navy. Instead of removing the restrictions in every Department separately it is necessary to give a general promise to abide by the Charter of 1833 and proclamation of 1858 to the letter and to open all Departments to Indians. Regarding the Commissions in the Army we should like first to know how many places have been reserved for Indians and what arrangements have been made for their education in India. Otherwise it would be another copy of the I. C. S. Arrangements have been made at Quetta to provide military education during the war-time. Indians will be able to avail themselves of the concession only if these arrangements are made permanent or a new military college is established at Poona, Bangalore or Mhow. Otherwise these wordy promises will be as good as if not given at all.

EDUCATION.

The Secondary Education Conference.

Gujaráti (16), 26th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 25th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 27th Aug.

***42.** Commenting upon the proceedings of the Secondary Education Conference, the *Gujaráti* writes:—It is very strange that Lord Chelmsford who seemed to be in favour of making the vernaculars the medium of instruction seven months ago, now declares that any change in the present system is out of the pale of practical politics. The time of the Conference has been wasted in fruitless discussion. In spite of what has been resolved by the Conference we are of opinion that the question of imparting education to the general public through the medium of the vernaculars is bound to be revived with increased vigour. The days of the present system of imparting education through the medium of English are numbered. The system is responsible for the physical and mental weakness of our children. Just as a child requires to be fed on mother's milk to be nurtured most efficiently, it should be instructed through the medium of its mother-tongue for the proper development of its faculties. [The *Hindusthán*, while giving its opinion in favour of adopting a system of imparting education through the medium of the vernaculars, advocates the adoption of Hindi for imparting education on national lines. The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the other hand, is in favour of continuing the present system of imparting education in the High School standards through the medium of English.]

Kesari (106), 28th Aug.; *Chandrodaya* (33), 27th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 1st Sept.

43. Lord Chelmsford has changed his views formerly expressed at the Directors' Conference regarding secondary education and the vernaculars. The Simla Conference has proceeded on a wrong line in considering the question of proficiency in English without considering the percentage of boys for whom it is necessary to acquire a high standard of English. For the sake of 5 per cent., 95 per cent. of the students are now to be burdened anew with English. At present boys study the vernacular for five or six years before taking up English, but the Conference was with difficulty persuaded to retain four years' study of the vernacular. Two resolutions passed are welcome, the adoption of the medium of English only in the two highest standards and the permission given to students to answer their papers in the vernacular at the last examination of the secondary course. We hope that Mr. Covernton who was in favour of these two resolutions will give effect to them in our Presidency. [The *Chandrodaya* expresses its disappointment at the Conference proceedings and says that after the Viceroy's speech, it saw no chance for the vernaculars. The *Dnyán Prakásh* objects to the presence of Mr. Natrajan at the Conference as one whose mother-tongue is Tamil and who feels himself a foreigner in Bombay.]

Indian Social Reformer (3), 2nd Sept.

***44.** "Lord Chelmsford is very far from being given to rhetorical displays, and on that account His Excellency's forecast of the position of English in this country is specially important. 'It is surely out of the question', said His Excellency, 'now to talk of going back on the established lines of our education system. The interest of the educated classes is centred in English. English is on the high road to become, if it has not already become, among the educated classes, the *lingua franca* all over India.'......... These words show that Lord Chelmsford has a thorough insight into the tendency of things in Indian education, and we may put aside all fears of Government being hustled by enthusiasts into anything savouring of a reversal of the established policy. For our own part, we regard the widest possible diffusion of the English language as a necessary corollary of our position as an integral part of the British Empire, and any proposal which is not likely to further such diffusion is highly detrimental to the political, social and economic progress of the country."

Comments on the Bombay Law students' petition to Government.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 27th Aug., Eng. cols.

45. Commenting on the Bombay Law students' petition to Government against the orders prohibiting them from attending political meetings, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—"We hope Lord Willingdon's government will see the justice and reasonableness of the petition of the Bombay Law students, and grant their request. There is no justification for treating the law students as on the same level with school-boys and under-graduates, for whom we presume the regulations were originally intended, and in whose case alone such anomalous restrictions on the rights and liberties of British subjects could be tolerated."

The people of Lárkána (Sind) should not depend upon Government or the Municipality for the High School so badly wanted by them.

New Times (7), 16th Aug.

46. A "Larkanaite" complains in the *New Times* of the need of a High School at Lárkána. He points out that although four or five years ago the foundation-stone of such a school was laid by the Governor of Bombay, the school has not yet came into existence. Since both Government and Municipality seem to be neglecting the matter, the writer makes the following appeal to the public :—"I appeal to the young men, who have already volunteered their services for the proposed private high school, but are only waiting for a leader to direct their energies, to be self-dependent. Let them go from house to house a-begging and start a high school at once. For certain reasons, we require neither a Government nor a Municipal high school. But a school maintained from private funds, manned by private agency and conducted on national lines, is what we require. No more fussy arguments, no more reliance on the selfish, but sacrifice your life and soul for the cause of education. We want a fully educated India at this time."

Alleged need of abolishing the system of Mulla schools in Sind.

Sind Moslem (11), 18th Aug.

47. Writing on the necessity of abolishing the system of Mulla schools in Sind in the columns of the *Sind Moslem*, a correspondent remarks :—"The lack of harmony between the courses followed in the Local Board and Mulla schools (for Mulla schools are supplied a simple time table for guidance) causes in consequence tremendous delay in the progress of such students as are willing to get secondary education. To show the certain stages in the much boasted evolution of the working of the system suffice it to quote from the Director's Report for the year 1915-16 : 'A simple time table has been supplied to all schools and 63 Mullahs (out of 129 for 349 schools) now send in monthly returns of attendance, some keep inward and outward registers and even (go so far as to) apply for leave of absence.' The last sentence is replete with a volume of meaning, and throws a flood of light on the efficiency of the management of the Mulla schools. What a mess as compared with even the worst Local Board Primary schools ! I refuse to be satisfied with this demonstration of operations for the improvement of the Muhammadan education in the Province. It is my earnest prayer to all the well-wishers of Muhammadan education in Sind to give their first attention to obviate the harm thus being done to the Muhammadan advancement by the dissipation of youthful energies in the Mulla schools. I further beg to recommend that the considerable sum of money—Rs. 103,121—that is being spent on Mulla schools without any significant result, be diverted to the establishment of High Schools at important centres in Sind."

Government should not take any action prejudical to the study of Urdu in the Bombay Presidency.

Islamic Mail (4), 26th Aug., Eng. edition.

48. "We are told that some Muhammadan gentlemen from Surat have petitioned Government against Urdu. As people appear to be making much stock of it, we will not be wrong in giving a word of explanation in regard to the attitude of those who have ranged themselves against poor Urdu. It will help the understanding of the case if we state here that the Urdu-Hindi Controversy has assumed, wrongly though, a religious form. The Muhammadans have ranged themselves alongside Urdu and the Hindus have extended their protection to the Nagri or Hindi. No true Muhammadan will, therefore, declaim Urdu. But there is a party of those who call themselves Muhammadan and yet serve the Hindi cause for love or for money and it is probably men of this class who are trying to oust Urdu. We hope, however, that Government know better and they will not wound the feelings of the Muhammadans by the removal of a language from the standard studies which besides being the *lingua franca* of India is regarded by the Muhammadans as their national language. Personally we are not enamoured of Urdu. At least not in the form in which it is taught in this Presidency. But the Muhammadans in Bombay and other parts of India have adopted it as their national language and would resent any interference with its propagation here. Indeed the feeling is so strong that some of our subscribers misunderstanding our articles threatened to cease to subscribe if we wrote against Urdu."

Alleged aspersions against Muhammad in two Gujarati books.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 17th and 24th Aug.

49. In the course of a contribution addressed to the *Political Bhomiyo* a correspondent refers to two books entitled *Sadguru Kabir Saheb* and *Kabir Mansur* (a contribution in connection with the latter book having been noticed in paragraph 25 of Weekly Report No. 30 of 1917), published by Manilal Tulsidas Mehta of Vadnagar and Makan Kuber Painter of Bombay respectively and takes exception to the remark contained in these books to the effect that Kabir was the *guru* (preceptor) of the Prophet Muhammad. He observes that such writings are calculated to insult religions other than those professed by the writers of these books. [In the subsequent issue appears the second instalment of the contribution noted above in the course of which the correspondent remarks that the protest raised by the Muhammadans against the books has either not reached their authors or that it has fallen on deaf ears. He adds that the united and deafening voice of the entire Muhammadans community of this country will have to be raised to wake them up. The correspondent concludes with an appeal to his co-religionists to work up and make endeavours to save their religion and their Prophet from insult and contumely. Elsewhere in the same issue the paper publishes another letter from an anonymous correspondent in which the writer refers to a book entitled *Vishwa Vilás* written by one Amritlal Jatashanker Buch of Rajkot, wherein the Prophet Muhammad is alleged to have been described as having married a widowed businesswoman named Khatija in whose employment he was; as having promulgated the dogma favouring the use of the sword in the defence and propagation of the Moslem faith; as having kept for his "use" Rehâni, a beautiful daughter of Armu, who was one of the Jews vanquished at the hands of the Muhammadans; as having been struck with the beauty of his own niece Zenus and as having married her, etc. The correspondent attributes such aspersions on the Prophet Muhammad to the perverted reason of Mr. Buch. He observes that sentiments such as these pierce the heart of a true Muhammadan through and through. He, in conclusion, expresses the hope that all Moslem bodies will raise their protest in connection with this matter and get the book in question proscribed.]

RAILWAYS.

The G. I. P. Railway Workshop strike.

Islamic Mail (4), 26th Aug., Eng. edition.

50. In the course of its comments on the G. I. P. Railway Workshop strike, the *Islamic Mail* writes :—"In spite of all the denials that have appeared of the inspiration from the Home Rule Camp, there can be no question that the strike had a political motive behind it, and had not the Police Commissioner behaved with remarkable tact and ability there would have been a serious catastrophe with probable loss of life......... The timely action of the Railway authorities and the cool foresight of the Head of the City Police have saved the situation, but would the agitators be quiet and leave things go that normal way? We are afraid not; so long as you exercise undue toleration and shut your eyes to the gravity of the situation matters are sure to go from bad to worse."

Kesari (106), 28th Aug.

51. The *Kesari* refers to the reply given by the Secretaries of the Strikers' Relief Committee that they helped the strikers only out of humanitarian considerations and that Home Rule had nothing to do with the relief given, and says that it is simply contemptible to suggest that the relief was organised for the sake of Home Rule. It thinks that Lord Willingdon also appeared to agree with what the Secretaries said inasmuch as he intervened, but it expresses surprise that in the Press Note issued on the subject there is not a word of thanks to the self-sacrificing, energetic and sympathetic gentlemen who worked hard and alleviated the sufferings of the strikers while the Railway authorities who obstinately starved the strikers for so many days and the police are thanked.

Gujaráti (16), 26th Aug.

52. It is to be regretted that Government officials and Anglo-Indian journalists who pose as the protectors of the interests of the poor exerted their influence to break the strike and to induce the strikers to accept low wages and thus continue as the slaves of the Railway Company, instead of helping to get their grievances redressed. And when some philanthropic people distributed grain to the strikers with a view to save them from starvation, not only Police officials but others in high authority went to the length of tracing the origin of the strike to the Home Rule movement merely because those who distributed grain to the strikers happened to be members of the Home Rule League. In fact the Relief Committee scarcely dreamt that they were giving initiatory lessons to the strikers in passive resistance and Home Rule! The strike has made one thing clear, and that is that the officials are prone to suspect the least possible agitation among people to be due to the Home Rule movement and that such an attitude of their mind is responsible for misunderstanding and misrepresentation. Why should the poor workshop operative not get an increase in his salary when the highly paid official gets special allowances to meet high prices and when railway earnings have increased owing to increase in freights? Why should not the workmen have a share in the increased earnings of the Railway Company? Why should they be starved and cowed down and made to continue as slaves? Since the railway belongs to Government it is their duty to intervene in the disputes between the company and their employés. The company induced some of the newspapers to give currency to false reports about strikers resuming work! At last attempts were made to incite the strikers. The police were armed with batons and pistols and the military were called and they guarded the workshops and lined the streets as if excitement among the strikers had reached such a pitch as would result in a breach of the peace. A false report was circulated to the effect that a Parsi was assaulted by the strikers and saved by the Police! But the Police were kind enough not to arrest any one or prosecute him! The behaviour of the strikers during the long period of the strike and the support given to them by the people of Bombay afford a clear proof of the fitness of the Indian people for *swarájya* and of the training they have received for conducting their agitation without transgressing the law.

Comments on the Government Press Note on the Railway strike.

Young India (14), 29th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 28th Aug., Eng. cols.

53. "The local Government has issued an interesting Press Note regarding the railway strike, 'in order that the public may be accurately informed as to the action taken by the Bombay Government.'. It would appear to us from all the circumstances which have come to our knowledge that the only justification for issuing the note consisted in the discontent of certain bureaucratic elements in the councils of Lord Willingdon's Government. It is said that they did not view favourably the only construction which the public

had put upon the termination of the strike in response to the appeal of Lord Willingdon. They considered it derogatory to their sense of 'prestige' that people should entertain the belief that the strike had ended at Lord Willingdon's intervention. The Press Note was decided upon as a result it seems, and not only was Lord Willingdon's message reproduced but also commendations of Mr. Vincent and 'all ranks of the Bombay City Police' for 'the preservation of order during this trying time' and the acknowledgements of Government to the Agent and Officers of the G. I. P. Railway were introduced into it. The Home Rulers having previously incurred the displeasure of the bureaucracy could not be thanked for their charitable conduct 'during this trying time,' for were they not in the opinion of infallible bureaucrats, the ringleaders of the trouble? The Home Rulers and along with them the other charitable folk of the city have been pushed to the wall and so are the men themselves. We congratulate the author or authors of the note on their *impartiality*." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"The Government thank different authorities in the Press Note, but there is an unfortunate omission which we deeply regret. The committee of citizens which fed the strikers at so much cost and trouble and which worked under somewhat trying conditions deserves to be thanked by the public and no less by the Government."]

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the recent house collapses in Bombay City.

Rást Goftár (30), 2nd Sept., Eng. cols.

***54.** "During the recent heavy rains two houses in Bombay are reported to have collapsed, the first without any evil effect, the second resulting in the death of five persons and injuries to others. Now the rains were not unusual, or abnormally heavy, and old and unsafe houses should be declared unfit for human habitation at the beginning of the monsoon and compulsorily vacated. The house in Kumbharwada Second Lane was a three-storeyed building, but it was so old that it was completely undermined by the rains, and the whole structure collapsed like a rotten eggshell.......... It is the duty of the Corporation not only to supervise the building of new houses, but also to examine old houses to find out whether they are fit for habitation. It is done elsewhere to our knowledege, and such houses are not allowed to be tenanted until they are thoroughly repaired."

The Cumballa Hill War Hospital and the Bombay Municipality.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 2nd Sept., Eng. cols.

***55.** "The attitude that the Bombay Corporation took up in regard to the Government reference requesting the Corporation to be so good as to waive, as a special case, the recovery of the whole amount of the general tax on the rent paid by Government to the Trustees of the Parsee General Hospital, savours a little of gracelessness......... We trust that Sir Ibrahim's hint that a separate notice of motion was required to make a donation will be availed of by Mr. Cowasji Jehangir or some other philanthropic Councillor. It would merely be an act of justice on the part of the Corporation to donate the amount of the extra assessment to the War Hospital. If Government had not been compelled to establish the Cumballa War Hospital the fairly large addition to the income of the Municipality would not have accrued. It is monstrous to imagine that a body like the Bombay Municipal Corporation should enjoy any benefits because of the War."

Comments on the proposal to substitute a terminal charge for octroi in Hyderabad (Sind).

Hind Vási (45), 19th Aug., Eng. cols.

***56.** "We frankly confess we don't understand the principles underlying the method by which the Municipal Commissioner of Hyderabad intends to substitute a terminal charge or charges for octroi.......... One may not object to the substitution of octroi by a terminal charge, wholly or partially, provided it is placed on an intelligent, really effective and useful basis and does not interfere with the export trade. There should be no amateurish experiments such as Mr. Carter and the Committee are proved to make. The end in view should be clearly perceived, and the operations and the net results clearly foreseen first and the effects on trade and prices accurately gauged. We would suggest to the Municipal Commissioner and the Committee of Management to take into counsel the leading representatives of mercantile interests by calling a private or informal conference and thrashing out the whole subject in detail with them, before introducing the proposed changes. They will get thereby light from all quarters and will avoid mistakes, and what is more, will carry the city with themselves so that the working of the substituted taxation will be smooth and without any friction.'

Complaint that the bulk of the Municipalities in Sind have boards composed wholly of nominated members.

Sind Advocate (9), 16th Aug.

57. "Sind seems the only backward province in the whole of India. There are 35 Municipalities in the Bombay Presidency the members of which are wholly nominated and out of 35 as many as 20 are from Sind! The total number of Municipalities in Sind are 25, so to only 5 Municipalities franchise of election is extended!!......... Is it because Sind is a province of the Bombay Presidency which has been treating it as its step-child or because of being under the direct control of the Commissioner in Sind *without* a Council?"

Why it would be unfair and inadvisable to introduce house-tax in towns in Sind.

Sind Advocate (9), 16th Aug.; *New Times* (7), 14th Aug.

58. "The example of Hyderabad should stimulate other towns in Sind similarly circumstanced. We believe that the towns in Sind are generally unsuited for the introduction of a house-tax......... Larkana is one of such towns and so is Rohri, and we trust the councillors, who, though they owe their seats to nomination by officials are after all inhabitants, of the town mostly, will prefer justice and respect popular will rather than try to curry favour with the officials. In this connection we deem it necessary also to protest against the foisting of the house-tax by official pressure (no use disguising facts) in towns where Municipalities are without the elective franchise altogether. In the presidency proper most of the Municipalities enjoy the right of a certain proportion of elected members and if these choose to impose house-tax it is not such a serious thing. Really speaking there should be a very large majority of elected members if not all, in our Municipalities: otherwise, the complaint will not cease that even in partially elected Municipal bodies the officials through the nominated men carry the day against the people's wishes." [The *New Times* also dwells at great length on the alleged unsuitability of house-tax for towns in Sind generally, and emphatically declares that such a tax should not be imposed against the will of the people. It concludes as follows:—"We earnestly appeal to the local Government to rise equal to the occasion and vindicate the principle of self-government; we appeal to them to consider that sentiment has an important place in the life of the people, the people's sentiment has been touched; new nationalising and democratising forces are operative to-day as seldom before in the history of Sind; the feeling of the people is not an effervescence, a passing mood, an epi-phenomenon but genuine, widespread, penetrating, profound; and to let municipalities impose a tax hated by a whole people with a whole-hearted hatred would prove a grim undertaking."]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 7th September 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL. [No. 36 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 8th September 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule:

A Poona suspect's complaint . . . 19
Comments on Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan's utterances at Bombay . . . 21
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Basu's speech at the Bombay Presidency Association . . . 22
Comments on the *Madras Mail's* attack on Mr. Montagu . . . 11 & 12
Comments on the measures adopted by the authorities in Sind with regard to demonstrations on Internment Day (16th August) . . . 29
Comments on the Press Note declaring that the Government of Bombay will not remove to Mahábleshwar in October next . . . 20
Comments on the proposal to introduce 1 Re. and 2½ Rs. currency notes . . . 23
Comments on the removal of Mrs. Besant's Home Rule flag at Coimbatore . . . 38—40
Comments on the Secretary of State's announcement about the British policy in India . . . 13 & 14
Comments on the suicide of an interned Bengali . . . 26
Criticism of the Anglo-Indian attitude towards political reform in India . . . 7
How to spread the Home Rule propaganda . . . 24
Inadvisibility of inaugurating passive resistance . . . 37
Indians are educated enough to carry on *swarájya* . . . 18
Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India . . . 8—10
Mr. Tilak's suit against Sir Valentive Chirol . . . 16
Proposed mixed tribunals for considering cases of interned persons . . . 27 & 28
Reflections on the election of Mrs. Besant as President of the Congress . . . 30 & 31
Repression is not the stuff out of which Imperial patriotism can be fashioned . . . 15
The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and passive resistance . . . 33—36
The break-up of the Calcutta Congress Reception Committee's meeting . . . 32
The Government is responsible for the development of Home Rule propaganda . . . 25
Who is a Maratha? . . . 17

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Imperial Legislative Council :

- Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech in the — . 1—4
- Comments on the Government of India's reply regarding the confidential circular to provincial Governments regarding Home Rule movements 6
- Interpellation in the — regarding internment of Mrs. Besant . . . 5

Indians in the Colonies : Comments on the recommendations of the Emigration Conference regarding Indentured labour 42

Police : The report of the police administration of Bombay City . . 43

Public service : Kulkarnis who are over age should be exempted from appearing for the Vernacular Final Examination 44

Sind : Criticism of the personnel of the Benches of Honorary Magistrates in the Naushero Taluka (—) 45

War : The fall of Riga 41

EDUCATION—

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech at the last Bombay University Convocation 46

Comments on the expulsion of a student from the Dharwar Mission School for writing a poem on Mrs. Besant 54

Comments on the recent Conference at Simla regarding the teaching of English in Secondary Schools . . . . 47—50

Complaint that the story on page 39 of Macmillan's Fifth Reader is offensive to Muhammadan religious sentiments 52

Importance of Mulla Schools for spreading literary education among Muhammadans in Sind 51

Suggestion that Home Rule pamphlets should be distributed to students at the gates of schools and colleges 53

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 6th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jámshed* (23), 6th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 6th and 7th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 6th Sept.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.

1. The thoughtful and sympathetic speech which the Viceroy made at the opening of the autumn sessions of the Imperial Legislative Council will not fail to gratify the Indian people. The hopes to which the speech has given rise will go a great way in dispelling the clouds of unrest. It was very statesmanlike on the part of Lord Chelmsford to have thrown oil on the troubled waters of Indian politics. We hope Lord Pentland and others like him will take a lesson from the liberal spirit displayed by Lord Chelmsford in his speech. The abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgaum will be received with joy by the people of this Presidency and the Native Chiefs in Káthiáwár. We hope early steps will be taken for the realisation of the promises in the matter of removing racial distinctions in the operation of the Arms Act. Lord Chelmsford has placed India under a deep debt of gratitude in the matter of removing the colour bar with regard to Commissions in the army. We would, however, have been glad if the Indian people had been taken in confidence and informed of the contents of the Despatch on the question which has been sent to the Secretary of State. The release of Mrs. Besant will have a wonderful effect on the Indian people and their enthusiasm for helping Government in the present war will be doubled. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses gratification at the Viceroy's speech and exhorts political leaders to use their influence with their followers to enable Mr. Montagu to examine the question of Indian reforms in a clear atmosphere. It is afraid Mrs. Besant will not give any undertaking to desist from her activities to secure her release. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is delighted at the prospect of the release of political prisoners and believes the step to be due to the telegrams sent to British ministers. In the subsequent issue the paper thanks the Viceroy for the promises he has given in the matter of removing the colour bar against Indians with regard to Commissions in the army and hopes that the other concessions promised will help to clear the political atmosphere. The *Hindusthán* writes:—While thanking Lord Chelmsford for the announcement he has made respecting Mrs. Besant's release, we are constrained to say that Mrs. Besant has never conducted her political agitation in an unconstitutional manner and the undertaking Government want would be tantamount to a confession on her part that her agitation was unconstitutional. We wish the Government of India had shown the liberality Mr. Lloyd George displayed towards the Irish leaders and had released political prisoners in India unconditionally. Should Government cease taking measures that tend to excite the people, the popular leaders will surely exert their influence to tranquillise their followers. The people will co-operate with Government when the officials cease mistrusting them. They will not now be deluded by honied words. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* considers His Excellency the Viceroy's speech to be "a great speech, a notable speech, a speech which will produce a feeling of deep satisfaction throughout the country".]

Mahrátta (5), 9th Sept.

*2. "'I shall ask you to judge my administration on the work accomplished, and not on promises made': so said His Excellency the Viceroy. But so far as the work accomplished by now is concerned, we do not feel ourselves in a position to unreservedly congratulate His Excellency. Despite the long list of things which His Excellency placed before the Council as the work on which his administration should be judged, we feel His Excellency's regime has not been quite of the laudable kind. The Press Act and the Defence Act have been working havoc during His Excellency's regime. The Police Act has been used as a repressive weapon supplementary to the ubiquitous Defence Act. The Students' Circulars have closed the door of general political and civic knowledge upon the rising generation of India. These are not old, forgotten grievances. They are living present-hour grievances which have set the whole nation asking itself what on earth the bureaucracy is aiming at. Thousands of Indian youths are rotting in internment. Now and then cases of severe hardships in internment leading to madness or suicide, have been brought to public notice. Among the interned are men who cannot be accused of having thought of helping the enemy or planning a revolution. All this has been done in the present regime. The speeches of Provincial rulers and the several species of orders issued with the intention and effect of curtailing or ending the political activity of persons, big and small—all or most of which can now be incontrovertibly traced to the confidential circular of March last—are no praiseworthy actions. Ever since the Press Deputation received an unexpectedly shocking rebuff from His Excellency, things have been slowly, yet with a remarkable steadiness, going from bad to worse.......... These sorry manifestations of regrettable reactionary spirit in responsible quarters could not fail to irritate and anger the people. They contrasted the treatment given to Mr. Curtis and his ambitious propaganda of securing for the colonies partnership with the Mother-country in the governance of India and other dependencies, with the treatment given to their legitimate aspirations of self-government for India.......... During Lord Chelmsford's regime, mistrust has been shown in the matter of the 100 millions war-gift and that of the Indian Defence Force. The Supreme Council was not consulted before the burden of 100 millions was placed on India's shoulders. That was an instance of gracelessness and mistrust. In drafting the Indian Defence Force Act, the bitterly resented discrimination between the British and the Anglo-Indians on the one hand and pure natives of the soil on the other, was not given the go-by. The popular demand for equal treatment in the matter of the grant of commissions, etc., was treated with scant respect. When the leaders of the people, despite the gross defects of the Indian Defence Force Act, came forward to help in recruiting for the Defence Force strange indifference and disrespect was shown to them. All this naturally resulted in a gross failure of the Defence Force Scheme. In six months only 3,000 and odd young men have come forward.......... In the concluding portion of his address, His Excellency turned to constitutional reforms. He said that at the very first Executive Council which he held as Viceroy he propounded two questions to his Council: (1) what is the goal of British rule in India, (2) what are the steps in the road to that goal. As regards (1) self-government was agreed upon as the goal and as regards (2) it was settled that advance in local self-government, advance in the proportion of Indians in higher grades of the various services, and advance in the domain of the Legislative Councils were the steps to the goal and that the advance in all these directions must be made simultaneously. This was the work of the *very first session* of His Excellency's Executive Council. If His Excellency had not told about this work in such clear terms as he did, not a soul in India would have believed that such an aim and such a programme ever commended themselves to His Excellency and his Government! Much of the 'work accomplished' is in its spirit so reactionary and ungenerous that no one could from such action infer a generously progressive aim in the authors of it."

3. *Message* (6), 8th Sept.

"Lord Chelmsford has made a speech, no doubt, full of generous impulses but overburdened by equivocations that are superfluous.......... Referring to the adverse criticism that has been levelled at the reticence and delay of the Indian Government in making any sort of pronouncement, Lord Chelmsford said: 'Some criticism has been directed against the Government of India on the score that we have not disclosed the policy outlined in our despatch (to the Secretary of State). I must remind Honourable members that decision on such a question rests not with the Government of India but with the authorities at Home.' If the Government of India and the Provincial Governments subordinate thereunto had consistently adhered to this view and continued to be silent in regard to what reforms India might or might not get from 'the authorities at home', and if they had not in the past gratuitously deprecated all sorts of constitutional agitation and embarked on a mistaken policy of repression we make bold to say,—most respectfully to the views of this Excellency—that the criticism complained of would not have been made or directed against them. What happened on the other hand was that while the Indian Government chose to be silent in regard to the particulars of its despatch and failed to take into any manner of confidence leaders of Indian thought, the head of that Government admonished Indian politicians to hold their peace and not to demand 'catastrophic changes'.......... The provincial satraps, whether or not directly under instructions from the central Government, indulged in similar admonitions, and not being themselves so responsible as the Viceroy is, could permit themselves certain amount of extravagance of speech.......... We quite realise the uselessness of indulging at this stage in mutual recriminations over the past. As His Excellency was careful to remind the Council, we have now entered upon a new phase of Indian politics. The announcement regarding Mr. Montagu's visit and British policy in India is, in a way momentous enough in itself, and opens a new page in the history of Indo-British and not Anglo-Indian relations.......... There is one point on which we fully sympathise with His Excellency, and that is his appeal for enabling Mr. Montagu, when he arrives in India, to find 'a calm atmosphere, suggested policies carefully thought out and supported by sober arguments and concrete facts, and a spirit of sobriety dominating everyone worthy of the issues to be examined.' We have ourselves very strongly urged this point ever since the announcement was made and the response which the country has made to appeals of its leaders is indeed very encouraging. But no solid result can be achieved so long as the Government is disposed to entrench itself behind an undue sense of 'prestige'."

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 7th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 6th Sept.; **Gujaráti* (16), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 8th Sept.

4. The speech of the Viceroy will produce contentment all over India as it indicates a change in the policy of Government. Lord Chelmsford referred briefly to the interned leaders as the question had already been dealt with by Sir William Vincent in his reply to an interpellation. But we regret that Government are making their generous policy defective unnecessarily in this connection. It would have been better if Government had released even those who carried on an improper agitation in their eyes unconditionally. In Ireland Sinn Feinners who joined openly the rebellion were released and they were invited to the Irish Convention. It is impossible to answer satisfactorily what agitation is improper and disorderly and what not. It is not only unjust but unstatesmanlike to demand a guarantee from leaders about their future behaviour, who are supposed by all thoughtful people to have been interned through a misunderstanding. It is regrettable that the Government of India should consider such a condition necessary to maintain their prestige. The reforms that are to be introduced have not been mentioned in Lord Chelmsford's speech. But he spoke sympathetically and we hope all will accept heartily his suggestion to sit together as friends and discuss the question. All should now concentrate their attention on the question of reforms and forget the past. We hope the popular party will change fundamentally its policy as Government have done. [The *Indu Prakásh* observes:—The Viceroy's speech was a very sweet one. He began with large promises but ended with nothing. We have listened many a time to speeches dealing with post-war reforms. We are tired of listening to these things since 1858. What powers are you going to entrust directly into the hands of Indians? Answer that question first and then speak about future promises. The *Gujaráti* writes:—"We may have our differences with the Viceroy on certain important points, but the tone of his pronouncement and his general attitude are so unexceptionable that barring further points of friction and irritating measures the whole country ought to respond readily to the earnest appeal that His Excellency has made to all with such transparent sincerity 'to sit down together as friends', and 'to spend the intervening time before his arrival in quiet examination of the arguments to be placed before Mr. Montagu.' This is not the language of the arrogant, self-sufficient and omniscient bureaucrat so familiar to us in India but of a wise statesman who has realised the gravity and needs of the present situation. The *Bombay Samáchár* hopes that the Viceroy's sympathetic speech will induce political agitators to work hand in hand with Government. It feels sure that the speech will allay public discontent and dispel misunderstanding.

It asks the Extremists to work in co-operation with the moderates and the Government for the political uplift of India.]

Interpellation in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding internment of Mrs. Besant.
Gujarâti (16), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Mahrâtta* (5), 9th Sept.

*5. "We are glad Lord Chelmsford's Government have come round to a statesmanlike comprehension of the situation and wisely decided to release Mrs. Besant and her two associates......... As we had anticipated last week, Mrs. Annie Besant and her co-workers will be released subject to the condition that '*the Government of India are satisfied that these persons will abstain from unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation during the remainder of the war.*'......... The position created by their decision as it is worded will require the exercise of considerable tact and a conciliatory spirit and unless Mrs. Besant's views and those of her colleagues are known, it is difficult to say that the critical situation created by her internment will be at once relieved by the annoucement made in the Council on Wednesday last." [The *Mahrâtta* writes:—"We have an idea that Government will not think of insisting upon any undertaking by the interned which would imply that they had employed unconstitutional and violent methods of agitation. They will, we think, find out other ways of 'satisfying themselves'. For, both His Excellency's speech and the reply to Mr. Jinnah's question made it clear that Government very much desired to 'tranquilise the political situation in the country' with a view 'to ensure the calm and dispassionate consideration of the difficult problems which are to be investigated during Mr. Montagu's stay here'."]

Comments on the Government of India's reply regarding the confidential circular to Provincial Governments regarding Home Rule movements.
Praja Mitra and Pârsi (28), 8th Sept.

6. The reply given in the Imperial Legislative Council in the matter of the confidential circular to the Provincial Governments regarding Home Rule agitation proves beyond doubt that it is not Lord Pentland but the higher authorities that are responsible for the internment of Mrs. Besant and her associates. But it seems from the Viceroy's speech that the Government of India acted in this matter on the initiative of Mr. Chamberlain, the then Secretary of State for India. The speech makes it clear that the Viceroy is now free from the undue restrictions and the illiberal policy imposed upon him by Mr. Chamberlain and that he will now devote his attention to the more congenial task of gaining the good opinion of Mr. Montagu, who comes to India with the reputation of a liberal statesman.

Criticism of the Anglo-Indian attitude towards political reform in India.
New Times (7), 4th Sept.

7. "The English, it has been said, are an inarticulate race. This can hardly be said with truth of the Anglo-Indian Press, and some of the Anglo-Indians are keen upon using their gifts of utterance in the service of the Empire! The Honourable Mr. Webb, as our readers understood yesterday, is anxious to see at least three Sindhis, 'hanged on the nearest tree'; and our Anglo-Indian contemporary of the *Daily Gazette* would have some of the local 'orators' 'clapped into gaol without delay.' Is this, we earnestly ask, our Anglo-Indian friends' philosophy of co-operation, or is it sowing the tares? The attitude of some of our Anglo-Indian friends in Sind in regard to the national movement reflects, apparently, the spirit of the class in some other parts of India."

Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit to India.
Muslim Herald (145), 7th Sept.

8. Referring to the announcement about Mr. Montagu's proposed visit to India, the *Muslim Herald* says that the reason why political agitators are in raptures over it is that the Secretary of State is up to a certain point in sympathy with the movement for political reforms as is evident from his speeches. It expresses its delight at Mr. Montagu's decision and confesses that it is not against the grant of Home Rule to India since none ever despises the possession of power and authority. It speculates whether the visit will benefit the Musalmans, and apprehends that he will be surrounded by Hindus

or such Musalmans as are really speaking Hindus disguised as Musalmans. It goes on to refer to the Honourable Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu's detention in India, and is at a loss to understand how the said gentleman, a leading member of Congress as he is, can give valuable counsel in respect of Muhammadan needs and aspirations. It remarks that Mr. Montagu's act in detaining Mr. Basu in India shews whom he considers powerful and worthy of consultation, and suggests that Government should adopt measures for enabling the Secretary of State to hear what elderly Muhammadans have to say as regards the real requirements of their co-religionists in their respective provinces.

Jdgaruk (new), 31st Aug.

9. The forthcoming visit of Mr. Montagu will prove most beneficial in that he will be able to see for himself how sharply divided the several classes in India are and to what depths of degradation and misery some of them have sunk. He will also find that the class which is foremost in political agitation and which will benefit most by the reforms is numerically very small and that its interests clash with those of the majority of the people. Of course the visit of Mr. Montagu is not sufficient in itself and it rests with the backward classes to take advantage of it. Every caste, therefore, should hold its conference and urge Government to accept the principle of class representation. The non-Brahmin conference held at Coimbatore laid particular stress on this principle and we trust the backward classes of this Presidency also will imitate their example.

Kesari (106), 4th Sept.

10. Anglo-Indians are always in the habit of advising Indians to work loyally, peacefully and constitutionally. But Indians have the experience of the conduct of these Anglo-Indians when their selfish interests are endangered. They even threatened to kidnap Lord Ripon. Our readers are aware of the treatment they gave to Lord Hardinge for the annulment of the Bengal Partition. The *Madras Mail* has now openly threatened Mr. Montagu but as he is of a strong mind, he will not care for it. It is clear that he must have already obtained the permission of His Majesty's Government to improve the wooden administration of India. The fact that he has sent for the Besant papers shows that he is not willing to be led by others like Mr. Chamberlain. Before Mr. Montagu touches these shores, the release of the interned leaders is necessary and an assurance should be given by the officials that they would not interfere with constitutional agitation and public meetings. Before Mr. Montagu begins his discussion of schemes with leaders all repressive measures should be withdrawn. Hearty co-operation with Government is indeed necessary, but how is it possible while repression and the gag is in force? Before the Irish convention met, even Sinn Feinners, *i.e.*, rebels were released. Should not then the restrictions imposed upon fully loyal and peaceful patriots here be removed? The leader of Sinn Feinners released from the prison becomes a member of Parliament and openly declares that it would be a good day when there would be an opportunity to create a revolution in Ireland! But here leaders who insist upon having *swarājya* under the British flag and who carry on constitutionally public agitation in favour of it are interned!

Comments on the *Madras Mail's* attack on Mr. Montagu.

Young India (14), 5th Sept.

11. "The *Madras Mail* repudiates the suggestion contained in Sir Subramaniam's cable to the Premier and the Secretary of State that its effusions were not inspired by the official world; and asserting that they were spontaneous, emanating from its editorial sanctum. We could have accepted this repudiation most willingly, if the bureaucracy, which is so ready to lay the Indian Press by the heels for comparatively innocent and innocuous writings, had shown as much readiness to call upon the paper to show cause why it should not be dealt with under section 108A of the Criminal Procedure Code. Compared and contrasted with the most heinous writings of the Indian Press, the vituperative and vitiated outpourings of the *Mail* are more serious and deserve, therefore, to be taken very serious notice of. But the paper possesses an advantage which the Indian papers do not and that is of being Anglo-

Indian in temper, feeling and character. We do not mean to say that the bureaucracy is eager to condone the sins of omission and commission in the Anglo-Indian Press. Only it seems to have a more tender place in its heart and, therefore, it shows its indulgence to a degree which it is impossible in the case of Indian papers. Apart from this indulgence, the fact that such a serious and wilful act as the threat held out to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India has been allowed to go unnoticed leads to the too obvious inference that the bureaucracy or at least a section of it is at the back of the paper."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 2nd Sept.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 3rd Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 4th Sept.

12. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* finds in the passage that recently appeared in the *Madras Mail* under the heading "A Word to Mr. Montagu" nothing else but an attempt on the part of high European officials and other Anglo-Indians leaguing together to place obstructions in the path of the Secretary of State for India, and condemns such tactics of holding out threats to high state officials. It hopes that His Majesty's Government or Mr. Montagu will not attach any importance to such threats. It also congratulates Sir Subramanya Aiyar and the Madras Provincial Congress Committee for the cables they have sent to England in connection with *Madras Mail* article. The paper believes that all this bustle has been made on behalf of the Anglo-Indians from the mistaken notion that their prestige would suffer because of the release of Mrs. Annie Besant and others, which they now consider to be highly probable. [The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the article of the *Madras Mail* and remarks that it is an indication as to the direction in which the wind blows as far as the Anglo-Indians are concerned. It appeals to Mr. Montagu not to allow himself to be guided or intimidated by such empty bravado of the enemies of political progress in India. The paper believes that Mr. Montagu will stand undeterred by such selfish prattle of the Anglo-Indians and declares that if he shows weakness by yielding to their threats he will plunge the Indian public in despair and will greatly disturb the political situation in India. The *Hindusthán* raises the questions whether the article of the *Madras Mail* will shake Mr. Montagu in his resolve about the reforms he intends to introduce in India and whether those threats will influence his course of conduct as well as the policy of the Home Government. It then observes:—Whatever may take place in this connection we are compelled to say that such attitude of the Anglo-Indians is in no way commendable, and there is a probability of such an attitude causing harm not only to India but to the whole Empire.]

Comments on the Secretary of State's announcement about the British policy in India.

New Times (7), 23rd Aug.; *Phœnix* (8), 25th Aug.

13. "The contents of the Secretary of State's announcement will hardly be received with enthusiasm by the people. They are vague, indefinite, and wholly insufficient; they promise us nothing which may immediately improve the political situation. The announcement is specially disappointing when we contemplate the present situation of India and the world where civilization and freedom are battling for life." [The *Phœnix* remarks:—"The declaration is carefully and cautiously worded and, in some important respects, delightfully vague.......... Anglo-India seems to be satisfied with the phrasing of the declaration; whilst Indians have not gone into raptures over it. Although the declaration is not such as to lead us to believe that the minimum of reforms shall be on the basis of the Congress League scheme, it cannot but result in the easing off of the political situation in India. The idea of passive resistance, in our opinion, must now go by the board."]

Karnátak Vritt (83), 4th Sept.

14. It is necessary that the King-Emperor himself should publish a proclamation dealing with Indian reforms. The declaration of Mr. Montagu is not binding upon his successors. As people have been deceived many a time, they deem it necessary to have all such assurances embodied in law. Though the words of Mr. Montagu are likely to create confidence in him we

should not be led away by them and we should insist upon embodying in the Government of India Act, to be passed after the war, the administrative reforms we are to have and the different stages at which we are to get them. The policy should be laid down by the King-Emperor in a proclamation.

Repression is not the stuff out of which Imperial patriotism can be fashioned.
New Times (7), 25th Aug.

15. "It is apologists of the bureaucracy, not political reformers, who really create embarassing situations. If you show interest in questions affecting national life, you are told you must not attend political meetings; if you criticise an act of an official, you are threatened with punishment; if you say that you are hard up and cannot bear any additional burdens, even for supposed civic improvments, you are promptly snubbed for your pains; if you wish to organise a procession to show sympathy towards those who suffer for the national cause, you are asked to be silent. To silence criticism by a policy of retrogression is to put a premium on political stagnation; and repression is not the stuff out of which true Imperial patriotism can be fashioned."

Mr. Tilak's suit against Sir Valentine Chirol.
Hâsya Vinod (101), 3rd Sept.; *Satya Shodak* (119), 2nd Sept.

16. Commenting on Mr. Tilak's suit against Sir Valentine Chirol for damages the *Hâsya Vinod* makes mention of a rumour that the parties to this suit are going to come to an understanding. The paper heartily welcomes the report and says that the attitude hitherto adopted by Mr. Tilak shows that he will meet his opponent half-way. [The *Satya Shodhak* says that the correspondent of a Calcutta paper learns that Sir Valentine is going to compromise.]

Who is a Maratha?
Sandesh (118), 2nd Sept.

17. In the course of a rambling article extending over eight columns on the recent death of Bagabai Apte, daughter of Bajirao II, the *Sandesh* writes:—What is Maratha history? And who is a Maratha? Maratha means Shivaji, Maratha means Rajaram, Maratha means Vishvasrao of Panipat. If he who calls himself a Maratha is not all these and if he does not remember them at every step and if his life is not pervaded by their remembrances, how can he be a Maratha? Shivaji created Maharashtra, Shivaji created Maratha history and Shivaji created the "Maratha" spirit, and therefore he who forgets Shivaji and the stream of history from Shivaji to Bajirao is not a true Maratha! If that blood, that inspiration, that patriotism and that truth thrill Marathas of to-day through and through, then only they are worthy of the name of Marathas. If not they should not live in Maharashtra, should not touch the waters of the Krishna and cease to speak Marathi. He whose feelings, whose memory and whose love do not wander from Shivaji to Bajirao and Bajirao to Shivaji, like the bow moving to and fro on a fiddle, and do not call forth sweet patriotic songs should change his name and should not disgrace the name of "Maratha".

Indians are educated enough to carry on *swarâjya*.
Shubhodaya (89), 31st Aug.

18. The *Shubhodaya* does not admit that education has much to do with the question of *swarâjya*. It is of opinion that those skilled in wordly affairs are fit to take part in *swarâjya* and points out that in England itself many are still uneducated. It proceeds to observe:—There are lakhs of people amongst us who can manage *swarâjya*. Even ordinary people know about *swarâjya* and its advantages. People have confidence in their leaders. What more preliminary arrangements are necessary for the introduction of *swarâjya*? The schoolmaster is abroad and education will surely spread all the more after we get *swarâjya*. Some say that the masses will suffer if *swarâjya* is granted; if English Governors can carry on an administration pleasing to the masses without knowing their interests (the masses themselves do not know their interests), cannot Indian statesmen, their near friends, do it better than the English officials? Those who want to postpone *swarâjya* till the whole country becomes educated do so with the bad intention of putting off the accomplishment of our aspirations. We know the value of education, but we are educated enough to shoulder the burden of *swarájya*.

A Poona suspect's complaint.

Kesari (106), 4th Sept.

19. Mr. Hari Raghunath Bhagvat writes to the *Kesari*:—I am one of those who are daily watched by the C. I. D. in Poona. These detectives sit at some important squares and keep a diary of the movements of 'suspects'. I always pass by Appa Balwant's Gate in Poona. I did not go by that road for five or six days before 22nd August last and consequently the detective stationed there did not see me. It appears that somebody had informed him that I was ill. Three detectives went to the place where I previously resided but getting no news about me there they went to Ashtekar and Company, Book-sellers, Poona City. One of them plainly said that they had come to inquire whether Bhagvat was dead or living, as they had not seen him for one week. I came to know of all this lately and so I inform the C. I. D. publicly that it is a mistake if they have recorded my death in their diary. I am still living and I live at 652, Sadasiv Peth, Poona City. Of course the detectives are not yet free from the task of watching me!

Comments on the Press Note declaring that the Government of Bombay will not remove to Mahábleshwar in October next.

Hindusthán (20), 1st Sept.

20. The *Hindusthán* expresses its appreciation of the step taken by the Government of Bombay in not making the October move to Mahábleshwar this year and believes the good example set by it will be followed by other Governments. It suggests that the savings thus expected by Government may be used for the promotion of education in the Presidency. It expresses the hope that every year in future Government will refrain from going to Mahábleshwar in October.

Comments on Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan's utterances at Bombay.

Islámic Mail (143), 3rd Sept., Urdu edition.

21. The *Islámic Mail* makes a reference to the speeches delivered by Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan in Bombay prior to his departure for England, and endorses the remark that true union among the Hindus and Musalmans cannot come into existence by merely passing resolutions thereanent at meetings of the Congress and the League. It also commends the exhortation to young men to assist the leaders of both these communities in their efforts for a better understanding. It asserts that the Sahibzada has been averse to visionary ideals and has done most valuable services to the cause of education; at the same time, it maintains that he did not do anything practical in the matter of the Hindu-Muhammadan union. The paper welcomes the change of attitude visible in the Sahibzada in this respect, and ascribes it to a right conception of his duty as a member of the India Council.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Basu's speech at the Bombay Presidency Association.

Young India (14), 5th Sept.

22. "The Honourable Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was entertained at the Bombay Presidency Association Rooms on Thursday. In the course of a speech which he delivered on that occasion, he appealed to his countrymen to have patience. Whether Mr. Basu meant to say that his countrymen had not practised or were not practising that great virtue, was not clear from his speech. His appeal was, we believe, superfluous inasmuch as his countrymen are already exercising this great quality which even His Excellency Lord Willingdon commended not long ago, and have exercised it to such an extent that the world might expect them to go on exercising it for ever. A gubernatorial appeal coming from a 'great friend and sympathiser' like Lord Willingdon is excusable. But in the case of a Congress *ex*-President, such an attitude is not only inexplicable, but in our opinion thoroughly mischievous. We presume Mr. Basu's appeal was due to inadvertence, rather than to a conscious feeling. We hope, too, Mr. Basu has not turned a bureaucrat so soon after his nomination to the India Council, where he has yet to install himself formally and officially."

Comments on the proposal to introduce 1 Re. and 2½ Rs. currency notes.
Rást Goftár (30), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.

***23.** Commenting upon the proposed introduction of 1 Re. and 2½ Rs. currency notes, the *Rást Goftár* remarks :—"We are not at all sure whether the time is being well chosen for the introduction of these notes. It is to be hoped that the *pros* and *cons* have been carefully considered. The market for Government Promissory Notes is very bad, and they cannot be sold except at a very heavy discount. Will 1 rupee and 2 rupees and a half notes circulate readily? The main point to be considered is whether this is the right time for such an experiment. It would have been much better if the Bill had been introduced and passed at the last Delhi session."

How to spread the Home Rule propaganda.
Sandesh (118), 4th Sept.

24. A correspondent styling himself 'Home Ruler' writes in the *Sandesh* that Home Rulers should preach their propaganda on the occasion of the forthcoming Ganpati festival. They should also endeavour, he says, to unify the different Home Rule organisations and make them a living force. He also suggests that the Home Rulers should establish free libraries and open free primary schools to prove the identity of interests of the masses and of the advocates of *Swarájya*.

The Government is responsible for the development of Home Rule propaganda.
Sunday Tatler (13), 2nd Sept.

25. "There is another aspect of the question which cannot be ignored and that is that the Government itself is responsible for the gradual development of the Home Rule problem. Could it be denied that the local authorities everywhere have been tinckering with this question in a timid and unwary way and the natural result is that an impression has gained ground that the Imperial and Provincial authorities are afraid of the Home Rule propaganda and that they dare not meddle with it or check its growth. The methods adopted by the Home Rule leaders in criticizing the Government and its actions and in defying orders would not be tolerated elsewhere. What is the result? The prestige of the Government is held in contempt and there is a weakening of the authority. The talk of passive resistance is not accidental and if this whirlwind of danger takes root, there will be a very serious aspect to face. Things have already come to a pass that every one is made to think that he can defy law with impunity. The bid for popularity must cease and action must take the place of talk. No Government can continue with undiminished prestige for any length of time under such conditions. We venture to sound this note of warning, because the movement is spreading fast from centre to centre and the tendency to defy authority is developing equally fast."

Comments on the suicide of an interned Bengali.
Mahrátta (5), 9th Sept.

***26.** "The conditions in which the interned have to pass their days are not generally known. They of course vary to a certain extent with different victims of the law of internment. The following account supplies a sad commentary on what these actually were in a particular case :—'Srijut Haricharan Das, son of Babu Arjun Chandra Das, a native of the village of Setalampur under the jurisdiction of Diamond Harbour P. S. (District 24 Pergs.), committed suicide by hanging on 18th July last at the village of Baroipara, Patia, P. S. Rajshaye), the place of his internment. The Honourable Mr. Cumming wrote on 4th August last to Babu Arjun Chandra Das to the following effect :—"Hari Das was interned owing to the fact that he was a member of the Bhowánipur gang of revolutionaries. After receiving information, the Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police of Rajshahi made a local enquiry and found there was no suspicion of any foul play. His Excellency in Council desires to express his sympathy for the bereavement suffered by yourself, by the wife of Hari Das and by all his family." 'There was no suspicion of any foul play': What is the public to understand from this official news? 'No foul play' led the victim to commit suicide: if that is the meaning of the 'sympathetic note', we may properly ask, what brought the victim to such a mental condition as prompted him to commit suicide? 'Better to leave this hell than lie rotting in it': this must become the state of mind of one who is in internment before he thinks of committing suicide. Or he must go mad. But even madness cannot come without an intolerable change in surroundings. Government owe to the public detailed information as to what were the conditions in which the deceased was made to pass his days, what treatment he received at the hands of those who were appointed to 'look after' him and other related things."

Proposed mixed tribunals for considering cases of interned persons.

Gujaráti (16), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.

***27.** "We hope that before Mr. Montagu's advent to this country tribunals or committees consisting of one Indian Judge of the High Court and two leading non-official Indians and two officials will be constituted for the examination of the interned cases......... In the best interests of Government they ought not to take up the whole responsibility, but should be prepared to invite independent Indians to share in that responsibility......... It is in vain to expect Bengal, for instance, where more than a thousand persons have been interned, to reconcile itself to the present system under which every thing is secret and the interned have no opportunity of submitting their defence to the judgment of an independent tribunal......... We earnestly hope that both in the interests of Government and the public at large the Bombay Government and the other Provincial Administrations will recommend the formation of mixed and independent tribunals or committees for the consideration of the cases of the persons who have already been interned or whom it is proposed to intern."

Mahrátta (5), 9th Sept.

***28.** "We hope that every local Tribunal will have on it a non-official gentleman of standing. We must say that considering the necessity of tranquilising the political situation, it would be highly expedient and reasonable on the part of Government to set free without undue delay all the interned whose 'impatient' yet legitimate political 'extravagance' has led to their internment.......... It is necessary to add that the politicals who are now serving their sentences in the Andamans or elsewhere for having 'conspired' or 'waged war' against Government must be set free if a reasonably tranquil atmosphere is to be created in the country. As our rulers are now bent on giving substantial rights at an early date, we can assure them that the release of our Sinn Feiners will bring about no trouble whatever. We hope that Government will give earnest consideration to the case of our Sinn Feiner prisoners, any neglect of which is sure to embitter many ardent souls in the country who cannot reconcile themselves to an unsympathetic and mistrustful treatment of their brothers when they see the Irish Sinn Feiners enlarged."

Comments on the measures adopted by the authorities in Sind with regard to demonstrations on Internment Day (16th August.

New Times (7), 20th Aug.

29. Commenting upon the measure adopted by the authorities in Sind with regard to popular demonstrations on Internment Day (16th August), the *New Times* remarks:—"We understand further that in Hyderabad, it is not processions only, but all public meetings in favour of Mrs. Besant which have been prohibited. All this bestows on the police an authority which is not possessed by the President of the United States! .... It cannot he said that the procession in Karáchi was organised by irresponsible persons....... We object to the whole procedure; for the authorities have *prejudged* the procession and the meetings. If words of 'inflammatory' character be used at a meeting or conduct of a 'seditious' character exhibited at a procession, surely, it is open to the authorities to appeal to the Law of the Land and bring to book the persons who may be declared guilty by a tribunal of justice. But we strongly object to investing the police with the authority—easily abused—of interfering with processions and public meetings.......... We regard the orders as imputations on civic patriotism, and the policy which may dictate them as an outrage on the civil liberties of Sind......... The public feel that it is worthless for Government and their representatives to make professions and promises of liberty and brotherhood and justice and national rights and self-government if they are not supported by the conduct of the authorities. It is worse than worthless; it is insincere."

Reflections on the election of Mrs. Besant as President of the Congress.
Kesari (106), 4th Sept.

30. If Government had not committed the unpardonable blunder of interning Mrs. Besant, the Rajah of Mahamudabad would have secured more votes than Mrs. Besant. Government have set the wave in favour of Mrs. Besant and if the result is not pleasing to them, they themselves are responsible for it. Government should know that Mrs. Besant has been elected on the principle of passive resistance. Government give special rewards to those who are injured and who suffer in their service. As it is obvious that Mrs. Besant has been interned while serving the people, how can Government object if people reward her with the special honour of Presidentship? What more can the people give? Why should they not give what lies in their hands? If Government think it is an insult to them they should blame Lord Pentland for it. But the question will have to go to the All-India Congress Committee because it is possible that Government may not release her, falling a victim to the ghost of false prestige. Some may even suggest that the Congress should not meet in that case. But Government would not be sorry for it. Is it not better therefore to hold the Congress and pay to Mrs. Besant in her absence all the honours of the President and show that people regard the threat held out by Government by the imprisonment of Mrs. Besant as a straw? Would not the object of Government of dishonouring Mrs. Besant be better defeated by thus honouring her?

Bombay Samachár (59), 3rd Sept.

31. The *Bombay Samachár* refers to the fact of seven out of eight Provincial Congress Committees selecting Mrs. Annie Besant as President of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress and regards it as an act bespeaking a lack of foresight. It remarks that the very fact that those who have selected her have also made suggestions about securing her release for a short while, if not permanently, in order to enable her to preside at the Congress points to the unpractical nature of their selection. Besides, will not the opponents of India, the paper inquires, raise the question if there is no other person except Mrs. Besant, among the sons of the soil, who can represent the country under the present circumstances and, if there is not, how can the Indians be said to be fit to reach the political goal they have fixed? The paper suggests that those Indian leaders who have selected her should, in order to remove the source of friction between her and the Madras Government, approach that Government in the form of a deputation and should also give to the large bulk of the public holding moderate views due assurance that she is prepared to keep to the ideals fixed by the "constitution and creed" of the Indian National Congress.

The break-up of the Calcutta Congress Reception Committee metting.
Message (6), 6th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 5th Sept., Eng. cols.

32. Commenting on the break up of the Calcutta Congress Reception Committee's meeting, the *Message* remarks:—"The whole trouble as Mr. C. R. Das has ably put it in a nutshell, was due to the fact that these gentlemen who are now being dubbed as 'Moderates' did not want Mrs. Besant's election and tried to resort to subterfuge. Babu Surendranath's conduct appears in any thing but a favourable light. It is a pity that a man who has given of his best to the Congress for thirty years should allow it to be whispered in connection with his name that he was playing for his own hand. We trust good sense will prevail with Babu Surendranath and his friends and that they will at once see the danger of playing into the hands of the Anglo-Indian press at this supreme hour of India's destiny." [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—"What is going to be the upshot of it all? Are we going to have another split again, a fresh outbrust of that frenzy of extremism which made a pandemonium of the Surat Congress?......... The unedifying scenes that were witnessed at the Reception Committee's meeting are a commentary on the appreciation on the part of a section of our politicians of the present crisis in our national destiny. The defiance of the orders of the President and the climax that was reached in the election of Mrs. Besant after the President had dissolved the meeting and left the hall appear to portend a repetition of the Surat imbroglio."]

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and passive resistance.

Young India (14), 5th Sept.

33. "The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, where there seemed to be a strong division of opinion at one time, has regarded the question in a more favourable light. Having regard to the forthcoming visit of Mr. Montagu, it has agreed to defer the consideration of this question until such time as it should be found necessary again, but at the same time expressing its strong and unanimous opinion that Government would allay the public feeling by cancelling the internments and annulling other acts of repression and coercion. In doing this, the Committee has taken an eminently reasonable and dispassionate view of the probable result of Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit and has shown a generous anxiety for the success of his mission in this country, which it now certainly behoves the Government to reciprocate. After this manifestation of our good-will, it would, we think, be the greatest mistake that Government can commit of remaining reticent at this supreme moment. The success or otherwise of Mr. Montagu's forthcoming mission will now be largely determined by the policy which it will follow in the immediate future. We have absolutely no desire to emulate the frivolous example of the *Madras Mail* and promise the Government an abundant harvest of passive resistance failing its response to our modest prayer. But we think we ought to make this clear that with Mrs. Besant and other leaders still deprived of their freedom of movement and speech, we shall not participate in any deliberations with Mr. Montagu nor assist him in any manner that we are capable of. In saying this we speak not only for ourselves, but also for the whole country save and except for a microscopic minority representing the views of none but themselves."

Message (6), 4th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 3rd Sept., Eng. cols.; *Hindu Missionary* (38), 3rd Sept., Eng. cols.

34. "The resolution is on the whole satisfactory, in view of the new situation that has arisen. It may be that it is none of the business of the people to exhibit an unduly tender conscience towards Mr. Montagu's visit. And as in the case of the Irish convention, which has been quoted on both sides, it may even be primarily the duty of the Government to ensure a favourable atmosphere for the Secretary of State to conduct his enquiries in. Whether this view is right or wrong, it is certainly as much the duty of the people as of the Government to see that the most favourable conditions exist when Mr. Montagu arrives in this country. They have done their part in defering the consideration of the question in anticipation of certain happenings before Mr. Montagu's arrival and it is now for the Government to fulfil those expectations which are entertained of them. We do hope that wiser counsels will prevail with the Indian Government and that it will leave nothing undone which is necessary to allay the strong public feeling existing in the country." [The *Indu Prakásh* also congratulates the Congress Committee on its decision and calls upon Government to inaugurate a policy of conciliation. The *Hindu Missionary*, commenting on the resolution, suggests the formation of a "Passive Resisters' Union" to carry out the new movement "independently, so that the Congress, the Moslem League and the Home Rule Leagues may not in any way be involved in it."]

Kesari (106), 4th Sept.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 4th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 3rd Sept.

***35.** The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee unanimously adopted the resolution framed by Messrs. Tilak, Gandhi and Sir N. G. Chandavarkar. The resolution expresses a desire to work with Mr. Montagu in a conciliatory spirit and though no condition has been laid down as to how this spirit can be generated by the officials, still the words of the resolution imply such a condition. There is also a deep meaning in the words that the Committee recognises that there is a strong feeling in favour of passive resistance, though these words have not been used as a threat. It is a correct description of the true feeling of the nation caused by the actions of the officials. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—As the situation was changed for the better by Mr. Montagu's declaration, the Sub-Committee appointed by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee found it unnecessary to go into the question of passive resistance. Mr. Tilak wanted to saddle the Congress somehow with passive resistance and to bring in the point in the resolution. But afterwards he gave up his point and the resolution was unanimously passed abandoning all idea of the passive resistance movement. The *Indu Prakásh* says:—We are by nature loyal and our guiding principle is that of obedience to royal commands, under any circumstances. There have been some exceptions and an exceedingly tyrannical and irresponsible rule has been resisted. Passive resistance is misplaced at present in India. Lord Pentland has not interfered with the liberties of any body else than Mrs. Besant and her two followers. We do not say it is not an injustice. But it does not require any heroic measure. The practice of disobedience to lawful orders whether the rule be *Swadeshi* or foreign is harmful. Just as dishonouring of public opinion is reprehensible, the teaching of the principle that Government should be set at naught is harmful and censurable. As Mr. Montagu is coming present times are unfavourable to passive resistance.]

Gujaráti (16), 2nd Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 1st and 3rd Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 5th Sept.

36. The *Gujaráti* publishes the opinion expressed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi wherein, after dwelling upon the ethics of passive resistance, he recognises the advisability of the people of India refraining from resorting to it in view of Mr. Montagu's forthcoming visit and exhorts them to take recourse to it if Mrs. Besant and her colleagues are not set at liberty before Mr. Montagu sets foot in India. [The paper declares that passive resistance can be resorted to by those persons only who groan under the injustice of particular acts of Government and that passive resistance or its advocacy as a protest against the general policy of Government by people in general is sure to bring popular leaders and newspapers into the clutches of the law. It admits that passive resistance does involve disobedience of laws considered unjust by the people, but considers it justifiable to adopt it as a last resort. The *Hindusthán* asks the people to act according to the advice given to them by their wise leaders and to refrain from resorting to passive resistance in view of Mr. Montagu's visit. In the subsequent issue the paper approves of the recommendation of the Bombay Congress Committee in the matter of passive resistance and hopes that Government will liberate Mrs. Besant and her colleagues and other political prisoners with a view to pacify the minds of the people. The *Bombay Samáchár* considers it a very wise step on the part of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to have decided against passive resistance, and hopes that the people of India will follow the advice of Mr. Basu in the matter of political agitation.]

Inadvisibility of inaugurating passive resistance.

Subodh Patrika (42), 2nd Sept.

37. Why do the followers of Mrs. Besant cling to the fad of passive resistance when she herself does not approve of it? Do they suppose it will conduce to the welfare of the country? If so, why did Mr. Telang furnish a fresh security for Rs. 10,000 and why did Mr. Karandikar leave Madras instead of flouting the law? This shows that at least some of the followers of Mrs. Besant consider discretion to be the better part of valour when it comes to translating their professions into action. Why parade this hobby of passive resistance before the eyes of the people when Government themselves do not prohibit meetings condemning their own policy? No possible good can be achieved by incurring the displeasure of Government against a movement conducted constitutionally.

Comments on the removal of Mrs. Besant's Home Rule flag at Coimbatore.

Kesari (106), 4th Sept.

38. The *Kesari* sarcastically refers to the removal of the Home Rule flag from Mrs. Besant's house at Coimbatore (Madras) as "a great victory gained by the brave British officials" and says:—It has added insult to injury. The Home Rule flag is not the flag of rebellion. It is not a rival flag to the Union Jack. Why should Government be then so angry with it?

If it really signifies sedition, Government can prosecute Mrs. Besant. It is difficult to understand how the flag could have caused any rioting. It is dishonest to make use of the law for quite another object than the one for which its wording is clearly intended. The flag was hoisted at Ootacamund and it was flying there for two months without any disturbance taking place; how can one occur now? If anybody is likely to get angry at the flag it is Government and the Police. While the Criminal Procedure Code was being framed, it is unthinkable that possibility of Government or the officials themselves creating a riot was ever entertained. Government are to maintain order; how is it possible that they would themselves behave in a disorderly manner?

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 5th Sept., Eng. cols. *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 3rd Sept.

39. "The tussle between the Madras authorities and the Home Rulers is fast assuming the character of a farce, and it is difficult to say who cuts a more ludicrous figure. .... We have no sympathy with the action of the District Magistrate of Coimbatore. It was the 'crowning act of petty persecution'......... We are quite sure that the flying of this theosophic flag could no more lead to a riot or an affray, than would the flying of a kite. If anything, these theatricals are more likely to expose the cause of Home Rule to ridicule. The whole affair is puerile from beginning to end. What right has this theosophic-trinity to hoist the national banner of India?......... And after all that can be said, there is something farcically incongruous in the idea of Indian nationhood being reperesented by an Irishwoman, an Englishman and a Parsi,—and all three theosophists. Sir Sayyad Ahmed called the Hindu and the Mahommedan, the two eyes of India. Both the eyes are lacking in these Madras experiments with nation making. Could not the Madras Government leave it at that? It seems to us that there is bungling all round. The only effect of these petty irritations is to give an impetus to the movements, which the officials start to put down."

Rást Goftár (30), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 3rd Sept.

***40.** "The petty persecution to which Mrs. Besant and her colleagues have been subjected since their internment has culminated in the removal of the Home Rule flag and lantern from her bungalow at Coimbatore. The District Superintendent of Police solemnly lodged sworn information before the District Magistrate that the flag and light, if displayed, might produce rioting between Brahmins and non-Brahmins! Was ever such arrant nonsense heard anywhere? And on this information the flag and light were forcibly taken away.......... Mrs. Besant may be set at liberty any day, and then the flag and light will have to be restored to her in any case. Such ingenuity of petty annoyance would be wonderful if it were not contemptible." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* reiterates its apprehensions about Mrs. Besant's political methods and ridicules her for setting up a Home Rule flag near her residence. It considers it quite stupid and puerile on her part to indulge in a fad like that. On the other hand, it blames the District Magistrate of Coimbatore for making such a fuss over the question. It is of opinion that misplaced enthusiasm such as was displayed by the District Magistrate of Coimbatore is responsible for giving undue notoriety to many persons and converting them into pinch-back martyrs. It hopes Government will place some check on such undue enthusiasm on the part of their officials.]

The fall of Riga.

Rást Goftár (30), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.

***41.** "Things are looking very dark indeed for Russia.......... There is no coherence of the national forces in Russia while the demoralisation in the army is complete. In Galicia the Russian troops, shortly after the revolution, put an end to discipline with the result that the Germans advanced and occupied nearly a hundred miles of territory.......... The crisis in Galicia has paled into insignificance before the very grave menace in the Riga region and the Baltic littoral. Here also the Russian troops have fallen back and Riga has been evacuated. Will not the Germans now make a dash for Petrograd? The distance and the approaching winter, it is calculated, may not favour such an enterprise, but that is an idle hope.

Unless Russian patriotism and the discipline of the Russian army respond to the call of the Fatherland nothing will bar the German advance upon Petrograd. It is a prospect terrible to contemplate. Russia must now stand or fall by her own efforts for the Allies on the West can give her no help.

Comments on the recommendation of the Emigration Conference regrading indentured labour.
Bombay Samáchár (59), 5th Sept.

42. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the recommendations of the Emigration Conference in the matter of indentured labour and thanks the Imperial Government for their determination to put an end to the system of indentured labour. The paper believes that the Imperial Government must have been greatly influenced by the strong case made out on behalf of India by Lord Hardinge. It is of opinion that the recommendations will convince the colonists that the hardships to which the Indian labourers were subjected can no longer be tolerated by the Government of India or the Imperial Government. While believing that the lot of the labourers will greatly improve under the new system, it is afraid that the labourers will have to undergo certain difficulties and asks Government to consider the recommendations of the Conference in the light of the report of the Ceylon Labour Commission which has not yet been published and asks Government to publish the report to enable the Indian people to make their suggestions.

The report of the Police administration of Bombay City.
Bombay Samáchár (59), 3rd Sept.

43. *Apropos* of the recently published Government resolution on the Bombay City Police Administration Report for the last year the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the citizens of Bombay will join with Government in the praise they have bestowed upon the work done by the Police during the year under Report. It maintains that Government have afforded a proof of their solicitude for the public by increasing the strength of the Police force of the city by about 33 per cent. during the last ten years, which increase, the paper holds, has been necessitated by the steady development of the city. According to the paper the people wish that the Bombay Government would still further strengthen the Police force, which has been found inadequate to cope with the present wants of Bombay both by the late Police Commissioner, Mr. Edwardes, and by his present successor. It believes that Mr. Vincent has, by the suggestion he made for increasing the Alexandra Dock police, rendered a valuable service to the general as well as the commercial public and remarks that the favourable reception of that suggestion by Government will satisfy the merchant class. While appreciating the present stress on Government's finances the paper declares that any further delay in increasing the expenditure on the additional police which may be necessary both for the sake of collecting their own revenue and the safety of commerce will be regarded as improper.

Kulkarnis who are over age should be exempted from appearing for the Vernacular Final Examination.
Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 4th Sept.

44. A Kulkarni of the Belgaum District who is above 25 asked for permission to appear at the Vernacular Final Examination, but the Educational Inspector, Southern Division, told him that he was over age. If the Collector is approached he refers to the Educational Inspector. What is to be done? If we are to take this as meaning that Kulkarnis above 25 should not be appointed, it would be the height of injustice. We hope Government will pay attention to this question. It would be better if Kulkarnis who are over age are exempted from the examination.

Criticism of the personnel of the Benches of Honorary Magistrates in the Naushero Taluka (Sind).
New Times (7), 23rd Aug.

45. Commenting upon the recently published Benches of Honorary Magistrates in the Hyderabad and Nawabshah Districts in Sind, an anonymous correspondent of the *New Times* remarks:—"The personnel of the two benches in the Naushero Taluka, is anything but desirable, and is such as would be a source of tyranny to the masses. If such of these gentlemen whose antecedents are unsatisfactory, were free from corruption, one would not mind so much; but when one remembers that some of these gentlemen, under the pretence of helping the police, have been screening the real offenders, and running down innocent persons as shady or 'badmash' characters, one wonders by what miraculous influence these gentlemen have succeeded in being selected as Honorary Magistrates......... Again, one is surprised to see that out of six members forming the two benches collectively, one only is a Hindu. Would the authorities wish us to understand that there are no competent and impartial Hindus availabe in the Taluka?....... .. But if Hindus on any account are not acceptable, the authorities could have got impartial and honest Muhammadans. One might suggest, that the authorities responsible for the appointment of incompetent persons to the Bench, might have done so purposely and with a view to give a handle to the critics of Self-government, to comment on the fitness of Indians to rule themselves."

EDUCATION.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech at the last Bombay University Convocation.

Islámic Mail (4), 2nd Sept., Eng. edition.

46. "'Character,' said Lord Willingdon at the University Convocation the other day, 'is the foundation upon which all human achievements must be built.........' A very good axiom indeed, but may we ask His Excellency what chance is there for the average student to build up his character living in the depraved surroundings of a low society? The boy who attends the school or college may be safe in the class room but he is not out of it for he is in a very unhealthy surrounding. He hears all sorts of falsehoods, deceit and foul language. He sees all sorts of duplicity and mean tricks played by the bazaar boys....... If the noble ideals mentioned by His Excellency are to be inculcated he should be kept away from his vitiated surroundings, and we believe the residential system is very much approved of in India for that. It was probably with regard to this fact that the Committee on Mahammadan education appointed by Government recommended the establishment of hostels even with primary and secondary schools. The Government declined this suggestion because they thought the Muhammadans rich enough to do it for themselves. But they lost sight of the fact that the strings of purses are more readily opened at the suggestion of those in power than by mere philantropy. Lord Sydenham was able to collect a huge sum for commercial education and we wish Lord Willingdon will endeavour to get the rich Muhammadans to build up hostels or character factories, to be run by Government. There are many Wakfs which can be usefully used to this end, but we need sympathetic action and not only advice."

Comments on the recent Conference at Simla *re* the teaching of English in Secondary Schools.

Gujaráti Punch (18), 2nd Sept., *Praja Bandhu* (27), 2nd Sept.

47. Commenting upon the proceedings of the recent Simla Conference the *Gujaráti Punch* refers to the speech His Excellency Lord Chelmsford made at the Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction in January last, wherein he had expressed himself against the system of giving education in English in this country and, contrasting these ideas with the remark he made during his speech in the recent Conference to the effect that the substitution of the vernaculars for English at the present stage of educational progress was beyond the bounds of practical politics, expresses its surprise at this change in his views on the subject, within such a short period of time. The paper dilates on the various difficulties and disadvantages of imparting instruction in English, which system, in its view, deprived many an Indian student of his intellectual power as well as physical stamina, and remarks that it is not proper that people should be denied instruction through their own vernaculars. In view of the efforts that are being made in different parts of the country in the direction of starting colleges for giving education on national lines, the paper believes that the Viceroy's prediction about the English language being more and more widely used in future in this country as a common language is not likely to be realised. It, however, expresses its satisfaction at the two resolutions passed in the Conference, the one in favour of allowing Matriculation students the option of answering questions in their vernaculars and the other in favour of teaching all subjects in the vernacular in lower standards, the medium of instruction being English only in the sixth and seventh standards. [The *Praja Bandhu* also makes mention of the alleged change in the Viceroy's views above referred to and inquires whether this change is the result of his own experience of eight months or of his having come in touch with the advocates of the language of the ruling class. According to it the people demand that while maintaining the present system of instruction Government should make the experiment of giving higher education in the vernaculars. The paper hopes that now that the subject has been discussed in the Simla Conference His Excellency the Viceroy will deem it necessary to learn public opinion in that connection].

Mahrátta (5), 9th Sept.

*48. "The millions are there before you. And it is now too late in the day to affirm that the best way of carrying on the affairs of a country is to keep the millions of the country in the dark and organise the educational system of the country without any thought of taking the daily increasing light of knowledge to the homes of the *vast majority* in it. As to the 'multitude' of vernaculars, we must say that the chief vernaculars in the country are by no means too many and if Government once make up their mind *to act as a people's Government*, no great difficulty will be found in starting vernacular universities in the country. To vernacularise the whole educational course, at the same time encouraging the study of English as a useful second language, must be the aim of the Indian Government. The administration of the country requires English-knowing persons. But when this administration itself is remodelled on a popular basis of decentralisation, much of the district and even provincial administrative work can be carried on in the vernaculars .... His Excellency also spoke of English as being on the high road to become the *lingua franca* among the educated classes all over India. We may admit this fact, but we cannot believe that the New Tide of Nationalism spreading over the land will not depose English and put in its place *Hindi* as the *lingua franca* of the Indian people.......... Striving as we are for the uplift of our Motherland, our mother-tongues will not fail to receive our adequate attention. The English language will be relegated to its proper place in the educational economy of the Nation, as the English people will in due course be brought to occupy their proper place in the administrative economy.......... No self-respecting Indian caring for the honour of his nation and the progress of the millions will for ever tolerate the usurpation by the alien English language of the place which properly belongs to the vernaculars."

Subodh Patrika (42), 2nd Sept.

49. We think His Excellency the Viceroy put himself to needless trouble in holding the Educational Conference at Simla. What was the necessity of dragging to the Conference a staunch advocate of the vernaculars like Professor Naik when the only questions for decision were how to acquire a better knowledge of English and which was the proper time for the commencement of the study of that language? The proceedings of the Conference show that the advocates of the vernaculars were most inadequately represented. It is a moot point whether we are to throw overboard our vernaculars in our eagerness to acquire an accurate knowledge of English. For ourselves we believe that every endeavour should be made for the introduction of the vernaculars in University examinations. It is most disgraceful that whereas Persian, with its limited literature is permitted for all Universiay examinations, Marathi with its vast literature should be excluded from all the examinations except the M. A.

Chandrodaya (33), 3rd Sept.

50. From the details to hand we do not think that vernacular education has been encouraged by the Simla Conference. Though no doubt an option has been given to answer question papers in the vernaculars at the last school examination, how can the students avail themselves of this concession if the medium of English is to be enforced at the last two standards in secondary schools? The resolution would have been practically useful if non-language subjects had been allowed to be taught through the medium of the vernaculars in the highest standards.

Importance of Mulla schools for spreading literary education among Muhammadans in Sind.

Sind Moslem (11), 1st Sept.

51. In the course of an article on Mulla schools contributed to the *Sind Moslem*, Mr. Alikhan, M.A., remarks :—"I contend that Mulla Schools are serving the same purpose as would be served by free and compulsory education. At present Local Board schools can be opened only in larger villages where Hindus take more advantage of them than Musalmans. The majority of Musalmans live in smaller villages where there are no Local Board schools. Besides Musalmans also want religious education. For these reasons, the only means to spread literacy among the poor Musalmans of Sind is to encourage and improve Mulla schools.

Complaint that the story on page 39 of Macmillan's Fifth Reader is offensive to Muhammadan religious sentiments.

Sind Moslem (11), 25th Aug.

52. "A Moslem," writing to the *Sind Moslem* refers to the "story given at pages 39 to 43 of the Macmillan Reader V which is registered and prescribed by the Educational authorities as a text book for the V standard students" and remarks :—"It will appear that the story of Bibi Fatima, the beloved daughter of our Prophet, is not taken out from the annals of the Islámic literature as it is put in the most annoying and despiteful form and is sure to produce a bad effect upon the minds of young Muhammadan boys who shall have to read it as one of their lessons in the school. The specific charge of pride that has been laid against her honoured self in this story is quite incorrect and will surely rouse the religious sentiments of every patriotic Musalman. I would, therefore, venture to request you on behalf of the Musalman community to make a reference to the educational authorities and have this story, which emanates from a most reckless and unreliable place of Islamic History, eliminated from the book."

Suggestion that Home Rule pamphlets should be distributed to students at the gates of schools and colleges.

Hindu Missionary (38), 3rd Sept, Eng. cols.

53. In reviewing pamphlets Nos. 4 and 5 issued by the Home Rule League, the *Hindu Missionary* suggests that "such pamphlets should be given to students at the gates of schools and colleges".

Comments on the expulsion of a student from the Dharwar Mission School for writing a poem on Mrs. Besant.

Raj Hansa (85), 5th Sept.

54. We regret to announce that Rangayya Shenvi, a student of the local mission school (Dhárwár), has been expelled from the school by the Educational Department for having published a poem on Mrs. Annie Besant. There is no sedition whatsoever in the poem; only Mrs. Besant has been praised by him. It is unjust to cut him off from his career by awarding a terrible punishment to him on the ground that he has taken part in a political movement. Even if students of tender age commit theft they are required only to furnish a security. It is killing a fly with a hammer to sentence the student in a way to ruin his whole life. There is not a word that is objectionable in the poem of Rangayya Shenvi. Only it speaks of Mrs. Besant as the 'mother that thinks of the welfare of the world'. Government may release Mrs. Besant in a month or two; but Rangayya Shenvi has to suffer till his death. We can quote this instance to show to Mr. Montagu how young children suffer under orders of local Governments in India. The Dharwar Home Rule League should bring the matter to the notice of Mr. Montagu through Sir William Wedderburn.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 14th September 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 37 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 15th September 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule:
- Alleged highhandedness of the Mamlatdar of Indápur (Poona) for securing contribution to the War Loan 27
- Alleged settlement by arbitration of the dispute between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Bársi 34
- Appreciation of the Bombay Government's decision not to move to Mahábleshwar for the October season 32
- Comments on the attacks of Mr. Webb and the *Daily Gazette* of Karáchi on the National movement in Sind 15
- Comments on the Calcutta split regarding Congress Presidentship . 21—26
- Comments on the forthcoming visit of Mr. Montagu 17
- Comments on the removal of the Home Rule flag at Coimbatore . 19
- Comments on the suggestion that Mr. Mahomed Ali should be elected as President of the next session of the Moslem League . . . 31
- German colonies will get freedom sooner than India 28
- Government should take steps against those who set up non-Brahmins against Brahmins 16
- Law is not against Home Rule Leagues having a flag of their own . 20
- Parsis and the National movement in India 33
- Sind Mussalmans and politics . . . . 29 & 30
- What is the duty of Home Rulers 18

Imperial Legislative Council:
- Comments on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's recent utterances in the — . 8—10
- Comments on the statement in the — regarding the release of Mrs. Besant and others . . . . 11—13
- Comments on the Viceroy's opening speech in the — . . . . 1—6
- Comments on the reply in the — regarding the confidential circular to the Provincial Governments regarding Home Rule movements . 14
- The Viceroy's announcement about the abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgam 7

Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the report of the Immigration Conference 40

Judicial matters: Complaint that the accused in a gang case being tried at Sátára are being treated in an inhuman manner 39

Press Act: Comments on the suspension of the publication of the *Eastern Chronicle*, an Assam newspaper 41

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Public service: Comments on the order of Government directing Kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination 42

Sind: The question of the term of revenue settement in — 43

War:

Comments on the Mahar recruiting meeting at Poona 35

Russian Affairs . . . . 36—38

LEGISLATION—

The Usury Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council . . . . . 44 & 45

EDUCATION—

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Simla Education Conference 48

Comments on the Government circular regarding students and political meetings 46

Comments on the Government Press Note on Urdu education in the Presidency 47

RAILWAYS—

Comments on the shooting affray in the G. I. P. Railway Workshop at Parel (Bombay) 49

Promises given to the G. I. P. Railway strikers have not been kept . . 50

MUNICIPALITIES—

Poona: A complaint against the President of the — Municipality . . 51

Sind: A controversial measure like the introduction of house-tax in various places in — should not be mooted by Government during war-time . 52

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Viceroy's opening speech in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Kesari (106), 11th Sept.

1. Lord Chelmsford has pitched his voice in a lower key. The growling tiger has disappeared and a softly bleating sheep has taken its place. This is indeed a magical feat, whoever the magician may be. The bureaucrats are in the habit of boasting in season and out of season that they don't care a rap for public agitation. If Lord Chelmsford is likely to be mollified if we say that the change in His Excellency's temper is due to his goodness and and not to agitation, we are willing to say so. Political agitation is not meant for boasting; it is carried on to bring about a particular result. The Viceroy says that he is for action and not for speech. It is a good policy, but what has he done to improve local self-government which is said to be the basis of all political reforms? How many Indians has he appointed to responsible posts? The Army concessions are due to the Great War and the heroism of Indian warriors. Even Lord Chelmsford will admit that the British Ministry is responsible for including India in the Imperial Conference. Lord Chelmsford himself knows what important things he has achieved! From what he has done uptil now we do not think that his boast of being a worker and not a speaker is much justified. If the Viceroy was for the ideal of self-government from the beginning he would not have issued the Home Rule circular to the local Governments. As Government are not willing to publish it we may surmise that they have not accepted in it even the principle of self-government. We must, however, say that his announcement of the release of political leaders on some conditions will produce some pleasing effect on the people. But how are the leaders to convince Government that they will not adopt violent and unconstitutional methods? As Government have interned them under the Defence of India Act no open inquiry has been held and Government also have not proved their charges against them. Though a week has passed since the announcement of the Viceroy no leader is as yet released. We humbly suggest that all political prisoners should have the benefit of the change in the policy of Government, just as the British Government released all Sinn Feiners without subjecting them to any humiliating conditions.

Young India (14), 12th Sept.

2. "His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's speech at the first meeting of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council falls far short of the expectations which the weary months of his silence had aroused in the country.......... That silence has now been broken and the Indian public can hardly flatter itself with the thought that the responsible head of executive administration in this country has viewed the problem before him with that breadth of vision which a broad-minded and liberal statesmanship would ordinarily dictate.......... View how we may, the speech inevitably leaves on our mind the impression that Lord Chelmsford has not been able to rise above the stunting influences of his surroundings. Instead of well-worn platitudes about various things that pale into insignificance before the one vital problem of the day—the problem of Indian Home Rule,—we had expected that his speech would be pitched in that high key of sound and sober statesmanship, becoming the momentous times through which we are passing......... With all deference to the dignity and prestige of his exalted office, we are constrained to regard the speech as no better than any one of the gubernatorial declamations to which we have become more or less accustomed in recent months. Instead of inspiring the long expectant public with confidence, it fills them with an overwhelming sense of despondency about the future of the country under a strongly entrenched and fortified bureaucracy. We feel we must frankly confess here that it is not to a pedantic speech of this nature we had eagerly looked forward. We should have been extremely happy to hear in a few plain unvarnished sentences what the Government of India, with the full sanction of

His Majesty's Government, intended to do in regard to the principal matters now at issue between it and the people.......... Even greater is the disappointment felt at the halting character of the speech in regard to constitutional reforms. This portion of the speech powerfully brings home to us once more the futility of getting hill-top Governments to appreciate the true and real purpose of the insistent demand voiced all over the country....... That portion of His Excellency's disappointing pronouncement, dealing with constitutional reforms is the aptest comment on the state of mental inertia of our bureaucrats." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"Another point in Lord Chelmsford's speech which deserves more than a passing remark is his reference to the contemplated institution of a school for the education of the sons of Indian officers. He stated that the school would be in the shape of 'a memorial to the gallant services of Indian officers in this war......... This seems to us like an attempt to set up a 'Loyal School' on the lines of the policy pursued by his more famous predecessor—Lord Curzon of imperishable fame. Lord Curzon planned and carried out an arbitrary system of educating the native chiefs and talukdars on novel lines. Now as then, the policy which is responsible for an unnatural system propped up on artificial legs is, to say the least, mischievous and calculated to hinder rather than promote national harmony and concord among the people of this country. And we think that it is a doubtful tribute to the momory of the gallant men who have shed their blood in the cause of unification and consolidation of the Empire that an attempt should be made in their fallen names to wean away their kith and kin from their own countrymen."]

Gujaráti (16), 9th Sept.; *Gujarát Punch* (18), 9th Sept.

3. Lord Chelmsford may try to take the credit for the concessions given to the Indian Army, but the Indians will ever remain indebted to Lord Hardinge and the opportunities presented by the war. Indian soldiers have won these concessions by shedding their blood on the field of battle. The revelations of the Mesopotamia Commission brought the hardships of the Indian sepoys to the notice of British statesmen and the present reforms in the army have been effected by the pressure brought upon the Government of India. But where are the reforms for which Indians have been clamouring? Why are not Commissions in the army thrown upon to educated Indians? Indians will thank Lord Chelmsford for giving them an assurance that the Arms Act will not be worked on racial considerations. But the Europeans and Anglo-Indians are now free to bear arms since they receive compulsory military training. Why should not Indians have the same freedom? It is gratifying to note that Self-government within the Empire has been officially recognised as the goal of British rule in India. Indians have now no cause left for despondency. Lord Chelmsford has done nothing on his own initiative to give administrative experience to Indians or to free Local Self-government from official control. Lord Chelmsford has asked the people to co-operate with him, but he will not be able to enlist their co-operation unless all political prisoners are released and the people are given an opportunity of indulging in free discussion on all political matters. There should be an end to the undue interference of the C. I. D. and the police with the liberties of the people. [The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—We do not approve of the condition imposed by the Viceroy for Mrs. Besant's release. It means that she should make a confession that her activities were not legitimate. If Government want quiet in the country they should release Mrs. Besant and her associates unconditionally. Mr. Mahommed Ali should also be released. We are thankful to Lord Chelmsford for his sympathetic speech. Had such a speech been made six months ago and had the Provincial Governments not adopted a policy of repression there would have been no need for Mr. Montagu to come to India.]

Islámic Mail (143), 10th Sept., Urdu edition.

4. The *Islámic Mail* says that Lord Chelmsford's speech will reassure those who were beginning to be frightened by the tide of recent events, and affirms that by his kindness and concessions His Lordship has given ample proof of his broadmindedness and generosity. It recalls how

Lord Hardinge beyond redistributing two provinces and making some promises did not perform any act worthy of being remembered, during the whole course of his Viceroyalty; and contrasts the alleged barrenness of the *régime* of Lord Hardinge with the measures which have distinguished the brief period of Lord Chelmsford's administration. It recapitulates how His Excellency nominated Captain Ajabkhan to be a member of the Imperial Council, how he ordered the distribution of free rations among Indian sepoys, how he threw open the Commissioned ranks to the Indians, how he has undertaken to bestow *jagirs* on the brave fighters and how he has enlarged the Secretary of State's Council by nominating an additional Hindu member thereon. Referring to the appeal made by His Excellency towards the conclusion of his speech, the paper avers that Muhammadans are suffering from a superfluity of servile followers of the Congress or hunters after titles and distinction and inquires if they are powerless to safeguard their own interests against the aggression of their opponents or from the neglect of Government. Finally it suggests that the Musalmans of Bombay should hold a meeting, not necessarily of rich men, where measures could be adopted for carrying out the purpose in view.

Message (6), 11th Sept.

5. "One of the newest arguments against any practical measure of self-government is that suggested by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's statement that 'there in nothing like administrative experience to sober judgment and bring about an appreciation of the practical difficulties which exist in the realm of administration'. We wish that this *obiter dictum* of political wisdom were first applied to the House of Commons. It would be interesting then to find how many scores of the six hundred and odd members of the House would forthwith be disqualified to be in the House. Neither in the field of local self-government nor in the domain of administration have several of them anything to do......... It is indeed remarkable that the Viceroy had not a word, not a thought for the Memorandum of the Nineteen, or the proposals contained therein. The executive Government of the country will according to the view of progress now propounded by His Excellency remain unaffected and continue to be vested in a handful of the bureaucracy of Englishmen and Indians. It is a proposal of this nature which does not take us any further from the starting point. If this is the deliberate judgment of the Government of India, it is hardly to be wondered at that even the most moderate of Indian politicians should begin to feel a sense of nervous apprehension about the future of the Indian people."

Prakásh (116), 12th Sept.; *Sandesh* (118), 9th Sept.

6. The repressive policy recently adopted by Government threatened to arrest the progress of the country. Officials like Lord Pentland fanned the flame of discontent and Mr. Chamberlain, our former Secretary of State, who had the power to curb the zeal of the bureaucracy only exhibited callous indifference towards the political situation. In these circumstances it was only to be expected that the provisions of the law should be abused to intern innocent people that newspapers should be asked to furnish securities, and that the mouths of the leaders should be gagged. It was impossible, however, that these unjustifiable acts should continue for long. The latent power of the people, must ultimately assert itself. Officials drawing fat salaries from the people cannot expect to command their esteem and confidence by consistently ignoring their demands. It was universally believed that the bureaucracy selfishly stood athwart the interests of millions of people lest they might lose their power. Fortunately, signs are now visible of a welcome change in the political situation. His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the last Legislative Council meeting strikes quite a different note from that of his earlier utterances. This change of attitude can only be accounted for by the altered political situation in India and Mr. Montagu's advent at the India Office. [The *Sandesh* welcomes the speech of the Viceroy and says that the responsibility of keeping the country in a peaceful state lies more with the officials than with the people. It endorses the view of the *Times of India* that the agitation would not have assumed such a vehement character, but for the speeches of some of the heads of local Governments. The paper attaches great importance to the release of Mrs. Besant, but at the same time it warns the people to keep in view the ideal of self-government and not to be misled by the release of interned leaders.]

The Viceroy's announcement about the abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgám.

Káthiáwár Samáchár (68), 12th Sept.; *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* (74), 13th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 14th Sept.

7. Dwelling upon the various hardships incidental to the levy of the Customs duty at Viramgám, which railway passengers from Káthiáwár had to experience hitherto, the *Káthiáwár Samáchár* expresses its deep satisfaction at the abolition of the preventive Customs Line at Viramgám, as announced by His Excellency the Viceroy at the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council. It remarks that the people will thank Lord Chelmsford for giving them a permanent relief in the matter of the above-mentioned hardship. The paper, however, wishes that a new trouble may not arise in the wake of the present abolition of the Viramgám Customs Line. [The *Shri Sayaji Vijaya* remarks that by his present act of abolishing the Customs Line His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's name will be immortalised in the minds of the people of Káthiáwár as well as in the annals of the country. The paper hopes that the terms of the understanding arrived at between Government and the Native States concerned, which has rendered possible the abolition of the Customs Line, are such as would not prejudicially affect the trade and commerce of Káthiáwár. The *Bombay Samáchár* also feels gratified at the prospective abolition of the Customs Line. It believes that this measure will help to facilitate the development of the commerce and industry of Káthiáwár and hopes that the people of that province will avail themselves of the advantages arising from the present change.]

Comments on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's recent utterance in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Rást Goftár (30), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

*8. In the course of its comments on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech in connection with the Honourable Mr. Shafi's resolution on the subject of a Lieutenant-Governor for the Punjáb, the *Rást Goftár* remarks :—" The line that he took was to praise the Punjáb at the expense of the other Provinces, and portions of the speeches were certainly calculated to produce ill-feeling between the Punjabis and other people in India. The speech was in bad taste, undignified, and unworthy of the traditions of the Imperial Legislative Council. But His Honour found more than once that he was not speaking to an overawed and hushed audience in the Punjáb, but in a Council consisting of some fearless representatives of India, who repeatedly took exception to his remarks.......... By the time he had finished Sir Michael O'Dwyer, like Saul, must have found out that he was not among the prophets."

Message (6), 15th Sept.

9. " Sir Michael said that Punjab was the most loyal province and proceeding, spoke incidentally of the stern realities of the *Ghadr* revolutionary attempts which were peculiar only to the Punjab ! The Punjab, we are told, contributed as many as 1,55,000 recruits out of the 2,67,000 in the Indian army.......... We are reluctant to disturb this complacence by pointing out that the 1,55,000 recruits from the Punjab were not allowed even a single commissioned officer of their nationality or that the pay of the Punjabi soldier was considerably less than that of the Tommy or that aspirations of the Punjabi people as represented by the Provincial Committees of both the Congress and the Moslem Leagues are not very warmly and sympathetically responded to. His Honour does not relish words but values deeds, and with a consistency which is admirable he wishes to reward the deeds of the Punjabis in the war not by the rescinding of the Arms Act or by the conferring of commissioned officerships or by the taking of substantial steps towards self-government or by the larger employment of the Punjabis in the higher Civil Service."

Sánj Vartmán (31), 14th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 14th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 15th Sept.

10. The speech made by Sir Michael O'Dwyer on the motion of the Honourable Mr. Shafi was, we are constrained to say, below the dignity of the Viceregal Council, and we are afraid it will tend to counteract the good effect produced throughout India by the sympathetic speech recently made by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford. Sir Michael has made odious comparisons between the services rendered by the Punjáb and the other Provinces and has indulged in irrevelant talk about Home Rule and passive resistance. He has, moreover, attacked our political leaders and made remarks that will hurt the feelings of the Indian people. We are surprised to see that the Honourable Mr. Lowndes allowed the speaker to proceed in spite of the objections raised by the Honourable Pandit Malaviya and others. We would like to point out that passive resistance has never been directed against Government but it is meant to be used against certain repressive measures adopted by the agents of Government. No one has ever advocated passive resistance for securing political reforms. Besides, it must be remembered that opinion in this country is divided on the question of passive resistance. Taking it for granted for argument's sake that India is not fit for *Swarájya* as alleged by Sir Michael, who is to be blamed for it, the people or the policy of Government? When will India be fit for *Swarájya*? We want political reforms so that India may be fit for self-government under the Empire. [The *Hindusthán* disapproves of Sir Michael's speech and declares that he had no business to enter into the question of the fitness of India for *Swarájya* as self-government under the Empire had been recognised by the Viceroy as the goal of British Rule in India. It states that India fulfils the three conditions laid down by Mill for securing self-government. It is afraid the speech will create a commotion in the country and nullify the good effects produced by the Viceroy's speech. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is of opinion that Sir Michael has made a sorry exhibition of his sense of loyalty and obedience by expressing himself against the grant of self-government to India at a time when the Imperial Government are contemplating measures that would place India on the path of self-government under the Empire. It declares that the unpopularity of certain officials of the type of Sir Michael is due to their open defiance of authority and disregard of the promises given to the people from time to time.]

Comments on the statement in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the release of Mrs. Besant and others.
Message (6), 9th Sept.

11. Referring to Sir W. Vincent's statement in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the release of Mrs. Besant and other interned persons, the *Message* remarks:—"To our mind, it seems that the announcement lacks that statesmanlike instinct which characterised the announcement of His Majesty's Government in England in regard to the Irish political prisoners, and actual rebels of the Easter rising in Dublin. There the Government looked more to results and did not allow any immediate considerations of so-called prestige of the English bureaucracy in Ireland to stand in the way of its doing all that was possible to make the experiment of an Irish convention a success.......... But in the announcement which has lately been made, the dominant consideration appears to be the 'prestige' of the Government rather than that earnestness of purpose which actuated His Majesty's Government in London. Making all possible allowances for the circumstances of the two Governments, the coldness of sentiment which is observable in the Indian Government's announcement is certainly not a welcome sign for the success of the object which the Government in common with the people might have in view. This is a matter, which it ought to be realised, admits of no reservations whatsoever and the best method of appealing to the feelings and sentiments of the people is for the Government of India to follow the example of His Majesty's Government and proclaim a general amnesty of all political prisoners and also those persons who have been interned under the Defence of India Act."

Young India (14), 12th Sept.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 14th Sept.; *Shri Sháhu* (123), 12th Sept.; *New Times* (7), 7th Sept.

12. "We do not know what the feelings may be of the Indian bureaucracy at the colourless statement made by the Home Member of the Government of India with regard to the internment of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. The icy chillness and prosaic character of the statement as contrasted with the one which Mr. Bonar Law made in the House of Commons on June 15, on a subject of far deeper moment is strikingly prominent in the phraseology of bureaucratic 'circumlocution'......... In these days of war economies, we had expected that the Government of India which both His Excellency and the indefatigable Home Member so ably represented on this occasion would have set an example to the rest of the country by economising the use of words and telling the expectant public the hard, concrete fact that the order of internment against Mrs. Besant and her co-workers would be annulled.......... Contrast with this the touching statement made by Mr. Bonar Law on the subject of the Irish amnesty. Making all possible allowances for differences in the constitution and composition of the two Governments, it will still be found that the Imperial Government scored the biggest point when it decided upon *the release, without reservation, of all prisoners, now in confinement in connection with the rebellion in Ireland.* At the time and before that, His Majesty's Government were fully aware of the state of Sinn Fein feeling in Ireland, compared to which the Indian bureaucracy must needs find itself in a paradise of political moderation and sanity. And yet such is the rigidity of bureaucratic custom and tendency to run in old grooves that a statement, free from equivocation and calculated to stir the hearts of the people, could not be made....... Though the clumsy and cumbrous phraseology might suggest to an untutored mind that the Government of India will be ready to condone 'unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation' after the war, one might discern in the multitudinous phraseology of the Indian Government that it now feels convinced of the great political mistake made by the Madras Government, obviously under inspiration from the political circular of March last of the Government of India." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—It is greatly to be regretted that Government desire Mrs. Besant to give an undertaking that she would refrain in future from carrying on unconstitutional agitation. No one will blame her if she rejects this conditional offer. The Honourable Mr. Malaviya has given notice that he would bring forward the question of Mrs. Besant's release at the Legislative Council meeting to be held on the 19th instant and His Excellency the Viceroy has allowed the motion to be included in the agenda and thus averted the possibility of the elected members resigning their seats in a body. The *Shri Sháhu* says that people should not abate their agitation even if Mrs. Besant is released from internment and exhorts the leaders to carry on the agitation until the goal of Home Rule is reached. The *New Times* writes:—"We cannot think the reply of Sir W. Vincent and the Viceroy's speech are a political manœuvre. We regard them as a sign of a return of that true political statesmanship of which the secret is compromise and which conciliates the dominant tendencies of the day. The Government of India has, we are glad, shown some power of grasping the situation, and a readiness to get out of its old vicious circle of official prestige and move in a new orbit."]

Islamic Mail (4), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.

13. "Lord Chelmsford has had to bend his knee before the storm of popular fury and to release all the interned persons. We thank him for it as it restores some of our Muhammadan friends to their sphere of work in the community; but we very much doubt the wisdom of the policy His Excellency has undertaken. It was a grievous error to have interned Mrs. Besant now when she had acquired some tangible influence over the minds of the people. But to have undone it is worse still; for we have no hesitation in saying that people will not be wanting who will misconstrue it as a weakness. We expected the moral of the annulment of of the Partition had not been lost upon Government......... We understand Messrs. Mahommed Ali and Shaukat Ali will also be released and thank the Government for it. We only hope that the internment has chastened the over-zeal of our friends and they will work for the community in a sober spirit. Mr. Zafar Alikhan has already been released and allowed to resume his journalistic work We hope the Bengal Government will treat the case of Moulana Azad in the same way."

Comments on the reply in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the confidential circular to the Provincial Governments regarding Home Rule movements.
Hindusthán (20), 12th Sept.

14. The *Hindusthán* refers to the secret circular which, it writes, the Government of India admit to have issued to the Provincial Governments permitting them to take what steps they thought fit in connection with the Home Rule movement, and expresses its disapprobation of the policy of Government in not publishing the said circular. It believes that the issuing of a circular like the present did not bespeak any wisdom or high statesmanship on the part of its authors. It, however, thanks the circular and those who gave birth to it, remarking that but for the circular and but for the attempts of some Provincial Governments to carry it into effect the progress of the Home Rule movement would neither have been as rapid as it has been of late nor would the movement have been so widely popular.

Comments on the attacks of Mr. Webb and the *Daily Gazette* of Karáchi on the national movement in Sind.
New Times (7), 6th and 10th Sept.

15. "Mr. Webb's unfortunate letter, closing on a charge as absurd as it was unexpected against three Sindhis, continues to be the talk of the Province and is indignantly attacked by increasing numbers of Indians. It is impossible as it is undesirable to publish all the letters on the subject which have been sent us from different quarters. It is equally impossible to ignore the fact that the indignation provoked by the letter increases every day.......... We earnestly believe that they who, in this dark hour of the world's history, undermine, by wild words and insolent conduct, the people's confidence and affections based on faith in England's freedom-mission to the world—they are infatuated jingoists, sectarian in their outlook and therefore not true servants of the Empire." [In the subsequent issue the paper writes:—"No more successful, no more unfortunate method could be found to crush all desire for recruitment, all enthusiasm for the War, than to direct ruthless attacks—as Mr. Webb and the *Daily Gazette* do—at the National Movement.......... If representatives of Anglo-Indian opinion in Sind, such as Mr. Webb and the *Daily Gazette*, be in the perverted temper they have recently shown, they may be sure they will annul the effects of Mr. Montagu's announcement and the Viceroy's great speech. Nothing to our mind is so mischievous in this hour of the Empire's need, as to utter wild words against our national aspirations and the activities of our political associations.......... Even the Negroes of German Africa are to be consulted in regard to the form of their Government, and if the people of the Sind have awakened to a sense of their duty and their mission in shaping the counsels of the Nation in the matter of India's demand for self-government, should we not all be glad of the hour and the opportunity?"]

Government should take steps against those who set up non-Brahmins against Brahmins.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 14th Sept.

16. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the anti-Home Rule manifesto issued by non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency and declares that they are being set up and instigated by those who are opposed to the political progress of India. It is of opinion that the present activities of the enemies of India in this direction will fail as miserably as those that were directed towards alienating the Muhammadans from the national cause. It draws the attention of Government to the attempts that are being made in various quarters to foment racial hatred and asks why

the people who are guilty of such a crime are not prosecuted under section 153A of the Indian Penal Code. It asks Government not to connive at these harmful activities when they themselves want that the country should be quiet at the time of Mr. Montagu's visit.

Comments on the forthcoming visit of Mr. Montagu.
Young India (14), 12th Sept.

17. L. G. Khare writes in *Young India* :—"I need not remind readers of this Weekly that there are still some persons in our political world here who have not forgotton how when Mr. Montagu was here last time, his monocled vision became blurred, although he tried to have a peep into Indian politics with the best of intentions. Now he will be again with us, and we are expected to give him another chance, with the hope that he will persuade others to give us some little chance too in guiding the destinies of India.......... We in India must remember that we have to make the most of Mr. Montagu. It will be a mistake to adopt at this time an attitude of sullen resentment. That does not, however, mean that we should forget the main issue. We have still to chafe under the extremely un-British practice of limiting the right of movement and free speech of a British citizen simply by the fiat of Executive authority. No parleying with Mr. Montagu is possible until the interned are set at liberty and Government in India becomes again truly British. Those who see no other means of showing their resentment against such executive arbitrariness have had to discuss how far methods of passive resistance would have to be resorted to. We venture to suggest to the older Indian politicians that the Passive Resisters do not by any means imply that their personal hardihood ought to be blessed with the sanction of those who have been running arm-chair politics. There always yawns a gulf between the politics of protest and the politics of action. Nor is there any necessity for frittering away our energies in discussing with the people in the other camp what are the exact methods of passive resistance. The man who is impelled to resist authority passively does not generally require to be told how to do it."

What is the duty of Home Rulers.
Mahrátta (5), 16th Sept.

*18. "Two positions are now clearly formulated. One is that the Congress-League Scheme, and nothing less is the minimum that India must have immediately after the war. And the secoud is that no discussion regarding this minimum and allied matters will be entered upon with Mr. Montagu unless and until the *fiat* of a general amnesty goes forth in regard to all our 'politicals', great and small, Sinn Feiners or Home Rulers, active rebels and conspirators or merely 'fierce' constitutional agitators, self-exiled, transported, imprisoned, interned, externed or otherwise hampered in the exercise of their citizen rights.......... There are not wanting those amongst us who would fain go back on the Congress-League Scheme and leave our suffering compatriots to their fate. But these are, we believe, a very meagre minority....... Then there are some rajas (landholders) of the Raja of Kurupam type who taken along with Dr. Nair's Non-Brahman coterie and isolated groups of Muhammadans, Parsees, Indian Christians here and there form quite a decent corps of anti-Home-Rulers. The Bureaucracy counts on the help of these Anti's with as much confidence as it counts on the help of Anglo-India. Men of Mr. Basu's 'prudence' will also render valuable service to it.......... Against these forces have we—the 'impatient' Home Rulers—to struggle. It will not be an easy contest. What the result of the various forces in the field will be—cannot be divined. And it profits not to waste any thought over idle prognostications in regard to it. Our *Dharma* (duty) is to be loyal to the Motherland—to the Goal of Freedom within the Empire that we have set before us and to press forward to that Goal along the path consecrated by the sacrifices and sufferings of the devoted soldiers of Freedom of this and other lands, of this and other times. For us, the Congress-League Scheme and nothing less. For us, a general amnesty to our politicals a condition precedent to any co-operation with Mr. Montagu. Let others go what way they will. Let us keep steadfastly to this programme. For that is our duty under the circumstances."

Comments on the removal of the Home Rule flag at Coimbatore.
Prakásh (116), 5th Sept.

19. Of late the words " Home Rule " have begun to stink in the nostrils of the bureaucracy and the District Magistrate of Coimbatore thought it derogatory to his dignity to allow Mrs. Besant to fly the Home Rule flag at her place of residence. He could not, however, proceed against her as the law does not prohibit the hoisting of such a flag. He took shelter, therefore, behind a section of the Criminal Procedure Code and ordered it to be removed on the ground that its display endangered public peace. This incident clearly shows how the law is abused on the strength of authority. Anything is possible in the regimè of Lord Pentland who does not brook even the thought of Home Rule.

The law is not against Home Rule Leagues having a flag of their own.
Shubhodaya (89), 7th Sept.

20. Commenting on the Home Rule Flag case at Coimbatore (Madras) the *Shubhodaya* says:—" Though Home Rule Leagues are being conducted openly Government have not the courage to say that they are seditious. We do not know what law prohibits Home Rule Leagues from having a flag of their own. The flag of Home Rule is not the flag of rebels. It is not the flag held aloft insolently by seditious persons. It is a flag raised by the enthusiasm of the mind. We do not think that it is proper to remove it.

Comments on the Calcutta split regarding Congress Presidentship.
Prája Mitra and Pársi (28), 13th Sept.

21. The *Prája Mitra and Pársi* is grieved at the split that has bee caused in the Congress Reception Committee at Calcutta on the question of appointing the President of the ensuing Congress. It is afraid that the conduct of some of the Indian political leaders in refusing to abide by the decision of the majority will have an adverse effect on the mind of Mr. Montagu who is to be convinced that India is fit for *Swarájya.* It does not consider the election of Mrs. Besant as the President of the Congress to be very desirable at the present juncture, but still it asks the Congress Reception Committee to respect the wishes of the majority of the Provincial Committees and not to allow their individual opinions to outweigh the recommendation of the majority and thus convince Mr. Montagu and the British public that Indians are prepared to abide by the decision of the majority in all matters.

Kesari (106), 11th Sept.

22. The squabble in the Calcutta Reception Committee has given an opportunity to our Anglo-Indian friends to intervene, and they are making an attempt to advise the Moderates to separate themselves from the Nationalists and hold another Congress. The Moderates were deceived once and they are not likely to fall a prey again to such advice. They saw that the nation got nothing from Government and thus the real cause of the *enténte* between the Moderates and the Nationalists is the stinginess of Government in the matter of political reform. The methods of the Moderates may be milder than those of the Nationalists, but Government forget that they too in their heart of hearts want the rights of *swarájya.* A separate Congress of the Moderates will not advocate the cause of the Bureaucracy and decline to have *swarájya.* Even the Moderate leaders have been the *bete noire* of the Anglo-Indian Press and we cannot divine the causes that lead them to advise the Moderates to hold another Congress. Even the Moderates have come to realise that these Anglo-Indians are selfish like the fox in the story that advised the hen to come down from its safe place on the roof. The Anglo-Indians may well understand that the Moderates will not be deceived by such artful advice and that the Nationalist party will not leave its rightful place in the Congress. Though we may fight between ourselves we shall remain in the Congress and fight. Let the Anglo-Indian Press cease offering such advice and settle some course of action with regard to the impending death that threatens the monopoly of the Bureaucracy and along with it, its own monopoly of power.

Indu Prakásh (39), 13th Sept., Eng. cols.; **Gujaráti* (16), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

23. " Is the reign of all law—Congress law—to end and that of mob law to begin? If law is still to be respected, then the moral is plain. Mrs. Besant's election to the Presidentship of the Congress was *ultra vires,* **because the meeting had been dissolved by the Chairman as no business could be transacted owing to the prevailing disorder. We have next to remember**

that, according to the Congress Constitution, the election of the President must be decided by the end of August. If it be not so decided, then the matter rests entirely in the hands of the All-India Congress Committee. Hence, the so-called meeting of the Reception Committee of yesterday, which confirmed the election of Mrs. Besant, was illegal and its decision is no decision.......... In the meantime, we give our hearty support to the proposition which Mr. N. M. Samarth will move at the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad." [The *Gujarâti* writes:—"We would still welcome an honourable compromise if it can be arrived at by the friendly intervention of influential Congress leaders from the other provinces at this supreme juncture. But if both sides are irreconcilably opposed to each other and cannot arrive at some understanding, the only remedy is the one suggested by Mr. Samarth. He has, we understand, acted *suo motu* as he was at perfect liberty to do. We do not know how far it will exercise a sobering influence upon the contending parties in Bengal."]

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

***24.** "How unfortunate and disastrous the split in the Bengal Congress Camp becomes when one realises that for the last 30 years the Indian National Congress has stood as a symbol of United India!......... We do not wish to enter into the discussion of the claims and merits of the various persons whose names have been proposed for the Presidentship. But we do maintain that the President of a national body like the Congress should be one who is in the confidence of the people and Government alike. The President is not only an accredited spokesman of the Indian people but also their responsible representative before the Government and the British Democracy. As such he should be above all blame, dishonour and suspicion."

Bombay Samâchâr (59), 14th Sept.

25. Referring to the split that has arisen in the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress over the election of the President of the forthcoming Congress session which resulted in the appointment of Sir Rabindranath Tagore as chairman of that Committee in the place of Rai Baikunth Nath Sen, the *Bombay Samâchâr* observes that the last-mentioned act on the part of a section of the Reception Committee, of appointing another Chairman without awaiting the decision of the All-India Congress Committee, indicates that the union of the Moderates and the Extremists has not proved felicitous and conducive to the best interests of the country as was apprehended when the compromise between these two political factions was brought about. The paper disapproves of the removal, by a section of the Reception Committee, of their former duly elected Chairman in the manner they have done and remarks that their action cannot be regarded as being in accord with the constitution of the Congress. It believes that in view of the recent activities of the Reception Committee it is likely that the All-India Congress Committee will consider the question not only of electing the President of the Congress but also that of selecting some place other than Calcutta for holding the forthcoming session. Regard being had to Mr. Montagu's coming visit to India, the paper wishes that instead of fixing Bombay or Madras as the place for holding the session, as suggested by Mr. Samarth, Delhi may be selected for the purpose and hopes that such a step will better enable all concerned to act in concert and in a mander best calculated to advance the interests of India.

Râst Goftâr (30), 16th Sept. Eng., cols.

***26.** "The split in Calcutta is due to a small clique which as not infrequently happens overrated its strength.......... It is quite possible that in view of the serious differences that have taken place the All-India Standing Committee may decide that the venue of the next Congress should be changed if any other place can take the responsibility of holding the Congress at such short notice. Mr. Samarth has given notice of a motion to that effect at the meeting of the All-India Standing Congress Committee. He suggests that the Congress should meet either in Madrass or in Bombay. By this apparently simple device Mrs. Besant would be excluded from the Presidentship of the Congress, for she cannot come to Bombay and she cannot be President at Madras.......... The election of the President has been already made by the emphatic and unanimous voice of the country, and the Central Committee of the Congress has merely to ratify it. Mr. Samarth will find out his mistake at Allahabad, and he certainly cannot read the signs of the times."

27. **Mr. Venkatesh Ganesh Deshpande of Mauje Dalaj (taluka Indapur, Poona District) has sent us some papers. He has sent applications to the authorities describing the troubles he had to undergo at the hands of the Mamlatdar about his contribution to the War Loan. He has also asked for an open inquiry into his case. We do not wish to write anything more about the matter but we think that the Collector should hold an inquiry as requested by the applicant.**

Alleged highhandedness of the Mamlatdar of Indapur (Poona) for securing contributions to the War Loan.
***Kesari* (106), 11th Sept.**

28. A correspondent writes to the *Message*:—"That Germany's ideals are different and worse than those of Great Britain and that therefore, it is better to be under the latter than the former, no sensible man can deny. Indians have proved loyal to the Empire on account of this consideration among others. But, as suggested in a note in the *Modern Review*, it is a question worth pondering over, whether, after all is said and done, it would not have been better for some British dependencies to have been under Germany. The German connection would have assuredly proved detrimental to the dependecy till and during this war but it would have been perhaps emancipated after the war and got that form of Government which was desired *by the people*. Mr. Lloyd George and other responsible persons have more than once expressed the belief that the German Colonies cannot be restored to Germany and that in the settlement of the form of Government of those Colonies, the wishes of the people in the Colony will form the dominant factor. This means that after the hell of remaining under Germany and the purgatory of the war, the German Colonies will see the heaven of Freedom. But the irony of fate is that this heaven of Freedom will not be accessible to British dependencies soon after the war, as in the case of the German dependencies, but only after *gradual* and *progressive* and *cautious* stages, continued for how long a period God only knows."

German Colonies will get freedom sooner than India.
Message (6), 15th Sept.

29. "We are beholden to Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan for his inspiring speech which he delivered at the Anjuman-i-Islam Hall, Bombay, on the eve of his departure to England. We commend the speech to Messrs. Pirbux, W. M. Hassanally and others of their way of thinking in Sind who will see that they are antediluvian in so far as the Mussalman opinion about the politics of the day goes.......... His Excellency the Viceroy is visiting Karachi towards the close of the next month. They, like the Three Tailors of Tooley Street, are anxious to assure His Excellency that the Mahomedans are against Home Rule—an expression synonymous with what the older generation of the Congressmen call Self-Government and what the Secretary of State has called Responsible Government. We know that the Honourable Khan Bahadur Pirbux and Mian Wali Mahommed Hassanally are the most loyal subjects of His Majesty, but they will have the grace to admit that Sahebzada Aftab Khan is none the less.......... We think the time has come when the educated and intelligent section of Sind Mussalmans should place their body politic on a sound and stable footing. The political body should rid itself of Government servants as its members. The Sind Mahommedan Association is, in our opinion, an antiquated anachronism in so far as its present constitution goes. We may, however, add a caution that no hasty action should be taken in this direction. The matter needs to be thrashed out in all its bearings."

Sind Mussalmans and politics.
Phœnix (8), 5th Sept.

30. Commenting on the letter of a Moslem correspondent in the *Bombay Chronicle* protesting against the amendment in the Moslem address to His Excellency the Viceroy suggested by the Honourable Mian Pir Bux, to the effect that the Sind Moslems dissociated themselves from the Home Rule movement, the *Islámic Mail* remarks:—"The Moslems in Sind have made no secret of their apathy to the Home Rule movement and many institutions have openly expressed themselves against the Home Rule

Islámic Mail (4), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.

movement. Our friend on fire cannot have forgotten the denunciations against the rabid agitation made by two districts in his province. Like the Madras Moslems the Musalmans in Sind do not favour the Home Rule movement and it was quite proper for the Honourable Mian Pir Bux to suggest the insertion of a clause in the address expressive of the Moslem feeling. It may be *khushamad* but it was a right step and we do not find any fault in it......... While on this subject, we are reminded again of the necessity of proclaiming the Moslem attitude towards the Home Rule movement. At the last Congress-League Conference at Bombay the Moslem tendency was to keep away from this pernicious movement. But why not make a bold declaration on the subject?"

Comments on the suggestion that Mr. Mahomed Ali should be elected as President of the next session of the Moslem League.

Islamic Mail (4), 9th Sept., Eng. cols.

31. "The Musalmans of Calcutta suggest the name of Mr. Mahomed Ali of the *Comrade* for the Presidentship of the next session of the Moslem League but excepting the fact that it rhymes with the decision of the Congress to appoint Mrs. Besant to preside there is no attractive feature in this proposal. There is nothing in common between Mr. Mahomed Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan. We know Mr. Mahomed Ali to be a *pucca* Musalman and great believer in the dictum Muhammedan first and Indian afterwards. Then he does not belong to the lawyer class who hold the monopoly of communal works. Now that the League is merged in the Congress it is futile to keep up the old cleavage and hold a separate meeting. But if name and fame must be achieved by means of a separate pageant the most suitable names for the Presidentship would be those of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Tilak. They were treated as heroes and given ovations at the last meeting of the League, and it would be quite in keeping with the new spirit which moves Mr. Wazir Hasan and his friends to give them an opportunity of helping their protege."

Appreciation of the Bombay Government's decision not to move to Mábábleshwar for the October season.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

***32.** "While the idea of 'Government in the clouds' still lingers in the mind of those responsible for the governance of North Eastern India, we have on the other side the handsome and graceful announcement of His Excellency Lord Willingdon that the Bombay Government will not make their annual move to Mábábleshwar in October next. There have been many acts of Lord Willingdon's Government that have commendably appealed to the right-thinking and educated classes of the Presidency. The recent decision adds one more to the long list and the Government of Bombay are to be congratulated on their decision inasmuch as it gives practical proof of their desire for economy. .... We trust the example of the Bombay Government will be followed by other Provinces."

Parsis and the National movement in India.

Rást Goftár (30), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Jám-e-Jámshed* (23), 15th Sept.

***33.** "If the Parsis hold aloof from the national movement they will suffer and not the movement. Is it forgotten that Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozeshah Mehta were among the greatest national leaders and so is Sir Dinsha Wacha today? Their traditions should be the traditions of all Parsis. If the Parsis were now to call themselves foreigners in India they would be poor indeed without a homeland or a Motherland. Parsis have reason to be proud of the part their leaders have played in the public and national life of India, and any man who tries to alienate the Parsis from their Hindu and Muhammadan countrymen deserves to be publicly censured." [The *Jám-e-Jámshed* advises the community to keep aloof from the Extremists and to have an independent political party of its own. The few Parsi leaders who have joined the Congress may work on its platform, but they should not fail to denounce, whether on the Congress platform or elsewhere, the improper methods of the Extremists.]

Alleged settlement by arbitration of the dispute between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Barsi.

Mahrátta (5), 16th Sept.

***34.** "A religious dispute between Hindus and Muhammadans at Barsi which lately came to a head was causing grave anxiety. We are glad to annouoce that it is settled to refer the question of the dispute to Mr. Tilak and Honourable Mr. Jinnah, by whose decision leading members from both communites have agreed to abide. The parties have also agreed not to apply to Government to intervene. The Honourable Mr. Ibrahim Jaffer and Mr. N. C. Kelkar had gone to Barsi to persuade the parties to settle their dispute privately; their success in bringing the parties to agree to the terms noted above has been due to the friendly co-operation of the leading Hindu and Muhammadan gentlemen of Barsi, to whom we heartily offer our congratulations for the good sense they have shown."

Comments on the Mahar recruiting meeting at Poona.

Kesari (106), 11th Sept.

35. Referring to the Mahar recruiting meeting recently held at Poona, the *Kesari* remarks:—Mr. Devdhar, a member of the Recruiting Board, said that the Mahar community which was oppressed by all the four castes in former times has been given an opportunity to come forward only under the British Government and that it should not let go that opportunity. Mr. Devdhar seems to have forgotten the historical fact that the Peishwas had Mahar regiments of their own, that their camp used to be pitched close to the Peishwas' camp and that Mahar regiments were disbanded only under British rule. We, however, hope that the speeches delivered at the meeting will raise the warlike spirit of the up-country Mahars and that they will take advantage of the opportunity offered and enlist in large numbers.

Russian affairs.

Prája Mitra and Pársi (28), 10th, 13th and 14th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 11th Sept.

36. Affairs in Russia are going from bad to worse. The enemy is making rapid advances in Russian territory and the fall of Riga has endangered the safety of Petrograd and Moscow. With the fall of Petrograd and Moscow the enemy will get possession of the greater portion of European Russia and the war will be protracted owing to the supplies of food-stuffs and other commodoties that the enemy will be able to get from Russia. But we feel sure that the Allies will ultimately be able to crush Germany with the help of America next year. [In the subsequent issue the paper considers it a very foolish step on the part of the Provisional Government to have dismissed Korniloff and thus weaned away the sympathies and deprived themselves of the services of an able and influential officer. It is afraid this step of the Provisional Government will lead to serious consequences. In the next issue the paper expresses fear that the task of the enemy will be greatly facilitated by the internecine quarrel between Korniloff and the Provisional Government at a time when the country is being undermined by the Maximalists. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—Unfavourable weather has prevented the Allies from continuing their offensive on the Western front. The Germans have taken advantage of this situation and are advancing in Russia. The position of Russia has thus become very critical. Let us hope that matters will take a favourable turn and that the enemy will receive the punishment it deserves.]

Rást Goftár (30), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

***37.** "While the German invasion is becoming a growing danger Russia is face to face with civil war. M. Kerensky has or seems to have supreme power, but General Korniloff instead of submitting to him is marching on Petrograd with the evident intention of seizing the capital and establishing a military dictatorship. According to later information issued by M. Kerensky General Korniloff's movement is collapsing, but the danger will not pass until the General submits or is arrested. The order of arrest has been issued but its execution means a conflict between Government troops and the troops who are standing by the General. The situation is about as grave as can be. There is no news of the operations of German troops in or beyond Riga, and this dearth of news is ominous. Germany will not hesitate a moment to take the fullest advantage of the internal trouble in Russia. That is where the real danger lies and any day we may hear of extraordinary developments."

Shubhodaya (89), 3rd Sept.

38. The *Shubhodaya* condemns the Russian revolution and says that the British Government who were friends of the Emperor of Russia thoughtlessly recognized the new Government of Russia. It further adds that the Russian Emperor was the moving spirit of the Great War and that when the Great War began there was no idea of the protection of small kingdoms and of the spread of the democratic spirit. It goes on :—It was after the defeat of Belgium that the Allies declared that the war had been undertaken for the protection of small nations and not for self-aggrandisement. It was only after the participation of America in the war that the cry of the democratic spirit has been raised. The British Government who had adopted the cry for some political purpose announced, lest they be charged with lip-sympathy, that something would be given to Indians and that Indians were honest folks. Indians are rightly pleased with this promise which is not three months' old and which is a wordy one. The Tsar who began the war never hesitated to sacrifice his men and money. He gave anything and everything the Duma and the officers wanted. The Russian officers utilising the Army in their hands arrested suddenly and foolishly the Emperor and gave an opportunity to the rise of anarchy. Modern historians think that under the Tsars, Finland and the Ukarine and other Provinces would possibly have unified. The war also was going on well under one man. All the disasters have taken place because there was a premature revolution effected by thoughtless officials. If they wanted a democratic Government, they should have expelled the King after the successful termination of the war.

Complaint that the accused in a gang case being tried at Sátára are being treated in an inhuman manner.

Shri Shdhu (123), 5th Sept. ; *Prakásh* (116), 12th Sept.

39. A correspondent complains in the *Shri Shdhu* that the accused numbering about 50 in a gang case, which is being tried at Sátára before a special Magistrate, are being treated in a manner prejudicial to their health. He says that according to a report this inhuman treatment that is being accorded to them has already resulted in the death of one or two of them and invites the attention of the authorities to the matter. [The *Prakásh* repeats the story of the death of some of the men and says that the accused, among whom are some very old and feeble men, are taken to the court through rain and mud without the least attention to their health.]

Comments on the report of the Immigration Conference.

Mahrátta (5), 16th Sept.

*40. " The *Leader* in commenting on the report of the Immigration Conference says that 'under the scheme proposed by the inter-departmental Committee, the Indian Government is presumably to appoint such agents and to pay the cost out of the public revenues'. The scrappy report that has been published by the Government of India certainly justifies such a presumption as the *Leader* has made. We hope, however, that the presumption is incorrect. For the *Leader* says, with perfect truth, that these recruiting agents with their prestige of being Government servants will carry great terror into the villages and will be almost irresistible. Indian opinion can never tolerate such a retrograde measure. Recruiting labour for the Colonies has been almost universally condemned in India, for the simple reason that experience has proved that the recruiters practise, as a rule, unthinkable frauds on their victims. If these traffickers in human lives are given the status of Government servants, it is certain that their power of doing evil will greatly increase. If, therefore, Government desire the support of Indian opinion to recruitment of Indian labour for the Colonies, the best thing that they must do is not to enhance the status of the recruiter, while introducing powerful checks to prevent abuse of the privilege conceded to him of going about the country and inducing men to 'try their luck' in the Colonies."

Comments on the suspension of the publication of the *Eastern Chronicle*, an Assam newspaper.

Mahrátta (5), 16th Sept.

*41. " No straightforward course seems to appeal to the bureaucrats. The *Eastern Chronicle*, we learn, is 'One of the few, if not the only paper, which has unreservedly advocated the cause of Home Rule.' In this fact, perhaps, lies the root of the D. C.'s refusal to accede to the request of the Company that the legal requirements of the case having been complied with he might be pleased to allow the press and the paper to work pending decision of the Public Debt Office.......... The District Magistrate who accepted the Notes in October 1913 was bound to see if they were properly negotiated and endorsed, and we may take it that he did see to this detail according to his lights and the legal advice that was then available to him. If the District Magistrate would say that he failed to investigate the legality of the endorsement, the fault would lie with him. Surely, no fraud was committed upon him, even supposing that the Secretary erred in the matter, and the Magistrate has no obligation to look carefully into the technicallities of endorsement, etc., before accepting the Promissory Notes. Under these circumstances, to subject a Printing and Publishing Agency to heavy loss even after it had ratified the Secretary's action (the only legal remedy that can be conceived in the matter) is pure oppression. But it is of a piece with the traditions of the bureaucrat."

Comments on the order of Government directing Kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination.

Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 11th Sept., Eng. cols.

42. Referring to the recent order of Government directing Kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination, a correspondent of the *Karnátak Vaibhav* remarks :—" No one can deny that it is exceedingly difficult to resume study and appear for the Examination at the age of thirty or so. In spite of this difficulty some of the Kulkarnis determined to appear for the Examination and sent in their applications ; but the authorities concerned rejected their applications with a remark that candidates of more than 25 years of age will not be admitted. It is a sad story indeed. The majority of them have to sit idle. It is strange why the Government violated their own principle 'Do not embasrass the Government, etc.,' by raising this controversial question.......... I hope that Government will be moved at the sight of the vatandar's deplorable condition and will cancel this order or will postpone the execution of the order to a distant date ; and I further strongly hope that our Honourable members will earnestly try to redress this grievance of Kulkarnis."

The question of the term of revenue settlements in Sind.

Sind Journal (10), 6th Sept.

43. " The question of enhancing the settlement period in Sind to at least 30 years as prescribed in the Bombay Land Revenue Code has not been set at rest by the publication of the Report of the Sind Settlement Committee after a long delay. The thinking public of Sind has been demanding the extension of the period of settlement to a sufficiently long term to produce a sense of security in the minds of zamindars who do not, as a rule, invest large sums of money for fear of the revenue assessment on their lands being raised at the next revisional settlement.......... The decision of the Bombay Government that the period of settlement should normally be for twenty years, except in areas in which important projects are under consideration or which are particularly exposed to the vagaries of the river, has failed to give satisfaction.......... In the Punjáb the term of settlement was sought to be increased by the non-official members of the Council by moving a resolution that 30 years should be the ordinary period of guarantee.......... Sind has not been placed on a footing of equality with the Punjáb which it much resembles. We must, therefore, press our claim for a 30 years' settlement which is by no means excessive."

LEGISLATION.

The Usury Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 10th Sept. ; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 13th Sept. ; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 14th Sept.

44. Dwelling upon the sorry plight of those who borrow money at usurious rates of interest, the *Bombay Samáchár* wishes that the members of the Imperial Legislative Council will see their way to support the Usury Bill that has been brought before the Council. It strongly supports the provision of the Bill which seeks to empower the judge to re-open and re-examine the whole transaction between lender and borrower if the conduct of the former towards the latter appears to be unfair or unconscionable.

It, however, feels disinclined to endorse the suggestion for fixing the maximum rate of interest or for inserting a provision precluding the lender from recovering at any time more than double the amount he had actually advanced to the borrower. [While expressing gratification at the aims and objects of the Usury Bill, the *Sánj Vartamán* doubts if the provision that has been actually made in that behalf will effectually prevent the money lenders from charging high rates of interest. It remarks that a Bill like the present which affects the interests of hundreds of thousands of people should be fully published, if not earlier, at any rate at its first reading for the first time in the Council. The paper believes that it is the duty of the State to liberate the cultivating classes of this country from the clutches of heartless money lenders by fixing the maximum rate of interest on the loans which the latter advance. It also suggests that Government should start banks particularly for the benefit of agriculturists and thus provide them with facilities for securing loans at the moderate rate of interest of four or five per cent. per annum. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also welcomes the Bill and hopes that it will tend to give relief to the poor classes. It observes that Agricultural Banks started by the State and advancing money on the ordinary banking system will ordinarily prove to be of greater practical utility than an Act which aims at putting a check upon heavy rates of interest.]

Gujaráti (16), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

***45.** "The retrospective operation that has been given to the provisions of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act, so far as the taking of past accounts and reopening of past transactions are concerned, has worked a serious hardship especially upon the heirs of the original creditors. We notice that not only a similar effect is proposed to be given to the provisions of the Usury Bill, but it goes even further. If after reopening old transactions there is found to be an excess in favour of a debtor, the creditor will be compelled to refund it. That is not the law even under the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act and we think the provisions of section 2(1) are excessively sweeping and stringent and will entail enormous hardships upon creditors and their heirs. We are strongly opposed to the reopening of old transactions entered into and settled before the commencement of the Act and especially against granting refunds.......... The present legislation affects the whole country and, although its aims and objects are unexceptionable, the provisions of section 2 are so wide and elastic, nay so sweeping, that they demand careful consideration not only at the hands of the Councillors, but also of money-lenders and the public in general. We readily concede that the poor and ignorant ryot deserves to be protected against the extortionate demands of grasping and unscrupulous sowkars. But money-lenders are of great help not only to the ryot, but even to Government whose dues would never be paid punctually without their timely assistance."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Government circular regarding students and political meetings.

Gujaráti (16), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

***46.** "We have already commented upon the circular No. 1405, issued by the Secretary to Government, Educational Department, prohibiting students from attending any political meetings, especially those convened by the Home Rule Leagues or any public meetings at which Home Rule is advocated.......... How the circular issued by the Bombay Government is apt to operate in an unreasonable manner is best illustrated by the petition which no less than five hundred students of of the Government Law School have addressed to His Excellency the Governor-in-Council. They are graduates of the University and are entitled to vote at municipal and university elections. But according to the circular they cannot be permitted to attend even a session of the National Congress or the Provincial Conference or a meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association or the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee at which the question of self-government for India within the Empire may be considered........ When parents and their boys feel strongly that a prohibitive order is unjust and unreasonable, Government cannot succeed in adding to their moral prestige by continuing an anomalous state of things like the one created by the precious circular in question......... The reports that have reached us regarding the conduct of some of the students of our local colleges are not altogether satisfactory.......... But we cannot stand up in support of sweeping prohibitive orders which are directly calculated to induce disobedience and positively weaken, instead of strengthening, their faith in the fairness and good intentions of the higher authorities who are responsible for such circulars."

Comments on the Government Press Note on Urdu education in the Presidency.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 14th Sept.

47. The *Political Bhomiyo* expresses its strong disapprobation at the Press Note issued by Government in August last in connection with the teaching of Urdu to the Muhammadan children in the Bombay Presidency. It remarks that there is no wonder if the Moslem community were to grow impatient at it. It believes that the present action of Government will greatly help the leaders of the Home Rule League and others in winning over the Moslems to their side. It cannot comprehend what reasons have led Government to abandon their experiment of teaching Urdu. The paper goes on to attribute the failure of the experiment to the system Government adopted of teaching all subjects in Urdu without providing satisfactory and requisite means for the purpose. It believes that no occasion would have arisen for Government to issue a Press Note like the present if they had decided to teach Arithmetic, Accounts, Book-keeping, etc., to the Muhammadan children in the local vernaculars and Geography, History, Object Lessons, etc., in Urdu after getting text-books on these subjects that are taught in Government schools, translated into Urdu. The paper regards the reasons assigned in the Press Note for the failure of the abovesaid experiment as quite untenable. It does not admit that communities like Mansuris, Kujafaroshes, Khojas, Memons, Borahs, and others speak local vernaculars in their homes, but remarks that they speak languages which are all corrupt forms of the Urdu language. The paper concludes with hoping that, regard being had to the importance of the knowledge of Urdu to Muhammadan children, Government would be kind enough to alter their present decision in a manner that may be in keeping with the wishes of the Muhammadans.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Simla Education Conference.

Shetkari (41), 9th Sept.

48. We have always been contending that the education we receive is unsuited to our requirements. Government do not give us the right sort of education themselves nor do they allow the people to do so. Their educational policy is directed towards making us what they wish us to be when we are grown up. When the rulers and the ruled differ from each other in race, religion, customs, etc., the former are always anxious to perpetuate the subjection of the people to the authorities and education that would strengthen the sentiment of self-respect among the people is scarcely ever given. Our present Viceroy entertains the unnatural and atrocious ambition of making English the *lingua franca* of the whole of India and with that object in view he desires that it should be taught to Indian boys at a very early age. In this connection we would commend to His Excellency's attention the report of the London Education Committee which shows how even educated Englishmen are unable to express themselves in good English though it is their mother tongue. Let His Excellency first study that report and then proceed with his project to teach English to Indians. Does he mean to reduce the whole of the Indian nation to barbarism by insisting upon the teaching of English to Indians from their childhood? The proposed step, if taken, will make us strangers both to English and to our own vernaculars.

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the shooting affray in the G. I. P. Railway workshop at Parel (Bombay).

Gujaráti (16), 9th Sept.

49. The G. I. P. Railway workshop at Parel was the scene of disturbance last week and a European foreman is reported to have fired a revolver at one of the operatives. If the foreman wanted merely to frighten the workmen he should have fired in the air, but he has inflicted a wound on one of them. A question naturally arises whether the foremen of the G. I. P. Railway workshops work with loaded revolvers in their belts. If it is so, it is a conclusive proof that the relations between the workmen and their superiors are strained. The matter calls for Government enquiry. We hope that His Excellency Lord Willingdon will do the needful.

Promises given to the G. I. P. Railway strikers have not been kept.
Kesari (106), 11th Sept.

50. The *Kesari* complains that the promises given to the G. I. P. Railway strikers by His Excellency have not been kept and that some of them have been transferred to distant places and that some had to resign their posts on account of the inconvenience caused to them by such transfers. It also refers to the recent rioting in the work-shop and the prosecutions launched against the workmen and says that the Company has begun to harass the workmen and that it is the duty of His Excellency to compel the Company to fulfil the terms settled before. The paper trust that His Excellency will settle permanently the question of the grievances of the workmen, whatever may be his personal inconveniences.

MUNICIPALITIES.

A complaint against the President of the Poona Municipality.
Kesari (106), 11th Sept.

51. A Poona Municipal Councillor writes to the *Kesari* and complains that the President of the Poona City Municipality holds back from the agenda paper resolutions duly submitted to him by the Municipal Councillors. He says that three such cases, out of which two have been privately settled by the President, have occured. He adds :—There was nothing objectionable in the resolution rejected by him in the third case. It was only asked that the Chief Executive officer should personally bear the expenses the municipality had to bear owing to his negligence in a civil case. The President should explain whether this is not pure repression and what right he had to delete the resolution from the agenda.

A controversial measure like the introduction of house tax in various places in Sind should not be mooted by Government during war time.
Sind Patrika (48), 1st Sept., Eng. cols.

52. "It is a pity that at this critical moment when the empire is engaged in a life and death struggle with a powerful and unscrupulous foe, the authorities in Sind should have thought it fit to arouse the most bitter controversy by throwing like a bomb shell the proposal in one way or the other of taxing houses in so many places in Sind. Government by an official declaration is pledged to moot no controversial question during the pendency of the war and it is a wonder that the authorities in Sind should have cleanly forgotten this pledge. It is unfortunate that the question of house tax has been raised at the time when the election franchise is being bestowed on the town. In our opinion the raising of this question *pari passu* with the bestowing of the franchise of election would take off much that is attractive in the said franchise. If will also then be hard to resist the conclusion that what Government is offering with one hand it is taking away with the other. .... We request the authorities not to leave this impression to gain ground......... If the Government is really enamoured of the merits of house Tax, let the question come before the elected Board. Should it find favour with them, there will be no opposition to it."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 21st September 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [**No. 38 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 22nd September 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule:

Appeal to Jains to take part in the *Swarájya* movement . . . 36
Appeal to Mrs. Besant to decline the Congress Presidentship . . 26
Comments on a proposal that Muhammadans and Hindus should participate in each other's festivals 39
Comments on the announcement regarding procedure during Mr. Montagu's visit to India . . . . 17 & 18
Comments on the Calcutta Congress split . . . . 27 & 28
Comments on the decision of the District Magistrate of Coimbatore in the Home Rule flag case 35
Comments on the proposal to elect Mr. Mahomed Ali as President of the next session of the Moslem League 30
Comments on the release of Mrs. Besant . . . . 19—25
Comments on the restrictions imposed on the liberty of speech of Mr. S. M. Paranjpe of Poona 33
Expected release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali . . 29
Indians must agitate to get all political prisoners freed . . . 34
Mr. Tilak's recent visit to Wái (Sátára) 37
The Congress-League scheme of reforms should provide for representation of backward classes and minorities. . . . . . . 31 & 32
The Government of India is not acting as a national Government . 16
The Muhammadan address to His Excellency the Viceroy at Karáchi should contain a demand for Home Rule 38
The Viceroy's announcement about the abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgam 15
Co-operative Societies: Comments on the progress of the Co-operative movement in the Presidency 47
Ganapati festival: Comments on the Poona District Magistrate's Notification about the Poona Ganapati Festival 45

Imperial Legislative Council:

Comments on Sir M. O'Dwyer's speech in the — . . . . . 1—5
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sarma's motion in the — regarding recommendations of the Public Services Commission in respect of the manning of the Indian Civil Service 13
Comments on the Viceroy's opening speech in the — 14
Interpellations in the — . . . . 11 & 12
Suggestions regarding the publication of the proceedings of the — . 10
The Viceroy on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech . . . . . 6—9

workshops work with loaded revolvers in their belts. If it is so, it is a conclusive proof that the relations between the workmen and their superiors are strained. The matter calls for Government enquiry. We hope that His Excellency Lord Willingdon will do the needful.

Promises given to the G. I. P. Railway strikers have not been kept.
Kesari (106), 11th Sept.

50. The *Kesari* complains that the promises given to the G. I. P. Railway strikers by His Excellency have not been kept and that some of them have been transferred to distant places and that some had to resign their posts on account of the inconvenience caused to them by such transfers. It also refers to the recent rioting in the work-shop and the prosecutions launched against the workmen and says that the Company has begun to harass the workmen and that it is the duty of His Excellency to compel the Company to fulfil the terms settled before. The paper trust that His Excellency will settle permanently the question of the grievances of the workmen, whatever may be his personal inconveneiences.

MUNICIPALITIES.

A complaint against the President of the Poona Municipality.
Kesari (106), 11th Sept.

51. A Poona Municipal Councillor writes to the *Kesari* and complains that the President of the Poona City Municipality holds back from the agenda paper resolutions duly submitted to him by the Municipal Councillors. He says that three such cases, out of which two have been privately settled by the President, have occured. He adds:—There was nothing objectionable in the resolution rejected by him in the third case. It was only asked that the Chief Executive officer should personally bear the expenses the municipality had to bear owing to his negligence in a civil case. The President should explain whether this is not pure repression and what right he had to delete the resolution from the agenda.

A controversial measure like the introduction of house tax in various places in Sind should not be mooted by Government during war time.
Sind Patrika (48), 1st Sept., Eng. cols.

52. "It is a pity that at this critical moment when the empire is engaged in a life and death struggle with a powerful and unscrupulous foe, the authorities in Sind should have thought it fit to arouse the most bitter controversy by throwing like a bomb shell the proposal in one way or the other of taxing houses in so many places in Sind. Government by an official declaration is pledged to moot no controversial question during the pendency of the war and it is a wonder that the authorities in Sind should have cleanly forgotten this pledge. It is unfortunate that the question of house tax has been raised at the time when the election franchise is being bestowed on the town. In our opinion the raising of this question *pari passu* with the bestowing of the franchise of election would take off much that is attractive in the said franchise. If will also then be hard to resist the conclusion that what Government is offering with one hand it is taking away with the other. .... We request the authorities not to leave this impression to gain ground......... If the Government is really enamoured of the merits of house Tax, let the question come before the elected Board. Should it find favour with them, there will be no opposition to it."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 21st September 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL. **No. 38 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 22nd September 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule:

Appeal to Jains to take part in the *Swarájya* movement 36
Appeal to Mrs. Besant to decline the Congress Presidentship . . 26
Comments on a proposal that Muhammadans and Hindus should participate in each other's festivals 39
Comments on the announcement regarding procedure during Mr. Montagu's visit to India . . . . 17 & 18
Comments on the Calcutta Congress split . . . . 27 & 28
Comments on the decision of the District Magistrate of Coimbatore in the Home Rule flag case 35
Comments on the proposal to elect Mr. Mahomed Ali as President of the next session of the Moslem League 30
Comments on the release of Mrs. Besant . . . . 19—25
Comments on the restrictions imposed on the liberty of speech of Mr. S. M. Paranjpe of Poona 33
Expected release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali . . 29
Indians must agitate to get all political prisoners freed . . . 34
Mr. Tilak's recent visit to Wái (Sátára) 37
The Congress-League scheme of reforms should provide for representation of backward classes and minorities. . . . . . . 31 & 32
The Government of India is not acting as a national Government . 16
The Muhammadan address to His Excellency the Viceroy at Karáchi should contain a demand for Home Rule 38
The Viceroy's announcement about the abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgam 15
Co-operative Societies: Comments on the progress of the Co-operative movement in the Presidency 47
Ganapati festival: Comments on the Poona District Magistrate's Notification about the Poona Ganapati Festival 45

Imperial Legislative Council:

Comments on Sir M. O'Dwyer's speech in the — . . . . . 1—5
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sarma's motion in the — regarding recommendations of the Public Services Commission in respect of the manning of the Indian Civil Service 13
Comments on the Viceroy's opening speech in the — 14
Interpellations in the — . . . . 11 & 12
Suggestions regarding the publication of the proceedings of the — . 10
The Viceroy on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech . . . . . . 6—9

H 273—*a* CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Police: Alleged deficiency of — protection in Dhárwár City . . . 46
Postal Department: The strike of Bombay postmen . . . . . . 41—44
Public Service: Alleged need of improving the pay and prospects of Mukhtiarkars in Sind 49
Revenue matters: Khots in Kolába should refuse to sign the new *kabulayats* 48
War: Reflections on the present political condition of Russia 40

EDUCATION—

Comments on the *personnel* of the Calcutta University Commission . . 50

MUNICIPALITIES—

Protest against the house-tax imposed by the Karjat (Kolába) Notified Area Committee 51

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Sir M. O'Dwyer's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council and his subsequent retraction.

Young India (14), 19th Sept.

1. "Sir Michael O'Dwyer gave unbridled expression to his fiery eloquence against all and sundry who have been agitating for Indian reforms. It is evident that he must have been labouring under a frenzy of supressed fury at the collapse of a policy which was pursued chiefly under his tutelage. The annals of the Imperial Legislative Council furnish nothing, as the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks, so stupid, offensive and cantankerous as this outburst of hysterical rage to which Sir Michael fell an easy victim."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

2. "Was it the expression of mere personal opinion and personal fury, or was it the result of calculated and concerted action on the part of a body of persons? In other words, was Sir Michael speaking merely for himself, or was he acting as the mouthpiece of any particular association or interest? Now there is sufficient internal evidence in the speech itself to show that it was a prepared and premeditated one.......... We might regard the whole speech as a piece of impertinence and an expression of bad temper. The question is, whether His Honour was speaking merely for himself, or was voicing the sentiments of a wider class. Had the other official members any knawledge of what he was going to say? Had the Viceroy and the Government of India any inkling of his intentions? Was Mr. Lowndes' peculiar attitude in the chair the result of anything more than personal sympathy and partiality?......... If Sir Michael spoke thus unseasonably and gratuitously, in consequence of any calculated plan and concerted action, then there is ground for grave fear. It means that there are strong forces, working under the surface, directed against the national movement, which must be reckoned with.......... The news of Mrs. Besant's release has come with dramatic swiftness upon his speech. Is it the Imperial Government's reply to His Honour's condemnation of the Indian politician?"

Indu Prakásh (39), 15th Sept., Eng. cols.

3. "The saner section of Indian politicians have always complained that the indiscreet utterances of some of the bureaucrats make the path of their—the Indian leaders'—duty more difficult. They are anxious for the victory of sobriety and moderation in Indian politics but often find that their attempts are counteracted by official indiscretions. The speech made by His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenont-Governor of the Punjab, at the Imperial Legislative Council is an instance in point.......... Sir Michael's speech has unhappily largely counteracted the good effect produced by the recent noble pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy.......... The lesson of this unhappy episode is that it should be the duty of the Government of India to courteously advise provincial rulers to be more discreet in their utterances and to avoid touching upon issues concerning the future of the country at large.......... Is there no Imperial statesman to tell some of our bureaucrats that by their unwise acts and utterances they only help the Extremists in Indian politics whom they so much abhor and condemn."

Mahrátta (5), 23rd Sept.

*4. "The Punjab autocrat, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, made a sorry exhibition of his poor-witted garrulity and want of prudence in the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 13th instant......... Sir Michael was allowed to impose his 'regrettable' manuscript eloquence upon the Council in spite of repeated objectons raised by the Honourable Pandit Malaviya, Dr. Sapru, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Mazarul Haque. The Honourable Mr. Lowndes who presided showed no regard for the feelings of the Indian members.......... Mr. Lowndes, who ought to have pulled him up, gave him a free hand and thus is responsible, in no less a measure than the Punjáb ruler, for having done violence to the feelings of the Indian Councillors and the Indian public......... Mr. Lowndes' conduct may be perfectly legal, but we cannot help saying that he must share a good part of the condemnation which has been rightly bestowed on Sir Michael."

Kesari (106), 18th Sept.

5. The *Kesari* condemns strongly Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech and says that he gave a free rein to his tongue and that he venomously attacked every other province except the Punjáb. It complains that Mr. Lowndes did not call Sir Michael to order though repeated requests were made. It adds :—Mr. Lowndes connived at the unpardonable mistake of Sir Michael and gave a finishing touch to it by immediately adjourning the meeting. Public opinion is everywhere excited. The adjournment will not, however, dispose of the question. Government themselves ask us not to raise any controversial questions and big officials make speeches that wound the hearts of the people. How are we to characterise this piece of wisdom?

The Viceroy on Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speech.
Sandesh (118), 22nd Sept.

6. The most sensible speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to removing bitterness caused by the ill-considered oration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer cannot fail to excite the love and esteem of the people. His Excellency's speech clearly shows his anxiety to bring about a reconciliation between the rulers and the ruled. We can well understand His Excellency's disappointment at finding the excellent effect produced by his first speech marred by the reckless speech of Sir Michael who took advantage of His Excellency's temporary absence to give vent to his spleen. His Excellency's conciliatory speech, however, had an electrical effect in producing a feeling of confidence in the minds of the people. Indeed His Excellency's attitude augurs well for the early fulfilment of our hopes of attaining *swarajya*.

Rást Goftár (30), 23rd Sept., Eng. cols.

*7. "The amazing indiscretion and unprovoked ill temper that the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb displayed in the Imperial Legislative Council would have been followed by severe strictures from several Indian Members of Council who had been personally attacked by His Honour, but His Excellency the Viceroy threw oil over troubled waters, and the Lieutenant-Governor expressed regret for his ill-timed outburst....... Has the Lieutenant-Governor gained in public estimation by this exhibition? Many Anglo-Indian papers had nothing but praise for his extraordinary speech......... What have they got to say about his recantation? It is not a dignified spectacle to see a Lieutenant-Governor sitting on the stool of repentance."

Message (6), 22nd Sept.

8. "The calm, sober and dignified speech of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council on Wednesday is indeed a remarkable pronouncement, and is the legitimate extension of the spirit of his first speech a fortnight ago.......... We are perfectly willing to extend the same generous consideration to the first and, as we hope, the last adventure of Sir Machael O'Dwyer into the realm of speechifying on such a controversial question as politics.......... We wish that His Honour's expression of regret was full and unqualified and also that he had gracefully withdrawn the offending portions of his speech. On the whole the impression left on one's mind on perusing the speech is that His Honour was acting under superior admonitions and tried merely to wriggle out of an uncomfortable situation. As compared with it, His Excellency the Viceroy's speech was fair and full. It is difficult to judge whether the spirit which animated the Viceroy animates all his colleagues in the Government of India. But it is clear that the Anglo-Indian elements are quite irascible over it, and that they are not in a mood to stand aside or assist the Government in conducting 'a calm and dispassionate examination' of the problems that confront British statesmanship in the country.......... It is now practically certain that the 'Anglo-Indians' are going to fight tooth and nail the Indian demand and resist it to the last drop of their blood and money. Therefore it behoves our countrymen to close up their ranks and while

co-operating with Government to such extent as may be desirable in the interests of the commonweal, to be on the guard against being 'surprised' by the forces of Anglo-Indianism."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 20th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 20th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 18th and 21st Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 20th Sept.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 16th Sept.; *Gujarát Mitra* (17), 16th Sept.

9. Now that Sir Michael O'Dwyer has apologised for his speech we shall draw a veil on the subject. His Excellency the Viceroy did well in reprimanding Sir Michael and we hope he and other officials will take a lesson from this episode. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—This is the first time in history that a Lieutenant-Governor has taken back his words. It means that the higher officials have to be mindful of public feelings. The question now arises as to whether Sir Michael should be allowed to retain his post. It is likely that he will take indirect steps to create an opposition to the measures of reform that will be suggested by the Viceroy. It would be in the interest of India that men like Sir Michael, Lord Pentland and other bureaucratic Civilians should leave India before the arrival of Mr. Montagu. The Viceroy deserves our thanks for the tact he has used in compelling Sir Michael to express regret for his speech. The Viceroy has thus shown that he possesses a large fund of political wisdom. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* considers the speech made by Sir Michael on the motion of the Honourable Mr. Shafi as very hasty and inconsiderate and such as would spoil the effect of the Viceroy's conciliatory speech. It expresses a hope that the Government of India will openly rebuke Sir Michael. In a subsequent issue the paper thanks His Excellency Lord Chelmsford for the tact he has used in pacifying the perturbed feelings of the Indian public. It wishes Sir Michael had withdrawn his words after tendering the apology. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thanks the Viceroy for taking early steps to remove the ill-feeling caused in the public mind by asking Sir Michael to apologise for his speech and thus setting an example to Provincial Governments in the matter of respecting public feelings. The *Shri Venkateshwar* and the *Gujarát Mitra* expect that Sir Michael's bitter speech will evoke a protest throughout India.]

Suggestions regarding the publication of the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council.

Hindusthán (20), 18th Sept.

10. The *Hindusthán* cannot understand why the replies made by Government to the interpellations in the Imperial Legislative Council are not published, along with other matters in the reports of proceedings that take place in that Council. Regard being had to the fact that these replies affect public interests, the paper advocates their publication. It also urges Government to revive the old system of supplying to the Press, before the commencement of a session, a complete programme of the work to be done in the Council. It further dwells upon the necessity of publishing, along with the report of the proceedings, the names of members that may be present at a particular session, as was done formerly. The paper feels confident that these three suggestions will receive due attention at the hands of Government.

Interpellations in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 18th Sept.

11. Commenting upon the interpellations in the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the reply made by Government declaring that they were considering the question of the establishment of a university for the Central Provinces. It wishes that the deliberations of Government might soon show results. The paper remarks that the days of the one-man-rule are now over and, accordingly, welcomes the reply made by the Honourable Sir William Vincent announcing the willingness on the part of Government to examine the question of appointing a Lieutenant-Governor with an Executive Council for the Central Provinces if strong public opinion were to manifest itself in that behalf. It is of opinion that the people of the Central Provinces and Berar should now lose no time in presenting their demand in this matter before Government in an unmistakable manner. The paper then goes on to dwell on the importance of keeping High Court Judges independent of Imperial or Provincial Governments and referring to the belief entertained by a section of

the public that the practice of giving high executive posts to these judges would expose them to the temptation of trying to secure the good graces of the Imperial and Local Governments, observes that the public will scarcely feel satisfied at the reply made by Government to the interpellation of the Honourable Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy regarding the appointment of Judges to high executive posts. The paper also does not approve of the present alleged policy of Government of not selecting persons holding particular sorts of political views as Indian members of Executive Councils and suggests that Government should be more liberal than at present in making these nominations.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 18th Sept.

12. The *Sánj Vartamán* characterises the reply given by Sir William Vincent on behalf of Government to the question put by the Honourable Dr. Sapru in the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council with regard to the filling up of the vacancy of the post of Advocate-General of Bengal, as nothing but disappointing. It remarks that Dr. Sapru has, in a way, carried on a proper fight in the Council on behalf of the educated Indians by means of his interpellations on this subject. While admitting that nominations for the posts of High Court Judges and Advocate-Generals are made by His Majesty the King-Emperor, the paper observes that the Government of India have indirectly a hand in these nominations, inasmuch as recommendations in this behalf are generally made by that Government. In view of the express desire that has been proclaimed by His Majesty's Government in favour of giving competent Indians high and responsible positions in the administration of their own country, the paper raises a strong protest against the appointment of a lawyer unknown in India like Mr. Gibbons to the office of Advocate-General of Bengal to the exclusion of a capable lawyer like Mr. Mitra who was temporarily appointed to that post. It hopes that in future the Government of India will not be backward in exercising all their influence, direct and indirect, in order to enable competent Indians to secure such high positions. The paper further hopes that the Honourable Dr. Sapru will not fail to persevere with a view to securing, later on, a reply from Government to his subsidiary question as to whether the Government of India were in consultation with Lord Willingdon in connection with the above-mentioned vacancy and what the opinion of His Excellency was in the matter. It believes that the reply of Government will throw an important light upon the subject.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sarma's motion in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding the recommendations of the Public Services Commission in respect of the manning of the Indian Civil Service.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 21st Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 22nd Sept.

13. The *Sánj Vartamán* endorses the arguments advanced by the Honourable Mr. Sarma in support of his resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council asking the Government of India not to accept the recommendations of the Civil Service Commission in the matter of keeping a preponderance of Europeans in the Indian Civil Service and the Police Service and adds :—The Government reply implies that Government have not yet formed any definite opinion on the subject. Sir William Vincent in his reply tried to justify the limitation placed on the Indians on the grounds of its being temporary. The question is whether the limitation placed on Indians is just or proper. How long should the Indians labour under disadvantageous conditions? The recommendation of the Commission is adverse to the best interests of the British Empire and if accepted will tend to spread acute disaffection in India. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* urges that all restrictions based on colour prejudices should be removed and that the recommendation of the Commission should be rejected.]

Comments on the Viceroy's opening speech in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Jágaruk (new), 14th Sept.; *New Times* (7), 12th Sept.

14. His Excellency the Viceroy's first opening speech at the Imperial Legislative Council meeting was on the whole satisfactory. We regret, however, His Excellency's omission to state clearly what steps Government propose to take to educate the masses. Although we welcome the announcement that the goal of British rule in India is to confer self-government on the country, we think that it would be injurious to the

interests of the masses to confer increased political powers on Indians unless efforts are simultaneously made to fit the people for self-government. The duty of educating all the classes of the people automatically devolves upon Government when they undertake reforms in the direction of representative institutions. It would be absurd to suppose that men of the upper classes can represent the interests of the lower classes also, as the interests of the two classes do not coincide. The fact is, our Government are anxious to placate the upper classes owing to the great stir created by them. Obviously they think that it is unnecessary to make primary education compulsory as the lower classes, who are most in need of such a measure, do not clamour for it. This, however, is not just. Indeed the one great need of India to-day is the spread of education. Government should, therefore, give an undertaking that primary education will be made compulsory as soon as the war is over. [The *New Times* writes:—" The Viceroy's speech has the tone and spirit of a true statesman; it does not fit in with the speeches we heard from His Excellency on former occasions; it presents a welcome contrast to the speech His Excellency made when he was kind enough to receive the Press deputation."]

The Viceroy's announcement about the abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgam.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 18th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 20th Sept.

15. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* observes that the abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgam will remove the hardships not only of the people of Káthiáwár, but of all others who have to go to and return from that province. It remarks that the public feel grateful to the Governments of Lords Chelmsford and Willingdon for thus subverting the policy of Lord Curzon who give vent to his wrath against some of the Indian Princes by levying this impost at Viramgam and thereby harassing their subjects. The paper hopes that with the abolition of the levy of the customs duty at Viramgam its levy at Ranpur and other places connected with the above-mentioned Customs Line will stop mechanically. It, accordingly, expresses its belief that Government will do well to make an express declaration to that effect without any delay for the sake of reassuring the public. [While expressing gratification at the action of Government in deciding to abolish the levying of the customs duty at Viramgam, the *Jám-e-Jámshed* also hopes that the levy of the duty will be stopped at Ranpur too. It wishes that an official resolution may be soon published in connection with the present Government measure.]

The Government of India is not acting as a national Government.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 23rd Sept.

***16.** " The Government of India has not been acting in the same way as a purely national Government would have acted. The war has proved a touchstone. Is there that enthusiasm in this country for the war as there was during the first year of the war? Is the Government aware how much some of its own officials have done to damp public enthusiasm for the war? The way in which some of the petty men in power set about collecting funds in the mofussil for the maintenance of the hospital ship contributed by the Madras Presidency, has driven more men into Mrs. Besant's camp than all the might of her oratory. A truly national Government and its officials would have not relied upon fear as the motive power of public philanthropy. In this and other directions, the Government has been a failure, and its permanent officials have mainly contributed to the failure. They have lacked vision, these winders and re-winders of red tape. They have neglected opportunities of development which will never occur again, and for purposes of proof, I will take only one or two instances. Has the Government ever thought of the possibilities of an indigenous mercantile fleet? Yet nothing has been so disastrous to India as the absence of her own merchant navy. Had ours been a truly national Government, this would have been the first problem which would have engaged its attention, the moment the frightful situation caused by the German submarine activity presented itself on the horizon....... Even now it is not too late to begin. Let the Government deliberately set to work. Let it add a marine section to all the Engineering Colleges in the country. Let Japanese ship-wrights be called out here, and immediate steps be taken in laying down large shipyards in Calcutta and Bombay. The thing can be done, if only there is the will behind it. Things pronounced to be impossible have been done during the course of the war. Let the Government remember that this is what a truly national Government would have done. Then there is the problem of high prices. These high prices are India's opportunity. We are mainly an agricultural community and we stand most to gain at this juncture.......... But beyond a few sporadic attempts in the Punjáb, I see no definite movement on the part of Government to bring in more waste lands under cultivation. There never is a department of Government more attached to red tape than the Revenue Department.......... A truly national Government would be as much mindful of the production of revenue as of its collection. The present Government's efficiency is as collector of revenue and not as a producer. And by the two instances I have cited, it can be proved that the Government has been a failure judged by Mr. Gokhale's criterion."

Comments on the announcement regarding procedure during Mr. Montagu's visit to India.

Mahrátta (5), 23rd Sept.

***17.** Commenting on the announcement regarding the procedure that will be followed during Mr. Montagu's visit, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"The suggestions made in the announcement are made with the intention of distributing to the best advantage the time at the disposal of Mr. Montagu. So far as the intention goes, there can be no question that it is a worthy intention. But we are afraid that the suggestions are not quite such as would commend themselves to Indian opinion. In the first place, the announcement that all deputations will be received by Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy jointly, will not be received without some misgiving.......... The people expected that Mr. Montagu would be a free man and would not be tied to the coat-tail of the busy Viceroy in the matter of meeting the deputations of the various sections of the community. Considering that the time of Mr. Montagu is very limited, it would be well if his programme in India is arranged with sole regard to the necessity of all variety of views reaching him in a full and exhaustive manner through accredited representatives of the several parties.......... Again, we are told that private interviews with selected members of deputations will be arranged after the presentation of the addresses. Who will select these members? We hope that this selection will be entirely left to the members of the deputations.......... Anglo-India hinted that if Mr. Montagu were to go round a free man, giving interviews to whomsoever he pleased, the Government of India would no longer be looked upon by the people with that feeling of awe (helpless dread?) which is a proper feeling in a subject nation!......... It is evidently to give no room for anxiety on this score that the 'Joint' reception of every deputation is proposed. And so, however much it may be desirable that Mr. Montagu should be a free man, it is not likely that he will be allowed to be.......... If individuals as apart from associations are, as a rule, denied interviews, more time will be available for distribution amongst representatives of the several associations in the land.......... The Associations that have a claim upon Mr. Montagu's time are at present not very many in number.......... The most important part of the affair will be to note correctly the numbers which each group represents. And here there will be difficulties of some gravity. Several groups are likely to arrogate the right of representing an identical section of the community, while putting forward views varying in principles as well as details. In such a case it will be possible for Government to know the true representatives from the false ones, only by a kind of referendum. As no such thing is likely to be attempted, and further as the Bureaucratic bias is bound to be in favour of views which condemn the Congress-League demands as too high-pitched, and as containing the seed of grave internecine troubles owing to the passing of political power from the alien bureaucrat to the native intelligentia (which, it is alleged, is out of sympathy with the masses of India and is dominated by Brahmans who, it is further alleged, will oppress the non-Brahmans)—it is to be feared that more than proportionate time will be allotted to the anti-Congress-League deputations and addresses. We are told that the announcement regarding the procedure to be followed during Mr. Montagu's visit is made in accordance with the desire of the Secretary of State. It behoves us to inform the Secretary of State that we are pained to see that this new announcement has not been preceded by one granting general amnesty to our politicals."

Kesari (106), 18th Sept.

18. The *Kesari* doubts whether Mr. Montagu would be left free to follow the bent of his mind during his visit. It also questions the propriety of the joint reception of deputations by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It says that though Mr. Montagu will have much time at his disposal, the Viceroy will not be free and that consequently it would be difficult for the people to have a free discussion with the Secretary of State. It, therefore, suggests that the restriction should be removed and that the Secretary of State should receive deputations alone. It adds:—Has the Secretary of State resolved to take so much trouble and travel so far only to suffer the restriction that he should not have a talk with anybody except under the supervision of the Viceroy?

Comments on the release of Mrs. Besant.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 20th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 19th Sept.; *Sandesh* (118), 20th Sept.

19. The release of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers shows that the repressive policy of Government is definitely at an end and that a new era of conciliation has now opened. Indeed it would have been impossible to reconcile Mr. Montagu's conciliatory attitude with the continued internment of the leaders. Indians could not have discussed political reforms with the Secretary of State with an open mind with their leaders who have suffered most in the cause of self-government still rotting in internment. The release of Mrs. Besant was deferred so long owing to the opposition of Lord Pentland. The wording of the communiqué of the Madras Government shows that he is still opposed to the step taken by the Government of India. It is indeed a great triumph of the popular party that Mrs. Besant was released unconditionally in the face of the opposition of the local Government. It is now to be seen whether Lord Pentland quietly submits to the new policy of the Imperial Government or whether he resigns his post as suggested by the *Madras Mail*. [The *Indu Prakásh* expresses its joy that in releasing Mrs. Besant Government did not allow the bogey of prestige to interfere with their desire to do an act of justice and considers her release to be a distinct triumph of the popular party. The *Sandesh* says the news of Mrs. Besant's release was received in Bombay with tremendous enthusiasm. It likens the joy felt by the people at her release to that of the people of Ayodhya when Sita returned from Ravana's captivity. The paper says that as people naturally regarded her internment as restriction placed on the *swarájya* movement, her release may now be regarded by them as the liberation of that movement. It further remarks that with her release the question of the presidentship of the forthcoming Indian National Congress has been automatically solved as eight Provincial Congress Committees have recommended her election and the objection based on her being not able to preside on account of her internment can no longer be urged. It hopes that Mrs. Besant's release would strenghten the people's confidence in the British sense of justice and encourage them to agitate with greater force for the achievement of Home Rule for India.]

Indu Prakásh (39), 19th Sept., Eng. cols.

20. "The release of Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues is a triumph of British Justice. There is no earthly Government that can never commit mistakes. The internment of Mrs. Besant was at once a mistake and a wrong. The mistake has now been rectified and the wrong righted. It was the nervousness and over-sensitiveness on the part of the authorities concerned which saw things in an exaggerated light and scented danger where there was none. The agitation and heartburning provoked throughout India by the internments created more unrest than could have been the case if there had been no internments. This is a lesson which, we respectfully suggest, some of the authorities in this country might advantageously learn from the unhappy episode which has now happily closed. The authorities have also to guard against their political vision being blurred by the foolish advice gratuitously offered to them by Anglo-Indian extremists of the type of the *Madras*

Mail. It is impossible to exaggerate the mischief of such papers flourishing their tiger qualities in the face of His Majesty's Ministers and other august representatives of the Crown in India with a view to overawe them into a surrender of their high principles and convictions."

Young India (14), 19th Sept.

21. "We do not wish to gloat over this great triumph of public opinion and the discomfiture of 'the White Brahmans' as the *National Weekly* calls the Indian bureaucrats. While one great load of anxiety has been taken off the public shoulders, there is yet another, which deserves the immediate and gracious attention of Government. We refer to the 'prohibition' orders passed against Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, whose right of free entry into the various presidencies has been arbitrarily curtailed under the Defence of India Rules. There is also the case of those two great patriots, Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, and the hundreds of young men who have been dealt with under the Defence Act. We do trust the Government of India will enlarge the circle of their sympathy and good-will so as to embrace all these cases and order the immediate withdrawal of the numerous orders. The state of public feeling is very acute in regard to these and similar other cases. A general amnesty to people who have suffered, not for any crimes committed, but for the sake of their political opinions, will be more graceful and generous and will certainly tranquilize the disturbed public mind."

Gujaráti (16), 23rd Sept., Eng. cols.

***22.** "From Mrs. Besant's message to *New India* it seems that she looks upon her release as the triumph of 'national constitutional agitation carried through without violence or disorder.' We think that this view is on the whole correct. All classes of Indians, whether her followers or not, whether they agree with her or not, sincerely rejoice that 'the Government of India are satisfied that these persons will abstain from unconstitutional and violent methods of political agitation during the remainder of the war' and that her release is unconditional. .... We have had serious differences with her in some matters, but that does not and cannot prevent us from heartily and unreservedly congratulating her and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale on their release. We also congratulate Lord Chelmsford's Government and Mr. Montagu on the generous and statesmanlike policy they have followed for the purpose of creating a political atmosphere in which questions of great importance to the political future of India can be calmly and impartially considered."

Mahrátta (5), 23rd Sept.

***23.** "It is undeniable that to our agitation, fervent and persistent, the release of Mrs Besant and her co-workers must be largely traced. Mrs. Besant's international reputation and the agitation thus caused in England by her internment has contributed its own share in bringing about the happy event of her release. And along with these two contributory causes, the good sense of the authorities in England and in India in realising the justice and expediency of the demand agitated for by the Indian public, deserves an equally prominent mention as the third contributory cause. We heartily congratulate the authorities upon the unconditional reversal of the internment orders passed against the illustrious three......... *Strength*, spiritual, moral and physical, bringeth us the best harvest of good things. *Strength* manifested in agitation has brought us back our revered leaders. To *Strength*, therefore, we offer our most heartfelt homage, and we call upon our people to build up *Strength* day by day and hour by hour in every field of national activity, for this way alone lies the hope of our early emancipation from bonds that bind us down to a stinted life in the political or in other fields."

Rást Goftár (30), 23rd Sept., Eng. cols.

***24.** "The release of Mrs. Besant is a triumph of constitutional agitation, and that triumph should be constitutionally celebrated.......... Her name is *anathema maranatha* to the majority of Anglo-Indians.......... We, therefore, attach no importance to the ravings of the *Madras Mail* and other papers of that ilk. All that we wonder at is the Madras paper being allowed repeatedly to threaten the Secretary of State for India with impunity. Is there no provision in the Press Act for dealing with an offence of this kind?"

Sánj Vartamán (31), 18th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 18th Sept.; *Deshi Mitra* (63), 20th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 16th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 21st Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 19th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 20th Sept.

25. Making an appreciative mention of Mrs. Besant's activities in the fields of religion, education and politics, and dwelling upon her public services to India for the last thirty years, the *Sanj Vartamán* expresses its great joy at the order passed by Government releasing Mrs. Besant and her associates. It remarks:—The people believe that the internment of Mrs. Besant was nothing else but an attempt to stifle public opinion. It was for this reason that the public, including not only her admirers but even her opponents, had raised their strong protest against her internment. The continued protest extending over a period of three months has at last produced its effect and Mrs. Besant and her colleagues have been realesed unconditionally. The date of her release will be written in letters of gold in the annals of India. The public now request His Excellency Lord Willingdon as well as the Punjab Government to cancel their orders prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering their territories. [The paper then goes on to advocate the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and other political prisoners and wishes Government thereby to remove all bitterness and discontent from the minds of the people. The *Hindusthán* commends the action of Government in releasing Mrs. Besant and remarks that the public thank Lord Chelmsford for thus deferring to the voice of the people. The Government of India, observes the paper, must have now realised that public discontent does not decrease but increases as a result of repressive measures. It also suggests the withdrawal of the prohibitory orders passed by some of the Provincial Governments against Mrs. Besant. The *Deshi Mitra* reproduces the above article of the *Hindusthán*. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regards the release of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues as an effective rejoinder to the alleged fulminating and angry speech recently delivered by Sir Michael O'Dwyer at the Imperial Legislative Council. It construes Sir Michael's remark that his speech above referred to may be his last speech in India as a threat of resignation of his post and observes that it will remain anxious to see, now that Mrs. Besant has been released, when this threat as well as those conveyed by the *Madras Mail* about the resignation of other authorities are carried out. The *Bombay Samáchár* congratulates both Government as well as Mrs. Besant and her associates on the honourable manner in which the whole episode has come to a close. It believes that the best interests of the country lie not in regarding the release of Mrs. Besant as a victory of one party or the other but that they lie in all parties joining hands with one another in accordance with the appeal made by Lord Chelmsford in the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council in the task of furthering the political progress of India. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the release of Mrs. Besant will not fail to spread satisfaction among the whole of the general public. It, however, wishes that the advocates of the Home Rule League will follow the advice she gave, immediately on her release, of carrying on political agitation in a spirit of moderation. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that Mrs. Besant's release has naturally produced joy among a very large section of the public. It, at the same time, maintains that no farsighted person will be in accord with a section of the extremists who ascribe her release mainly to the Home Rule agitation and who believe that Government had been frightened into releasing her as a result of the hue and cry raised by the Home Rule party.]

Appeal to Mrs. Besant to decline the Congress Presidentship.

Indu Prakásh (39), 17th Sept., Eng. cols.

26. "Mrs. Besant has rendered great services to the cause of education and of religious and national revival. She has the best interests of this country at heart, and however keen may be the difference in the political angle of vision of herself and of many of us, none can question her sincerest desire to serve and help this country. And we respectfully suggest that Mrs. Besant, knowing that the Congress is again being brought to the verge of a disaster owing to the split occasioned by disputes over her election, should nobly and gracefully declare her resolve not to accept her election this year. There are noble examples of such glorious self-abnegation in ancient Indian history of which Mrs. Besant is so justly proud......... Will Mrs. Besant rise to the occasion, refuse to accept her election, and save the nation by saving the Congress?"

Comments on the Calcutta Congress split.
Young India (14), 19th Sept.

27. Commenting on the attitude of "Young" Bengal toward Mr. S. N. Banerjee and others, *Young India* writes:—"It is high time that those who still pose themselves as *leaders* took note of this new feeling in the country and adjusted themselves to the democratic feelings and sentiments of the people. The world is up in arms against autocracies and oligarchies. Oligarchies infinitely greater and stronger than the one which has survived in our midst have been given short shrift ere this and no less a fate is in store for our home-made oligarchy, if it strives to oppose the large volume of democratic feeling in the country. We, therefore, say and say it with emphasis that the time has now come when the members of the All-India Congress Committee should rise above the intrigues and underhand methods of their surroundings and act like men of sense and judgment."

Gujaráti (16), 23rd Sept., Eng. cols.

*28. "It is not at all encouraging to notice that Sir Rabindranath should have lent even *post facto* any countenance to the proceedings that resulted in the illegal deposition of Babu Baikunthanath at a meeting which was illegally convened and the proceedings of which were altogether *ultra vires* and void......... Let the whole country decide for itself whether it is going to tolerate the growth of such a rowdy spirit inconsistent with the past traditions of India and even with the modern ways of thought and modern manners. If this state of things is to be allowed to grow, the future of India is already doomed......... For our part, as events have turned out, we feel that there is no other alternative than to change the venue of the Congress......... It is quite possible that Mrs. Annie Besant might decide to stand aloof in view of the serious split or differences that have accurred and thus cut the Gordian knot. In that event it would be possible to hold the next session of the Congress at Calcutta under the presidency of the Raja of Mahamudabad. Otherwise, the All-India Congress Committee will be bound under the constitution to transfer the 32nd session of the Congress from Calcutta to some other place, notwithstanding the gross misrepresentations and audacious insinuations in which ignorant scribes and thoughtless critics are indulging to exhilarate their benignant and patriotic souls."

Expected release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.
Akhbár-e-Islám (56), 22nd Sept.

29. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* regrets that Government have not yet passed an order declaring the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. It expects that they will be released very soon. It then refers to an association started by the latter called the *Anjuman-e-Khuddám-e-Ka'aba* for the benefit of Hajis proceeding to Mecca and praises the efforts that he made in the direction of starting a big fund for the relief of poor Hajis before his internment under the Defence of India Act. The paper believes that the best way of doing him public honour on his release, which it regards as quite imminent, is to appoint him President of the coming All-India Moslem Educational Conference and hopes that efforts will soon be made in that direction by the various bodies connected with Moslem education in India.

Comments on the proposal to elect Mr. Mahomed Ali as president of the next session of the Moslem League.
Al-Amin (133), 7th Sept., Eng. cols.

30. "To the circular of the Secretary of the Moslem League, inviting proposals for the Presidentship of the forthcoming annual sessions there should be, there would be, but one answer—Mahomed Ali, than whom none has laboured and suffered greater in the cause of Moslem democracy. As a proof of our steadfast adherence to him, 'the Cub of the Lioness' of Chindwara must unanimously be nominated for the presidential chair of the League. Though men

much lesser than him have had that honour, and it is not a great honour for Mahomed Ali, yet at this juncture any indifference to the man who taught us all that Islam stands for, would be nothing short of ingratitude. We have every reason to hope that the Leaguers, of curious composition though they are, will show themselves to be—Musalmans."

The Congress-League scheme of reforms should provide for representation of backward classes and minorities.

Mahrátta (5), 23rd Sept.

*31. "The Congress-League Scheme gives special representation to Muhammadans. And now we see an agitation going on for a similar representation to Non-Brahmans. .... It is undeniable that the perpetuation of communal differences is undesirable and that for some years at any rate the quality of the communal representatives of the 'backward' classes will be more or less below the mark. But as we have said above, it is now too late to press these considerations on the attention of our brothers of the 'lower' castes......... We appeal to our leaders to amplify the Congress-League scheme so far as the matter of representation is concerned. The joint scheme lays down that adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election. The Non-Brahman classes including the untouchables should be dealt with according to this provision regarding minorities.......... Further, the memorial which will be sent to Mr. Montagu should expressly embody this demand of communal representation for Non-Brahman Hindu sections of the Indian community as an integral part of the Congress-League Scheme.

Kesari (106), 18th Sept.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 19th Sept.

32. So far as the bureaucracy is concerned even the non-Brahmins want *Swarájya*. The non-Brahmins want only that the interests of their communities should be protected. Brahmins are willing to consider not only sympathetically but also generously all such claims. Though it may be necessary for every community to look after its own interests, the *anti*-Brahmin character given to the movement by dividing Indians into Brahmins and non-Brahmins is malicious. The charge that Brahmins denied education to other communities and put them down is absolutely false. We doubt whether the four-fold system of caste was ever in force. Whatever that be, is not the situation changing under modern conditions? The position occupied by Brahmins is due to their education. Even Government nominates Brahmins as Councillors though it is under no obligation to do so. The other classes do not care so much for education as for their occupations. Though we do not approve of communal electorates, we do not wish to oppose them. Brahmins, however, will refuse all such concessions for themselves. Non-Brahmins should confer amongst themselves and submit schemes to Mr. Montagu. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—We are for giving some special rights and concessions to the backward classes. At the same time there is a fear that these things might come in the way of national development. Mr. Gokhale's suggestion that elections should be first on a territorial basis and that supplementary elections should be held when important minorities have received less than their due share in general elections, may be adopted.]

Comments on the restrictions imposed on the liberty of speech of Mr. S. M. Paranjpe of Poona.

Gujaráti (16), 16th Sept.

33. It is surprising that the people do not raise any protest against the restrictions that are imposed by Government on the liberty of speech of individuals. Mr. S. M. Paranjpe of Poona has been prohibited from making any speech without obtaining the sanction of a District Magistrate. Government seem to be adepts in the art of possessing reasonable grounds which lead them to believe that particular speeches or writings are objectionable. If Mr. Paranjpe has really done anything that would endanger public peace, why do not Government prosecute him? How can other innocent persons be kept from doing similar acts since Government do not say what they have found objectionable in Mr. Paranjpe? It is presumed that Mr. Paranjpe has been guilty of objectionable conduct more than once. But had Government ever pointed out his mistake or had they given him an opportunity to improve himself?

Indians must agitate to get all political prisoners freed.

Mahrátta (5), 23rd Sept.

*34. "The release of the Irish Sinn Feiner rebels must hearten us to make earnest and persistent attempts to secure the freedom of our politicals to whom no graver crime than that of the Irish rebels can be brought home.......... Deny our Sinn Feiner, if you will, the freedom that his fellow idealist enjoys in another part of the self-same Empire. But deny him not the bread of the free man and the opportunity of the free man of learning to think in ways agreeable to the Spirit of the Times. Such a demand would not have been made, if the Irish Sinn Feiners had been treated in a different manner. But since they have been treated as they have been, it does not lie in the mouth of British statesman to decry any agiatation for the enlargement of our Sinn Feiner politicals as an agitation for 'the moon'. We appeal, then, to our leaders, with all the fervour at our command, to agitate vigorously for the grant of a general amnesty in regard to all our politicals, great and small, Sinn Feiners or Home Rulers, active rebels, conspirators, or suspects or merely fierce constitutional, agitators, self-exiled, transported, imprisoned, interned, externed or otherwise hampered in the exercise of their citizen rights."

Comments on the decision of the District Magistrate of Coimbatore in the Home Rule flag case.

Kesari (106), 18th Sept.

35. Commenting upon the Home Rule flag inquiry conducted by the District Magistrate of Coimbatore, the *Kesari* says:—The whole procedure is a farce. The District Magistrate is the head of the police of his District and his subordinate the District Superintendent of Police makes an affadavit before him and the District Magistrate issues orders on the strength of the affadavit. If any one complains that the order is unjust the District Magistrate becomes a Judicial officer and the District Superintendent of Police appears before him as a witness and supports his former statement. He treats the evidence of many non-Brahmin gentlemen as worthless and issues his former order as a judgment. If the Judicial and Executive Departments cannot be separated, as least the head of the police and the court inquiring into the orders passed by him should be separate.

Appeal to Jains to take part in the *Swarájya* movement.

Jain Mitra (79), 20th Sept.

36. One Vishwambhardas Gárgiya Jain writes to the *Jain Mitra* urging upon the Jain communal leaders the necessity of casting aside their indiffenence towards political movements in India and taking part in the agitation for *Swarájya* with a view to safeguarding the interests of the Jains and securing for them adequate communal representation in the enlarged Legislative Councils which India will get as a prelude to the grant of Self-government within the Empire.

Mr. Tilak's recent visit to Wái (Satára).

Moda Vritt (110), 17th Sept.; *Vrittasar* (129), 17th Sept.

37. Referring to the visit which Mr. Tilak was recently to pay to Wái (Sátára) the *Moda Vritt* says that wherever he goes he is given such a rousing welcome as even Kings might envy. It declares he has made every sacrifice for the country and suffered untold hardships in its cause, and exhorts people to show their appreciation of his services by becoming members of the Home Rule League. [The *Vrittasar* also writes in a similar strain and says that the proposed visit of Mr. Tilak, who is the uncrowned King of Maháráshtra, is being looked forward to with feelings of the utmost joy by all the people.]

The Muhammadan address to His Excellency the Viceroy at Karáchi should contain a demand for Home Rule.

New Times (7), 3rd Sept.

38. "A Muslim" writing to the *New Times* on the subject of Mussalmans and Home Rule remarks:—"Moslems regard the present time as a peculiar one and they can not let it slip without aggravating their own sufferings. This is why they joined the Hindus at Lucknow to lay the foundation stone of Home Rule for India. Mussalmans are a democratic people in politics; and in the democratic spirit of the age they see their own glorious past reflected. Home Rule for India, they

regard as a shadow of a far reaching Divine thought, indicating the vast expanse of the evolution of Muslim peoples. The spirit of the Quran, the traditions of the prophet, and the historical evidence of their brilliant achievements, sufficiently support any reading of the present age in that light. Muslims, therefore, have decided to steadfastly advocate the Rule in India by Indians.......... The educated youth of Sind disapprove of the near-sighted policy of compromise and silence as un-Islamic as much as they condemn any policy of reaction. Let this be understood once for all, that, if this time again their wishes are set at naught and a demand for Home Rule is not made in the address to the Viceroy, in very clear terms and without reserve, the leaders should expect no sympathy and confidence from the educated."

Comments on a proposal that Muhammadans and Hindus should participate in each other's festivals.

Muslim Herald (145), 14th Sept.

39. The *Muslim Herald* refers to the letter of Mr. D. V. Deshmukh published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 8th September, in which the contributor referred to the Muhammadans having taken a part in the last Dasahra festival celebrated in Bombay under the auspices of the "Utsav Mandal", and urged the Hindus to participate in the celebration of the forthcoming Muharram, thereby making the observance of Hindu and Muhammadan festivals truly national. The paper confesses its ignorance of the names of those Mussalmans who are alleged by Mr. Deshmukh to have participated in the festival or of their motives for it, and while it professes a desire for Hindu-Muhammadan union, it alleges that it is possible in worldly but not in religious matters and doubting if the participants (if any) were true Mussalmans, inquires if any Hindu can really believe in what the Mussalman festivals and observances stand for, or any Moslem can conscientiously participate in the Ganpati festival and worship the idol. It refers to the alleged injury caused by Shivaji to the Muhammadan Empire in India, and holds that no self-respecting Muhammadan can take part in the newly organised festival for commemorating his deeds and if any Muhammadan does so for the sake of show he is either wanting in a sense of regard for his religion or is a Hindu in disguise of a Mussalman. It recalls to mind how Mr. B. G. Tilak had attempted by his speeches to dissuade the Hindus from participating in the celebration of the Muharram, and refers to the murder of Mussalmans in the mosques of Poona and to their places of worship being also defiled. The paper is curious to learn why so much attention is being bestowed on the Muhammadans in these days, and concludes by remarking that the next move of Mr. Tilak may be a request for acting as an *Imam* (one who leads the prayers) on the occasion of Friday prayers.

Reflections on the present political condition of Russia.

Gujarâti (16), 16th Sept.

40. Will Russia be able to organise itself and fight against Germany? Should Russia not be able to organise itself, how will the future of Europe and Asia be affected thereby? Germany will continue to create two parties in Russia and make them fight against each other as it is doing at present. The Finns, Poles and other races want to have their old kingdoms re-established. Thus it is not possible to have peace in the internal affairs of Russia. Should Russia fall to pieces the peace for which the present war is being waged will not be secured for a generation or two. Rival nations will grab at Russian territory and fight among themselves. What will be the fate of Asiatic Russia? The Russian peril will forever be removed from India. But there is sure to be fighting for the distribution of Asiatic Russia. Britain will naturally refuse to take the responsibility of additional territory, but it will certainly take care to see that no powerful nation comes close to the Indian frontiers, and so it will see the necessity of making India very strong. Russian credit has diminished and the scarcity of foodstuffs is being felt in Russia. The cultivators have taken possession of land belonging to the nobles, but they have not the means of cultivation. The secret of Russia announcing its intention of making peace without annexations or indemnities lies in this. **Russia seems to be convinced that it will come to harm if the war is prolonged, and so it wishes for peace. Russia has**

secured democracy, but it has afforded an example of how democracy sometimes proves harmful to the people who secure it.

The Strike of Bombay Postmen.

Rást Goftár (30), 23rd Sept., Eng. cols.

*41. "The latest strike among the postmen of Bombay is a most serious affair. Unless it is promptly ended there may be a deadlock followed by disastrous effects. For the present we shall say nothing about the attitude of the authorities. But for a place like Bombay the dislocation of the postal system is nothing short of a calamity.. No matter what steps may be taken it will be impossible to cope with the huge accumulation of arrears. Who knows how many letters and others articles have been already lost? It is impossible to replace satisfactorily hundreds of trained men in a day or a week."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 19th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 19th Sept.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (30), 20th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 21st Sept.

42. The official gradation list of the postal peons enables us to say that the salaries paid to these peons are so low that they would not suffice for their maintainance in ordinary times. How can the peons then maintain themselves on these salaries in the present times when prices have gone up so high? We are glad to see that the higher Postal authorities have given an assurance about dealing sympathetically with the postal peons. The officials should manifest their sympathy in considering the case of the peons to bring the strike to an early close. This is a matter of grave importance to the public who will have to suffer serious inconvinence. The strike will not be prolonged if the popular leaders use their influence to get the grievances of the postal peons redressed. [The *Hindusthán* is also of opinion that the salaries of the postal peons are quite inadequate. It is afraid that the temporary arrangements made by the Postal authorities will result in great inconvenience to the public. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* suggests that an arbitration board should be appointed by Government to settle the dispute that has arisen between the postal peons and the Postal Department. The *Shri Venkateshwar* is of opinion that the Post Master General should have given careful consideration to the representation sent by the postal peons through their solicitors and should not have forced them to go on a strike. The *Akhbár-e-Islam*, while admitting that the salaries of the postal peons are extremely low, wishes that they had not gone on strike and had resumed work when they were assured by the Post Master General that their salaries would be enhanced.]

Gujaráti (16), 23rd Sept., Eng. cols.

*43. "There is an impression in some quarters that the war has enormously benefited India. It is an assertion that will not bear examination in its sweeping form. Particular sections of the population have no doubt profited, but large classes have immensely suffered.......... Living has become costly all round and we are not surprised that the postmen have felt the bitter pinch of high prices and scarcity. Their daily task is a very burdensome one. Since the introduction of cheap cards their duties have become tenfold more taxing than before. Mill-owners have seen the wisdom of increasing the wages of their operatives from the month of June. They, too, were face to face with a grave problem and we are glad to notice they have solved it wisely. The B. B. & C. I. Railway authorities continued to be obdurate for some time. But they, too, have had to yield to the inexorable demands of justice. There is no reason why the head of an important Government Department which makes a large profit on the Postal and Telegraphic Services should higgle and haggle, thus causing intolerable inconvenience to the public.......... We think the authorities ought to meet their servants, whose services are so very useful to the public at large, in a generous spirit. The devices that have been resorted to for minimising inconvenience to the public have proved an utter failure in the native town. The state of things at the principal post offices in the town is chaotic and fruitful of intolerable delays. Surely a Government Department ought to know better how to forestall and meet such deplorable contingencies. We have no desire to encourage unreasonable or extravagant demands on the part of the postmen who have gone on strike. But we feel satisfied that their grievances are, on the whole, genuine and call for immediate redress."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 24th Sept.; *Prája Mitra and Pársi* (28), 24th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 25th Sept.

***44. Expressing strong resentment at the unsatisfactory arrangements made by the Postal authorities for the delivery of** letters, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—The mercantile houses in the Fort are, as far as possible, punctually served by the Post Office; but in the city itself the arrangements made for the delivery of the post are utterly unsatisfactory. The means adopted are extremely objectionable. Private letters pass into the hands of strangers. The Post Office has no right to put anyone's letters in the hands of strangers. There is great danger of private letters being put to wrong uses. Great dissatisfaction has been created by this method of delivering letters. We emphatically appeal to the authorities to stop this method of delivery at once. People are so dissatisfied that they would rather have their letters remain undelivered than see them heaped up in streets and handled by hundreds of passers-by. [The *Prája Mitra and Pársi* writes :—" With the strike of the postmen Bombay Island has been cut off from the mainland of India. Where is the postal system of which we heard so much in praise? Where are our letters, what about the postage paid for letters which have not been delivered and will never be delivered?......... The mails of Government will be always in order, whatever may be the extent of the strike. Otherwise, if Government were in the same position as the public, the strike would have ended by this time." The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes :—In this struggle between the postmen and Government, the mercantile world and the ordinary public have to bear intolerable inconveniences. Perhaps it costs Government about Rs. 10,000 per day to bring the obstinate postmen round, but it involves a loss of lakhs of rupees every day to the public.]

Comments on the Poona District Magistrate's notification about the Poona Ganapati festival.
Kesari (106), 18th Sept.

45. The reader might remember our criticism of the Ganapati notification issued by the District Magistrate last year and the ridiculous and vexatious words contained in it. We are glad to note that the District Magistrate, Mr. Westropp, has tried hard to remove these defects this year. Officials as well as the people know the real object of the prohibitions contained in the notification. But as the officials have no courage to clearly state their intentions, they have to make the prohibitions needlessly comprehensive. They are willing to wound but afraid to strike. The District Magistrate has this year revised the notification and says that "cheering any others but gods" and "exhibition of pictures and photos of men except saints and gods" are prohibited. People will understand the real meaning of these words. Rules regarding previous notices of lectures stand in need of revision. But the District Magistrate has personally told the Secretary of the Ganapati festival that he would be generally sympathetic towards the festival and we thank him for it.

Alleged deficiency of police protection in Dhárwár City.
Loka Bandhu (84), 16th Sept.

46. The house of Dharmanna Doddumani was broken into on the 13th instant at night, at Dhárwár, and ornaments worn by his wife were forcibly removed. Dharmanna is much injured. Information was given at the police station in the city, but as the (Police) office is far from the city the police could not come just then; police officials came next morning and began the investigation. They arrested two men on suspicion and all the property has been found. The city is not properly guarded as it was before. We think the police would do well to open a Branch office in the city.

Comments on the progress of the co-operative movement in the Bombay Presidency.
Bombay Samáchár (59), 20th and 21st Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 20th Sept.

47. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the principal object underlying all branches of the co-operative movement should be to collect people to consider their wants and to train them to remedy these wants without the help of officials. It, therefore, congratulates the Government of Lord Willingdon on their not putting into execution, as yet, the rules that have been drafted in connection with co-operative societies, which the paper thinks are calculated to defeat the abovesaid object. It admits that Government have thus far rendered valuable help in the development of the co-operative movement, but it considers it to be undesirable that Government control over co-operative bodies should increase. It then refers to the working of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society and observes that if official control over co-operative societies in this Presidency is gradually removed it will not only help their satisfactory development and attract educated men to participate enthusiastically in their work, but will also encourage the various societies at different centres to work in concert and thereby facilitate progress. [In the subsequent issue the paper remarks that the speech delivered by His Excellency Lord Willingdon at Poona on Tuesday the 18th instant as President of the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference was one befitting a liberal statesman. It joins with His Excellency in expressing satisfaction at the step of holding the Conference this year, which bids fair to produce beneficent results during the continuance of the war as well as after its termination. The paper believes that since the movement has received the support of Government great advantages will accrue therefrom both to Government as well as the people. Though it is not against maintaining due Government supervision and control over the accounts, etc., of co-operative societies from considerations, among others, of preserving their prestige, it would prefer that this task of the preservation of their prestige may be committed to the care of public leaders. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* rejoices at the large measure of sympathy for the movement His Excellency expressed in his speech. It thoroughly approves of his suggestion to extend the scope of the movement so as to make it embrace agricultural as well as other industries. Referring to His Excellency's observations with regard to the development of the co-operative housing movement, the paper, while strongly recognising the efficacy of co-operation in the matter of providing poor people with sanitary and convenient houses, expresses the belief that as long as Government do not extend substantial pecuniary help to such co-operative enterprises they are not likely to make a sufficiently rapid progress.]

Khots in Kolába should refuse to sign the new *kabulayats*.
Kesari (106), 18th Sept.

48. A Khot complains in the *Kesari* of the new *kabulayats* introduced in the Kolába District and quotes conditions from a *kabulayat* taken from a khot in the Roha Taluka and says:—I wish to ask a few questions to those who sign the *kabulayats*. If you are the owners, why do you sign *kabulayats* containing adverse conditions? By what law can you be obliged to sign them? What kind of owners are you. if your mortgagors require the sanction of the Collector? These *kabulayats* are minimising the rights of khots and they should be rejected while yet the rights of ownership of khots are recognised.

Alleged need of improving the pay and prospects of Mukhtiarkars in Sind.
Sind Journal (10), 13th Sept.

49. "The meagre pay and prospects of the Mukhtiarkars in Sind, specially the Hindu Mukhtiarkars, calls for immediate and sympathethic consideration by the Government of Bombay......... The cost of living has increased considerably since the year 1905 and in order to enable the mamlatdars or mukhtiarkars to live decently and honestly, it is imperatively necessary that the scale of their pay should be revised...... This is specially applicable to the case of Hindu Mukhtiarkars who are threathened to be almost debarred from becoming Deputy Collectors during the regime of the present Comissioner in Sind. The filling of some recent vacancies in the ranks of Deputy Collectors has caused an impression on the public mind that the claims of Hindu mukhtiarkars to the post of Deputy Collector are sacrificed to racial considerations......... The policy which has hitherto been pursued by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence cannot conduce to the efficiency of the service, as no really competent Hindu would be induced to enter the Revenue Department. Besides, the disheartned officials cannot be expected to put forth their best efforts and the bitterest critics of Government are their own discontented officials.......... Under these circumstances we can only look up to the Bombay Government to exercise more vigilance and see to it that the claims of Hindu mukhtiarkars to Deputy Collectorships are not ignored."

EDUCATION.

*Comments on the *personnel* of the Calcutta University Commission.
Young India (14), 19th Sept.

50. "'**Expert**' service such as the Government of India have secured for the Calcutta University may after all end in the experts doing the greatest harm to the cause of University Education. With the memories of Lord Curzon's University Commission still fresh in our minds we cannot but view the undue preponderance of the European element with a grave sense of misgiving.......... In the case of the Calcutta University Commission, what is proposed now is, though not ostensibly, that it should override Indian opinion. The only two Indians—Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee and Dr. Zia-ud-din Ahmed—are both great educationists, it is true; but we fail to understand what useful purpose they are expected to serve against a strong majority of the European element. It was understandable if the Government of India had appointed a Commission of this type to inquire into the educational system of England with a view to assimilate the wonderful experiences, of Indian education. But the Commission is essentially for the purpose of investigating the problems of the Calcutta University and it seems quite clear from its one-sided personnel that reaction is once more in the ascendant in university education."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the house-tax imposed by the Karjat (Kolába) Notified Area Committee.
Kesari (106), 18th Sept.

51. In answer to an interpellation based on a note of ours published in the *Kesari* dated 19th June 1917, on the Notified Area Committee of Karjat (Kolába), the answer was given that our sentiments were baseless. This is an instance showing how the officials dare to give replies without consideration. Government said that they had no information whether the house-tax at Karjat exceeded that imposed in any other part of the Bombay Presidency. Why should Government have no information? If they did not have it, where was the difficulty to say that the information would be obtained? Though Government have not got the information we have it and we say that Government should either admit our statement that the house-tax imposed by the Karjat Committee is the heaviest in the Presidency, or should authoritatively rebut it. The Notified Area Committee should be either abolished or the house-tax revised by the Collector of Kolába. Otherwise it is open to those who have to pay the house-tax to resort to passive resistance.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 28th September 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 39 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 29th September 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule:

Alleged harassment of Muhammadans by Hindus at Jubbulpore, Central Provinces 23
Alleged hollowness of Hindu-Muhammadan unity 22
Alleged neglect of duty by Government officers on the occasion of the recent fatality on the Narmada near Broach 19
Appeal to Government for the release of Mr. Shaikh Abdul Majid, the interned editor of the *Al-Amin* 24
Appeal to Government to release all political prisoners . . . . 12 & 13
Comments on the Anglo-Indian agitation against the release of Mrs. Besant . . . . 10 & 11
Comments on the Bombay Government Press Note rescinding orders served on Mrs. Besant and others under the Defence of India Act. 14
Comments on the suicide of a Bengali detenu 20
Communal representation for non-Brahmins in the Legislative Councils 21
Complaint that purchasers of War Loan Bonds in the mofussil are required to come down to the General Post Office, Bombay, to receive them 28
Mrs. Besant and the Indian National Congress . . . . 17 & 18
Release of Mrs. Besant . . . . 15 & 16
The internment of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali . . . . 25—27

Imperial Legislative Council:

Comments on the resolutions in the — regarding Indian element in the personnel of the I. C. S. . . . . 5—9
Comments on the speeches of His Excellency the Viceroy and Sir M. O'Dwyer in the — . . . . 1—4
Judicial matters: Comments on the Government Resolution on the administration of jails in the Bombay Presidency 32
Police: Suggestion that all Mangs in the Sátára District should be freed from — surveillance 33
Postal Department: The strike of Bombay postmen . . . . 34—39

Public Service:

Approval of the appointment of the Committee to consider the question of high prices allowance to low paid Government servants 40
Complaint about paucity of Muhammadans in the — of the Bombay Presidency 42
Hindu Government servants should be granted some more sectional holidays 41

H 283—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION,—*concluded.*

Sind :

The evils of *Rasai* in — 44
The — Muhammadans' address of welcome to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford 43

War :

Commissions in the Indian Army for Indians 29
How to solve the question of recruitment 30
Subjects of Native States should be allowed to join the University Corps 31

EDUCATION—

Comments on the expulsion of a student from the Dhárwár Mission School for writing a poem on Mrs. Besant 45
Students and parents should take vigorous measures to get "Student Circular" cancelled 46
The problem of Muhammadan education in Sind and alleged neglect of it by the authorities 47

MUNICIPALITIES—

Karáchi : Alleged grossly insanitary condition in — (Sind) 48
Rohri : Comments on the official attempts to introduce house-tax in Lárkána and — (Sind) 49

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the speeches of His Excellency the Viceroy and Sir M. O'Dwyer in the Imperial Council.

Young India (14), 26th Sept.

1. "In his speech, His Excellency the Viceroy tried to pour oil over the troubled waters of the Council. The effect of the Viceroy's pronouncement would have been greater, if in his desire for strict impartiality, he had equally censured the conduct of Mr. Lowndes in the chair. That conduct was, to say the least, extremely unsatisfactory and judged in the light of His Excellency's remarks on Sir Michael's feat, was thoroughly unbecoming on the part of one whose love and admiration for the English tradition of public conduct should be less tainted by the corroding influences of Anglo-Indian tradition.......... It would have certainly been in the fitness of things if Mr. Lowndes, too, had been allowed to make a personal statement and express regret for his conduct in the chair. Such an explanation would have helped to remove misunderstanding and restore the lost confidence of the Honourable members in the ability and sense of impartiality of their Vice-President. It was all the more necessary that such an opportunity should have been taken since under the present constitution of the Council and the existing rules for the conduct of business, the members have absolutely no voice over the appointment of their President or Vice-President and cannot, therefore, easily make their sense of displeasure and disapprobation felt."

Gujaráti (16), 30th Sept., Eng. cols.

*2. "We are sorry His Excellency the Viceroy in his closing speech somewhat went out of his way to re-open the O'Dwyer incident by showering praises upon the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab which he scarcely deserved. His Excellency's appeal to the Councillors to accept Sir Michael's explanation coupled with an expression of regret on his part induced them not to reply to his offensive strictures. .... The public outside followed the example of the Indian Councillors who had refrained from replying in response to His Excellency's wish. We have already commented at length upon the incident and do not desire to traverse the same ground. But His Excellency forgot to bear in mind that if Sir Michael had not done what he was in fairness bound to do, there would have been held meetings throughout the country to protest against his offensive strictures just as meetings had been held to protest against Lord Pentland's famous speech.......... As the incident had been closed already, it is a pity that the Viceroy referred to it again with a view to bestow high encomiums on Sir Michael and read an implied sermon to the Councillors who, too, had acted according to 'the highest standard of mutual dealing among men engaged in public affairs'."

Bombay Samáchár (59), 29th Sept.

3. Referring to His Excellency the Viceroy's closing speech at the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Bombay Samáchár* wishes that the whole country may respond to the appeal made by him to bring about a calm atmosphere and to concentrate attention on tackling the main problem of political reform to be introduced in India. It remarks that since Government have contributed their share in a practical manner towards the creation of such an atmosphere by means of their recent liberal actions, it now remains for all classes and parties from among the subjects to make a similar contribution. It admonishes all the communities in India to follow the advice of the Viceroy to sink all party differences at the present juncture and to work for the good of the State. The paper regrets the splenetic outburst of the Anglo-Indian opponents of Indian reforms against the sympathetic and liberal policy declared by Government. It asks the Indians not to lose their balance of mind but to behave in such a manner as would convince the Secretary of State for India that they do not mean to press for a scheme of reforms which is based on injustice to any other community.

Indu Prakásh (39), 28th Sept.

4. His Excellency the Viceroy while winding up the debate at the last Legislative Council meeting exhorted his hearers to be moderate and constitutional in their criticisms and movements. His Excellency's advice is well meant and our people will no doubt follow it. But what about the hostility of the Anglo-Indians? Can the antics of the *Madras Mail* and the Anglo-Indians who held a public meeting at Calcutta the other day be called constitutional? We are constrained to say that if there is any irresponsible criticism by our people it is provoked by the Anglo-Indians themselves.

Comments on the resolutions in the Imperial Legilative Council regarding Indian element in the personnel of the I. C. S.

* *Mahrátta* (5), 30th Sept.; *Young India* (14), 26th Sept.

5. "As the Honourable Mr. Sarma pointed out the 'British minimum' doctrine comes to this, that the Indians must agree to be governed by inferior Englishmen *because they are Englishmen.* This is a most humiliating position and the words with which the Honourable Pandit Malaviya closed his argument on the subject bear witness to the rankling sense of humiliation present in the heart of every Indian. The Pandit exclaimed: 'Do not take advantage of the fact that by our weakness and your strength you are in this country. For God's sake play up.' The appeal which is embodied in these words will not, we are afraid, move the 'practical' John Bull. The 'practical' man is never supposed to do anything for 'God's sake'......... We must expect the British to take what advantage they can of 'their strength and our weakness'. They will not 'play up,' simply because we ask them to play up in the name of God. If we want them to play up, we must build up, how we can, such a strength in the place of our weakness, as will touch the 'practical' instinct of the Britisher and make the granting us of our rights not only a matter of justice and fairness (*i.e.* one of doing homage to God), but a matter of political expediency......... The resolution of Pandit Malaviya was lost, 34 voting against and 20 voting for it......... The official majority in the Supreme Council has proved a great asset to Government. For were it not for this majority, Government could not have kept on the bar sinister in the face of emphatic and pronounced public opinion in India against the continuance of such a bar. The Pandit reminded the authorities of the recent announcement which declares Self-government to be the goal of British Rule in India and urged that the question of the services ought to be examined from the standpoint of this declared goal. But all this and other such argument is bound to fail, as we have said above, so long as it is not backed up by *strength* of the kind easily appreciated by 'practical' men. In the absence of such strength, or rather the absence of *the manifestation of it*, though the success in argument may be on our side, the success in result is bound to be on the side of the authorities!" [*Young India* writes:—"Notwithstanding Sir William's profuse protestations of sympathy for the object of the resolution, we are inclined to believe that it connotes very little at the end. The frame of mind displayed by the bureaucracy and its watchdogs further strengthens the case for a more vigorous agitation in this country as well as in England whether Mr. Montagu visits this country or not."]

Indian Social Reformer (3), 30th Sept.

*6. "Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of the Government of India, in opposing a resolution moved by the Honourable Pandit Madán Mohan Malaviya to the effect that not less than one-half of the total number of the posts included in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service should be thrown open to Indians, mentioned among the points to be remembered in deciding the proportion of Indians in that service that, unlike in countries like Japan and China, British capital had been sunk in India on the distinct understanding that the administration in India would be British in character, though, he added, not in personnel. The implication, notwithstanding the last qualification, is that the British character of Government can be maintained only by a preponderance of Englishmen in the Service, and indeed, the Public Services Commission, in defiance of Parliamentary statute and Queen's Proclamation, has laid this down in so many words......... We are unable to find any Act, Proclamation or other instrument in which it is laid down that the fact of the investment of British capital in India should influence the King-in-Parliament in determining the character or personnel of the Government of India.......... Except Lord Curzon, who once claimed that the Government of India and the European commercial community were jointly engaged in exploiting India, no responsible British statesman has ever entered into any such undertaking as that asserted by Sir William Vincent. It is obvious that if such an understanding was not found necessary in the case of Japan, China and the Native States, it could not have been and can never be necessary in the case of British India. And what is the British character of the administration? Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, whose singleness of purpose and purity of motive are now acknowledged by all, called his book 'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India'. His writings and speeches had only one object, and that was to prove that the British character of the Government of India, as defined by Queen and Parliament and responsible British statesmen, has been and was being widely departed from to the detriment both of the British and the Indian people.......... The Indian leaders are most anxious that the British character of Government should be maintained, but what they mean by the phrase is the sum of the pledges and promises made by the people and Parliament, and not the interests of those who have invested money in India. These men are entitled to a fair interest on their loans and a fair profit on their investments, but to nothing more. As citizens they have equal rights with every other class of His Majesty's subjects."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 22nd Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 24th Sept.

7. The *Sánj Vartamán* observes that the fate which the Honourable Mr. Malaviya's resolution about holding simultaneous Civil Service Examinations in India and England has met with in the Imperial Legislative Council will fill the Indians with regret. Referring to the proposed change in the present system according to which this examination is held only in England, the paper remarks:—Law, justice and expediency are all in favour of this change. The public have clamoured for it for upwards of 50 years, but hitherto their clamour has not produced any effect. Any delay made in bringing about that change can no longer be defended for a moment. The question is one affecting the glory and prestige of the British people. [The *Hindusthán* maintains that the resolution brought by the Honourable Mr. Malaviya was an opportunity given to the Government of India to satisfy the enthusiasm newly awakened among the people, to redeem promises made in the past by Parliament and contained in Royal Proclamations and to ward off the recommendation made by the last Public Services Commission in this behalf, but that the Government of India have, as usual, done nothing beyond expressing their barren "sympathy" towards the question. It regards the grounds on which Government opposed the resolution as imaginary. It writes:—The Honourable Pundit Malaviya's resolution has been defeated because of the official majority. We are sorry for it, but we still feel certain that the time has now drawn very near for the realisation of our hopes and aspirations, and though this resolution has been defeated at present the demands of new India will have to be granted.]

Bombay Samáchár (59), 24th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 22nd Sept.

8. Commenting upon the resolution brought by the Honourable Mr. Sarma in the Imperial Legislative Council urging Government not to accept the recommendations of the majority of the Public Service Commissioners about maintaining a preponderating proportion of British officers in the higher ranks of the Indian Civil Service and the Police, the *Bombay Samachár* remarks that, regard being had to the stage which the agitation for *Swarájya* and public opinion have reached in this country, the arguments that have been advanced against the resolution are untenable. It observes that in view of the present condition of India it would not at all be commensurate with the requirements of the times if the Indians were to be continued, with some slight alteration, in the same condition in which they were 75 years ago, as far as higher public offices are concerned. The paper maintains that the apprehension entertained by

Sir Hugh Bray and men of his type about the interests of the European community being endangered as a result of Government giving high positions to Indians in larger numbers is unfounded. It hopes that the Government of India will tackle this question in a manner satisfactory to the public when they settle other questions in consultation with Mr. Montagu. [The *Hindusthán* also supports the Honourable Mr. Sarma's resolution and remarks that if Indians are to be given their birthright everybody will concede that their demands, which have been neglected for the last 80 years, should now be satisfied. It believes that the opposition led by the Honourable Sir Hugh Bray was not of a dignified nature and that he was over-enthusiastic in the matter of safeguarding the interests of his community. The paper urges that in view of the strong disapproval the people have evinced against the recommendations of the Public Services Commission it is necessary for Government to give careful and mature consideration before carrying them into effect.]

Young India (14), 26th Sept.

9. Mr. L. G. Khare writes :—"'We may be numerically weak, but our stake in the country is enormous', says Sir Hugh Bray. Mr. Beatson Bell who, as a member of *the* Service, should be expected to know better, vaunts the fact that he and his forefathers have put in about a hundred years of service in this land and that the Englishman in India cannot be said to be a Bird of Passage.......... Now it will be aboundantly clear to any sensible reader of Indian history, that this ancient land has welcomed from time immemorial any race of men willing to eat of its salt.......... The English factor came and settled and his grandchildren now boast that they conquered India by a series of accidents. It is a step further in political charlatanism to say that they are of 'the people,' when the people do not forget and are not likely to forget that something like the 'Exchange Compensation allowance' exists in this land.......... They say in the Legislative Councils of this country that they are our fellow-subjects, they act in practice as if we Indians were subjects to each person with a European skin who can lord it over us. And then they are angry when we say that they are 'birds of passage'......... The argument will not 'wash down', it has always to be enforced with the threat that those who call them birds of passage are 'fellows that talk sedition.' The whole outlook of the English official in India is the outlook of a man who is conscientious enough to notice that he must make the best of a bad job; the immediate outlook of the English merchant in India is the perpetuation of privileges which he had associated with his skin, of ultimate outlook he has none. He does not understand it except in the sense that 'these fellows must be kept under'."

Comments on the Anglo-Indian agitation against the release of Mrs. Besant.

Young India (14), 26th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 28th Sept., Eng. cols.

10. "A generration ago, a handful of Anglo-Indian firebrands could manufacture an agitation of a magnitude that was enough to scare away the wits of one of the best Viceroys India has had. But a generation of political education and agitation has taught Government and the people to appraise the bluff of Anglo-Indianism at its true value. Mr. Welby may cry himself hoarse; the European Associations may go mad over the advancing tide of Indian Nationalism; the vested interests may do their utmost to run counter to the aspirations of the Indian people. All these and more things may hapen; but they cannot deflect the course of Indian Nationalism by so much as a hair's breadth. Truly, has the present been regarded as the parting of the ways. In the titanic world struggle which has been in progress during the past three years, the issue is between the forces of reaction and progress. If it is true that Kaiserism is dead in Europe (*pace* the Russian Revolution), bureaucratic *bahadurism* cannot long survive in India, however powerfully it may be propped up for the time being. Any attempt, such as the worthy editor of our Madras contemporary has taken on himself, we suspect, at the instigation of forces behind the curtain, is bound to fail." [The *Indu Prakásh* remarks :—"We are not

opposed to any community trying to defend their interests. There should be justice for every community. But why so much thunder and fury? The Government have no easy task before them. They will have to face vituperations and threats in satisfying even most moderate and reasonable Indian aspirations. It would be real 'weakness' to yield to the threats of extreme reactionaries."]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 28th Sept.; *Prája Mitra and Pársi* (28), 28th and 29th Sept.

11. It seems that Europeans and Anglo-Indians have been greatly alarmed at the prospect of Indians getting the political reforms they have been demanding from Government. They had created similar agitation at the time of the Ilbert Bill, and we fell sure that their present agitation will not create any impression on the Indian mind. The Indians will be confirmed in their opinion that the Anglo-Indians are opposed to giving political reforms to India and they will, therefore, lose all their respect for them. The speeches made at the Calcutta meeting will not in the least redound to the credit of Britain. The agitation of the European Association is directed not so much against Mrs. Besant as against Mr. Montagu and the policy of reform which he is going to introduce in India. The agitation that is being engineered by the Association convinces us that our movement for political reforms is just and proper and it stimulates us to persevere in our demands till we achieve success. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is of opinion that the speeches made at the meeting were highly inflammatory and such as would bring Government into contempt, besides setting class against class. It asks Government to take strong measures so that such speeches may not be made again. In the subsequent issue the paper tries to show the hollowness of many of the arguments advanced at the meeting against giving political rights to Indians and opines that the alarmist view taken at the meeting is due to the ignorance of the Association about Indian aspirations. It suggests that Europeans in India should identify themselves with Indians and ask for special electorates in the Legislative Councils for safeguarding their own interests.]

Appeal to Government to release all political prisoners.
Message (6), 27th Sept.

12. "We think it is not inappropriate to appeal once more to the finer instincts of Government to grant a general amnesty to all the political prisoners and the hundreds of detenues who have been unjustly subjected to needless sufferings and harsh treatment. The case of suicide reported from Calcutta of one of the young detenues under somewhat startling circumstances emphasises the need of an immediate exercise of clemency and political foresight and statesmanship on the part of the Government of India.......... We cannot believe that all those or the large majority of those who are at present subjected to unjust suffering are criminally intentioned. Even assuming they were, the exercise of spontaneous clemency followed by instructions to the enthusiastic and zealous agents of the Criminal Investigation Department to refain from any sort of unnecessary interference will produce on the minds of the released a tremendous reaction in favour of those who show the clemency. The Government of India have the Irish precedent before them and should not in the least hesitate for a moment to take this step of a far-reaching character."

Young India (14), 26th Sept.

13. "We fully recognise the difficulties which confront Government and the stubborn opposition of the reactionary Anlgo-Indian elements is by no means the least among them. But it is the imperative duty of a good Government to override the narrow-minded opposition of an insignificant minority, particularly where the larger interests of the Empire are at take. We hope the Government of India will show sufficient promptitude, by rising above their stunting environments and granting a general amnesty to all political prisoners and detenues in this country. This is one of the first steps towards the attainment of the great goal which Government have now definitely set to itself."

Comments on the Bombay Government Press Note rescinding orders served on Mrs. Besant and others under the Defence of India Act.

Bombay Samáchár (59), 27th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 26th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 25th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 27th Sept.; *Message* (6), 25th Sept.; *Sandesh* (118), 25th Sept.

14. Referring to the Press note issued by the Bombay Government rescinding their previous orders against Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. Paranjpye and others under the Defence of India Act, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the liberality thus shown by the Bombay Government is highly seasonable and observes that the public will not fail to thank Government cordially for this measure of theirs. It regards this action of the local Government as a practical step in the liberal and sympathetic policy initiated by the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Government. The paper, however, remarks that the joy created by the cancellation of the internment and other prohibitory orders against individuals is likely to be of an imperfect character until either the Act under which those orders were issued is repealed or suitable alterations are made in it after mutual co-operation between public leaders and the authorities. It maintains that the above-mentioned release and other orders recently issued by Government and the experience obtained by the latter of the working of the Defence of India Act, which has tended to prolong agitation and create public confusion, demonstrate that the time has now arrived for divesting the Executive of the authority of taking action under the Act, independently of any extraneous control. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also commends the action of the Bombay Government in rescinding their former orders against Mrs. Besant and others. It remarks that this action is in keeping with the principles of the Liberal party to which Lord Willingdon belongs and it is for this reason that he has, at the earliest opportunity, taken the advantage of the changed policy of the Imperial Government in the matter of the working of the Defence of India Act. The paper wishes that other Provincial Governments will also similarly help in the creation of a "calm atmosphere" which is a thing desired at present by the Imperial Government. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* thanks the local Government for their present liberal action. It also advises the Indian leaders to bring about a wholesome change in their methods of political agitation in a corresponding manner and convince Government that the Indians are willing to co-operate with Mr. Montagu in the work that he is going to do in India. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* characterises the present cancellation by the Bombay Government of their former orders under the Defence of India Act as a piece of commendable farsightedness. The *Message* writes :—"All these acts are certainly gratifying, as the successful outcome of public agitation carried on vigorously, none the less very constitutionally, and we offer our sincere congratulations to His Excellency for the readiness with which he has undone a disagreeable policy that was forced on him from above." The *Sandesh* congratulates Lord Willindon on cancelling some orders issued a few days ago about Mrs. Besant and others under the Defence of India Act. It says that His Excellency has conducted the administration in accordance with his 'Liberal' spirit. It holds that His Excellency's remarks against Home Rule in a Town Hall meeting held recently were not his own but that they were in accordance with the Home Rule circular issued by the Government of India. Though some acts of Lord Willingdon have caused dissatisfaction he is not to be blamed as an individual for them. It is the settled policy of administration that is responsible for it.]

Release of Mrs. Besant. *Kesari* (106), 25th Sept.

*15. At last Mrs. Besant has been released. The Madras Government were holding out but the view of the Imperial Government seems to have prevailed. It is necessary to congratulate the Indian public on having won a victory in this contest. This three months' war will be ever memorable in the history of Indian national movements inasmuch as on one side were ranged all the weapons of official authority while on the other side stood the people—altogether helpless and without support. And yet the popular party floored its adversaries by reason of its mental strength. The condition of imprisonment of Mrs. Besant was as a matter of fact not irksome. But there was so much agitation because the British Government is a civilised one. How can we judge things by the Russian standard, under British rule? The victory won by the Indian people is also due to the British policy. No other Government would have allowed this agitation or listened to it. The release of Mrs. Besant shows that British statesmanship is still living. Though the action taken against Mrs. Besant was against an individual, it also involved the liberties of the nation. There was a great agitation also because the Madras Government meant to strike at the Home Rule movement through Mrs. Besant. Why did Government intern Mrs. Besant three months ago and why do they release her now? Government cannot satisfactorily answer this question. Everything was done in a fickle manner. But it is better to be charged with unsteadiness than with obstinacy. No doubt the Governor of Madras is lowered in the public estimation but he himself is responsible for it. Lord Willingdon also could have interned some persons but he did not adopt such an unwise course. Some Anglo-Indian papers are adding fuel to the fire and suggesting the resignation of Lord Pentland. Lord Pentland should not resign; he will make himself only ridiculous. But if he does the world will not be lost. It will mean only that the public opinion has removed a Governor from his place and constitutional agitation will be strengthened and it will feel self-confident.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 27th Sept.; *Subodh Patrika* (42), 23rd Sept.

16. It would have been much better if Government had been magnanimous enough to declare that they released Mrs. Besant to mark the close of the repressive policy, instead of taking shelter behind the plea that they took the step on receipt of assurances about her future conduct from influential sources. Though they have done so for the sake of their prestige their action in releasing her will not fail to give general satisfaction. The circumstances attendant on the release of Mrs. Besant and that of the Irish leader Parnell from prison in days gone by differ in this that whereas the British Government of that time released the Irish leader *first* and then endeavoured to secure his co-operation, in India the leaders were released *after* Government had satisfied themselves that they would secure their co-operation. Thus even in doing this act of bare justice Government have put a taint upon it. Of course Mrs. Besant's assurance does not in any way modify her attitude. She would have endeavoured to obtain a calm atmosphere during Mr. Montagu's visit even without any assurance. We are constrained to say, therefore, that the demand for such an assurance detracts from the newly inaugurated liberal policy of Government. [The *Subodh Patrika* writes:—Popular opinion has triumphed at last and Government have released Mrs. Besant and her co-workers unconditionally. We are sure this step will enhance the prestige of Government. At the same time we hold that it was never necessary to intern Mrs. Besant. The Government of Madras has indirectly helped forward the cause which she advocated by interning her. On the other hand her admonition to her followers after her release to be sober in their comments implies an admission that at times their comments have been far from sober.]

Mrs. Besant and the Indian National Congress.
Indu Prakásh (39), 28th Sept., Eng. cols.; *Dnyánodaya* (35), 20th Sept.

17. Referring to the pledge reported to have been given by Mrs. Besant that she will co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu's visit, the *Indu Prakásh* says:—"We think that as an earnest of this pledge, she should allay the bitterness of feeling that has been aroused here and elsewhere over her proposed Presidentship of the Congress by promptly announcing, in a spirit of self-abnegation, that she declines to preside over the ensuing Congress even if the All-India Congress Committee were, by a majority, inclined to elect her.......... Whatever decision may be arrived at by Moderates elsewhere, we feel almost certain that the large body of Moderates in the Bombay Presidency will decline to have anything to do with a Congress presided over by Mrs. Besant. She is the real author of that spirit of hatred of the veterans of the Congress which is manifesting itself in the different parts of the country. She it was who invented the hateful phraseology of "yesterdays" and "tomorrows" and from day to day and week to week poisoned the minds of the readers of *New India* and *Commonweal* by her envenomed attacks on those who had striven and struggled all these years to build up the reputation and prestige of the Congress. The reprehensible rowdyism and subsequent happenings in connection with the Reception Committee at Calcutta are the result of that gospel of hate, referred to above, which she has sedulously inculcated since 1915. It is in her hands, if she is so minded to make amends for it now by a spiritual oblation. Will she do it?" [The *Dnyánodaya* declares that to elect Mrs. Besant as the President of the National Congress would be to act in deliberate opposition to Government and would be fatal to the interests of the country.]

Rást Goftár (30), 30th Sept., Eng. cols.

***18.** "Any compromise that will not necessitate a change of venue will be welcomed by the whole country. Mrs. Besant's election as president of the Congress is no longer open to the slightest doubts. There is no likelihood of a serious split in the Congress, because what really matters this year is the election of the President, and that election has been made by the whole country. If the All-India Congress Committee were to set aside that election it would cease to represent the country, but of that there is no fear."

Alleged neglect of duty by Government officers on the occasion of the recent fatality on the Narmada near Broach.

Hindusthán (20), 22nd Sept.

19. The *Hindusthán* publishes a letter from a correspondent wherein the writer, after referring to the drowning fatality that took place near Broach some time ago, entailing the loss of about one hundred lives, strongly complains against the alleged neglect of duty on the part of the District officials of Broach. He remarks that although the incident occurred at a spot so near the city that it could have been observed from the Customs House and the bungalows of Government officials of Broach not a single police officer, from constable upwards, turned up on the scene till it was 4-30 P.M., though the occurrence took place at 8 o'clock in the morning. He observes that the poor people of Broach cannot comprehend what may be the reason of such serious neglect. The correspondent draws the attention of Government to this matter with a view that they might inquire as to who were at fault in this connection. He also expresses his dissatisfaction at the alleged apathy of the Ankleshwar police officers who, on arriving at the spot, at once began to hold Panch proceedings without bestowing the least attention upon those who had escaped death, but who were in a condition requiring prompt relief. He further takes exception to the unsympathetic conduct of the Jamadar of Ankleshwar towards the relatives of those who were saved. He suggests that if Government medical men are not at present bound by law to proceed to the scene of such accidents, Government should make some such provision enforcing the presence of medical officers.

Comments on the suicide of a Bengali detenu.

Mahrátta (5), 30th Sept.

***20.** "The A. P. I. gives the following news:—Another detenu, Shachindra Chandra Das Gupta, a fourth-year student of the Ripon College and son of a pleader, Rampur, has committed suicide. Before committing suicide he wrote a letter to the District Magistrate bitterly complaining of the treatment of the police and another letter of complaint to the local C. I. D. officer. Suicides of internees and detenus are a grave reflection on the way in which the whole business of interning suspects mostly, we believe, on insufficient and interested information and providing for their comfort (or rather discomfort) is carried. The public has persistently asked for an advisory board to go into the evidence against the suspects and for arrangements which would render the lot of the interned somewhat bearable. But the authorities have treated the demands of the public with scant respect. The 'Defence of India' surely does not necessitate unconscionable persecution of the interned and detenus, such as ultimately results in suicide. The authorities, in thus causing, though unwittingly, the death of our brothers

against whom no crime of a heinous nature has been proved, are helping in the spread of angry resentment of a violent character amongst the friends and relations of the unfortunate youths who commit suicide."

Communal representation for non-Brahmins in the Legislative Councils.

Jágruk (new), 21st Sept.; *Kesari* (106), 25th Sept.

21. Our Brahmin leaders take credit for liberality in conceding, in the proposed Congress-League Reform Scheme, a third of the Legislative Council seats to Muhammadans although their number is only a fifth of the total population of the Bombay Presidency. We fail to see where the liberality lies. In our opinion there is no liberality in allowing 33 seats to Muhammadans when the Brahmins were certain of monopolising the remaining 67 seats. Their sympathy for their own down-trodden co-religionists of the backward classes is well known! It is sometimes argued that in the matter of separate representation the education of a community has also to be taken into account. True, but why was not this principle observed in the case of the Muhammadans? The explanation is that the Brahmins had no other alternative but to accept their demands. In their zeal for fraternizing with the Muhammadans the Brahmins clean forgot the bonds uniting them to their non-Brahmin brethren! The demand for communal electorates is also deprecated on the ground that it will lead to disunion and thus strengthen the hands of Government. If the Brahmins are really anxious to emphasise their unity with the non-Brahmins they should endeavour to remove the causes which separate the two classes. It is foolish to suppose that Government will be taken in by our concealing our differences. The necessity for communal electorates is proved by the very fact that the Brahmins are opposed to it. The inclusion of the representatives of all the classes in the Legislative Councils is real *swarájya* and those who oppose their inclusion may be said to be its opponents. The principle of class representation is also opposed on the ground that it will lead, if accepted, to the demand by the smaller castes and sub-castes for separate representation. This fear is groundless. Government can rule that communities whose numbers are very small should either be omitted or formed into groups and elect their representatives. At any rate if this difficulty cannot satisfactorily be overcome it does not follow that the interests of the vast majority of the non-Brahmins should be entrusted to a handful of Brahmin leaders. [The *Kesari* observes :—It is natural that non-Brahmins should want to see their own representatives in the Councils, but it is not absolutely necessary to have separate communal electorates for the purpose. Non-Brahmins can be elected even through mixed electorates by reserving seats for them. The majority of the present voters are non-Brahmins, and if they had only shown unity and public spirit, non-Brahmins could have been easily elected even in these days. So it is not the fault of the Brahmins that the non-Brahmins have not been elected. If the non-Brahmins act with determination they will be able to achieve their wishes even now as under the present system persons who can only sign their names can get themselves elected even to the Imperial Legislative Councils.]

Alleged hollowness of Hindu-Muhammadan unity.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 28th Sept.

22. The *Political Bhomiyo* writes at great length to show that the claim made by the advocates of Home Rule, who are mostly Hindus, about unity between Hindus and Muhammadans has no foundation at all and is actuated by selfish motives. It gives instances of malicious attacks made by Hindus on Muhammadans on their being elevated to high posts and of attempts made by them to take unfair advantage over Muhammadans and to browbeat them. It adds that the Hindus still continue to entertain feelings of jealousy toward Muhammadans but that they make a show of friendship for them with a view to securing Home Rule. It refers to the split in the Congress Reception Committee and remarks :—How long will *swarájya* endure in India if it is given at a time when disunion prevails among the inhabitants of the country? If the so-called leaders cannot control their followers how will they be able to govern the teeming millions of India? In all fairness we can say that *swarájya* will not last for four days in this

country and its advent will give rise to internal dissensions. It is futile to hope for *swardjya* as long as the Hindus and Muhammadans are at variance. *Swardjya* can be secured without going in search for it if lessons of morality and unity are instilled into the hearts of the people. [Elsewhere the paper expresses its disapprobation of the view expressed by Sahebzada Aftab Ahmedkhan in Bombay to the effect that he was an Indian first and a Muhammadan afterwards and doubts if he could be called a Muhammadan after expressing such a view. It declares that a Muhammadan should place considerations of his race and religion far above the country of his birth. In another column the paper dwells upon the disabilities of Muhammadans in municipalities and particularly in Ahmedabad and remarks :—O Muhammadans! always bear in mind that your rights will never be safeguarded by the Hindus. You might mix with them with an open heart, but they will always try to take a mean advantage over you.]

Alleged harassment of Muhammadans by Hindus at Jubbulpore, Central Provinces.

Islámic Mail (4), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

23. "It is one of the most patent signs of the times that in spite of all embracings and shakings of hands among the members of Congress and League, the Hindu-Moslem disunion is getting more and more pronounced every day.......... Jubbulpore appears to be enjoying something like *swardj*—all the officials there being Hindus. They have harassed the Muhammadans in diverse ways and the most recent is to interfere with their *namaz*. We are told that as a result of the aggressive attitude of the Hindus all the mosques are closed and the Muhammadan feeling is so strained that some of them are said to have left the town. The quarrel arose over the Dasara, when the Hindus flagrantly violated the Moslem feeling by playing music before their mosques. Ever since the Hindus have been harassing the Muhammadans and the latter have not been able to get any redress from the officials who are Hindus."

Appeal to Government for the release of Mr. Shaik Abdul Majid, the interned editor of the *Al-Amin*.

Al-Amin (133), 14th Sept., Eng. cols.

24. Referring to the statement made in the Imperial Legislative Council with regard to the release of interned persons, the *Al-Amin* writes :—"To the local Government we would earnestly appeal to consider the case of Mr. Shaik Abdul Majid, the late Editor of the *Al-Amin* and the *Alhaq*, whose internment over a year ago had come quite as a shock to the Sind Mussulmans and in whose innocence every one has the greatest faith. In the eyes of the public, he is still a victim of evil tongues. Though separated by religious beliefs, his aged mother now reduced almost to a skeleton has been incessantly raising her hands to Heaven. Mr. Lawrence has the reputation of being a sympathetic officer. Shall we hope that he would release this young man and earn the gratitude of the people?"

The internment of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

Mahrátta (5), 30th Sept.

*25. Referring to a letter to the Press by the mother of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the *Mahrátta* writes :—"We think that the undertaking promised by the two brothers ought to be considered quite sufficient in the circumstances......... Government seem to fear that these brothers will 'express their sympathy with the king's enemies', if they are enlarged without an undertaking in the form prescribed by the Director of the C.I.D. It is futile to expect any self-respecting person to put his signature to that form or any form of a similar nature. Mrs. Besant did not sign such a form. Nor did Messrs. Arundale and Wadia. Why should it be insisted that the two Moslem patriots must do what the others were not required to do? Government say that the brothers were interned for having expressed sympathy with the king's enemies. We fear Government misconstrued certain religious outpourings of the brothers as 'an expression of sympathy with the King's enemies.' Neither Hindus nor Muhammadans will believe that such a misunderstanding has not been at the bottom of the internment of the brothers, until the contrary is proved in broad daylight. There has been such a mystifying in connection with internments, that no Indian can think ill of his brother in internment simply because it is officially declared that such a brother has erred in a certain way. Doubt is invariably and universally cast in this country on such official declarations, for the simple reason that the people have been 'treated' almost uniformly to a policy of mistrust......... This release is bound to come, but not until the Moslems as a body, supported by the Hindus, 'show the teeth'. As more than one Musalman speaker pointed out at the Allahabad meeting, the release is delayed simply because 'they kept quiet relying on the old policy of depending upon the sense of justice of the Government and on the *mabap* theory and did not agitate in the modern ways.'......... In discussing the reply given by Sir W. Vincent in the case of the Moslem brothers we have assumed that Government are wrong in believing that the brothers expressed their sympathy with the king's enemies. But suppose for a moment that this allegation of Government is correct. It only means that the brothers did something, though very little, in the nature of those performances which collectively are called the Irish rising of 1916. The Irish rebels are now free, and as we know, one of them, who is now an M. P., declared in one of his speeches to the voters that his party 'contemplated revolution if necessary, but only at a time when England's difficulties would give another rebellion a chance of success.' Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali have surely sinned not so gravely as the Irishmen referred to above. So, in any case, we must have them back, as also all other politicals who for proved 'guilt' or mere suspicion have their freedom curtailed in any degree."

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 28th Sept.

26. The public will be disappointed to learn from the reply of the Home Secretary in the Imperial Legislative Council that Government do not intend to release Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali as their sympathies for the enemies of the king have not yet undergone any change. The people have no means to test the truth of the statement of Government and under the circumstances they cannot be blamed if they refuse to be convinced by the Government's allegations until the brothers are tried by a judicial tribunal. If Government possess evidence of their guilt, why do they not submit it for examination to a third party and publish his verdict? If they do so, the people's complaint about grave injustice having been done in the case of the two brothers will lose its force, and this will assist in the restablishment of a peaceful atmosphere so much desired by the Viceroy.

Kesari (106), 25th Sept.

27. Whoever may have pointed out their blunder to them Government deserve to be congratulated on their readiness to correct it on the matter of their orders under the Defence of India Act. Whatever eccentric Anglo-Indian papers of the type of the *Madras Mail* may want, the prestige of Government has been enhanced by their just and generous policy. Agitation takes place only about well known persons and it appears that people do not care for hundreds of innocent persons interned who are unknown to fame. How can people intercede for people whom they do not completely know? However the whole nation has recommended the release of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and Moulana Azad. It is a mystery as to why Government do not yet settle their question. But we request that all should be released, without any distinction. Even if the instance of Seinn Feiners be rejected because it is from a distant country, have not the officials before them the general pardon given by Lord Hardinge in the Cawnpore Mosque and Ajodhya rioting cases?

Complaint that purchasers of War Loan Bonds in the mofussil are required to come down to the General Post Office, Bombay, to receive them.

Rást Goftár (30), 30th Sept., Eng. cols.

***28.** "We are surprised to learn that persons who have purchased War Loan Notes through the Post Office are required to come down to Bombay to take delivery of the conversion warrant. We have a definite case before us. A gentleman residing at Nárgol purchased some war bonds and he got the receipt through the Post Office. He now wants the Notes and he has been informed that he must either come himself or send an agent to the Bombay General Post Office to get them. He sent his money from

Nárgol and he is entitled to have his Notes through the nearest district post office, that is, Thána. If all War Loan Notes are to be issued by the Bombay Post Office it will entail a great hardship on many people who readily came to the help of the Government in subscribing to the War Loan."

Commissons in the Indian Army for Indians.
Gujaráti (16), 23rd Sept.

29. The *Gujaráti* reproduces an advertisement appearing in the *Financier and Bullionist* dated the 25th July wherein the War Office invites applications from persons who are over the age for military duties but who know Hindusthani and other Indian languages and have experience of Indian coolies for temporary Commisions in the Indian Labour Corps, and remarks :—It is very strange that applications should be invited from Europeans only for doing the work of supervising Indian coolies. [Commenting upon the grant of the King's Commission to nine Indians, the paper further remarks :—None of the nine names include an Indian from the educated classes. The selection is made from the classes from which men are usually recruited for the Army. The selection is, moreover, confined to those who were taken in the Army on the score of their high birth. It, therefore, seems that the ordinary sepoy will not rise to commissioned rank. The question now arises whether the Commissions are to be open to men of high birth selected from certain classes or to all educated Indians who have received military training.]

How to solve the question of recruitment.
Din Mitra (99), 19th Sept.

30. In olden times the prospect of getting loot and also *jagirs* and vatans from the then rulers proved the chief attraction for people to join military service. Although the attraction of loot is now out of the question, Government can induce a very large number of people to join their armies by promising the grant of plots of land, annuities, vatans, etc. If a few daring men who have been fighting at the front are now given such grants in their own villages or elsewhere it will act as a great encouragement to other villagers to enrol themselves. These rusties will not be attracted by titles or photographs or medals, though Brahmins and other advanced classes may be easily satisfied with such trifles. The grant of the inams we have suggested need not be for all generations, but for a limited number of generations, and the lands instead of being resumed at the end of the period should be kept in the family as *rayatavari* lands. Let Government show liberality in this matter and there is no doubt that the question of recruitment will be solved to a considerable extent.

Subjects of Native States should be allowed to join the University Corps.
Indu Prakásh (39), 26th Sept., Eng. cols.

31. Referring to the reported refusal to a subject of a Native State to join the Bombay University Corps, the *Indu Prakásh* remarks :—"We do not know if it be sinful to be born in a Native State. We are sure it is not. Why then this want of confidence? His Majesty is the only Sovereign Power in India and, therefore, everyone born in India is for all practical purposes a British subject. Will the Governments of Lord Willingdon and Lord Chelmsford remove their anxiety? We hope they will."

Comments on the Government Resolution on the administration of jails in the Bombay Presidency.
Bombay Samáchár (59), 26th Sept.

32. Commenting upon the recently published Government Resolution on the administration of jails in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1916, the *Bombay Samáchár*, while praising the efforts of Government towards reclaiming prisoners by teaching them various handicrafts, wishes that Government in this country might more completely follow the methods prevailing in America and Western countries in the matter of the administration of prisons. It considers the keeping of prisoners convicted of grave offences, such as murder, robbery, etc., with those who may have committed other less serious offences under the impulse of the moment to be a defect in the jail administration in India. The paper advocates the classification of prisoners on systematic lines and their being kept in separate prisons. It believes that the number of prisoners will go on increasing in India, as can be judged from the Jail Administration

Report of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1916, unless and until some such changes as have been mentioned above are adopted in this country. It is in favour of reducing the number of sentences awarding capital punishment, as has been the tendency in other civilised countries, provided that the aims of justice are satisfied and the interests of society are properly safeguarded by such reduction. The paper also advocates the adoption of scientific and humane methods of carrying out capital punishment, *e.g.*, electrocution, as is being done in America. It observes that since the object of Government is to reduce crime, it behoves them to extend their help to the Released Prisoners Aid Society in a more liberal manner than at present.

Suggestion that all Mangs in the Sátára District should be freed from police surveillance.
Dnyán Prakásh (36), 25th Sept.

33. A correspondent writes to the *Dnyán Prakásh*:—Recently American Missionaries in the Sátára District have intervened on behalf of Mang converts to Christianity and freed them from police surveillance, and the effect has been that many Mangs have been embracing Christianity. I request that all Mangs should be freed from police surveillance as conversion to Christianity does not change human nature all at once.

The strike of Bombay postmen.
Rást Goftár (30), 30th Sept., Eng. cols.

***34.** "Hopes were naturally entertained that with the arrival of Sir William Maxwell, the Director General of Post Offices, in Bombay the strike would come to an end, but, if anything the position is worse than it was before. The first question to be considered on such an occasion is the interest of the public, and to put an end to the serious dislocation of business as soon as possible. Of that there are no signs. In spite of all the efforts that are being made business interests in Bombay are suffering very seriously, and if the strike really ends in a lock-out the result will be disastrous, and Bombay, so calm and absorbed with its occupations, will be convulsed. There is not only an industrial problem that has to be solved, but there is also a political situation that has to be faced. In the attitude of the Director General there is nothing but the usual departmental rigidity; the fetish of prestige must be maintained at all costs. There is serious discontent throughout the city and the business of Bombay is being seriously threatened by the prolongation of the strike."

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 23rd Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 25th and 27th Sept.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 27th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 28th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jámshed* (23), 27th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 28th Sept.

35. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* wishes that the postal authorities had given some increase to the postal peons in view of the high prices and had not rejected their representation on technical grounds. [The *Hindusthán* complains that great inconvenience is caused to the commercial public by railway receipts not reaching them in time owing to the strike and their being made to pay demurrage. It is not satisfied with the arrangements made by the postal authorities in opening special centres for distributing letters where the paper alleges people have to waste time in finding out their own letters from the heap placed before them. It suggests that the undelivered letters should not be sent to the Dead Letter Office, but should be safely preserved for distribution after the strike comes to an end. In the subsequent issue the paper repeats its complaint about the inconvenience caused to the public by the strike and avers that the arrangements made by postal authorities to deliver post have proved a failure especially in the native town. It blames the Director General of Posts for treating the deputation of the postal peons in an unconciliatory manner and holding out a threat of dismissal before them. It asks the commercial bodies to inform the Government of India of the inconvenience caused to them by the strike and to bring it to their notice that there is no truth in the official reports about satisfactory arrangements being made to deliver letters to the public. The *Sánj Vartaman* is grieved to see that the Director General is not prepared to consider the revised demands of the postmen which in its opinion are very reasonable. It complains of irregularities in the delivery of letters and asks the postal authorities to give a sympathetic consideration to the demands of the strikers and to bring the strike to an early close The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is of opinion that a false notion of prestige on the part of the Director General is responsible for the rejection of the revised demands of the postal peons. It complains of the failure of the new arrangements in spite of their costliness and asks the postal authorities to relent and accede to the demands of the strikers with a view to saving the public from the inconvenience and loss to which it is subjected. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* and the other marginally noted papers of various dates publish numerous letters wherein the correspondents complain of inconvenience and loss caused to the general public by the alleged failure of the arrangements made by the postal authorities to meet the strike and asking Government to put an end to the strike by acceding to the demands of the strikers. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* on the other hand asks the strikers to resume work on the terms given by the Director General and expresses its belief that the authorities will not fail to give a sympathetic consideration to the question of pay if the strikers rely on their mercy.]

Kesari (106), 25th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 24th and 28th Sept.

36. The *Kesari* remarks that no one will object if the annual surplus of 25 lakhs in the Postal Department is spent upon its lower grade servants who lead a life of misery. It holds that the Postal service compares very unfavourably with the fat Abkári and Police Departments and that its condition is pitiable. It declares that postmen have gone on a strike because their condition has become unbearable and it insists that Government should settle the question sympathetically and immediately. [The *Indu Prakásh* suggests that the dispute between the Bombay Postmen and the Department should be referred to arbitration. It also declares that the authorities will not be able to find new men on low pay to do the work of postmen in the city in a satisfactory manner. It appeals to the Director-General to consider the case of the poor postmen sympathetically and thus to end the strike which is causing immense loss to the merchants of the city.]

Gujaráti (16), 23rd Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (56), 25th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 28th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 24th Sept.

37. The *Gujaráti*, while commenting upon the postal strike refers to the distress felt by all the low paid Government servants owing to the abnormal rise in prices and remarks:—It seems from the reports that reach us that the Post Master General instead of giving a careful consideration to the grievances of the postal peons wants to create a split among the strikers. The authorities should grant the reasonable demands of the postal peons and put an end to the strike. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* on the other hand considers the demands of the postal peons to be quite unreasonable and expresses the hope that the strikers will see their mistake and throw themselves on the mercy of the authorities. The *Bombay Samáchár* suggests that a permanent Arbitration Board should be appointed to settle all disputes arising between employers and workmen. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* suggests that the dispute that has arisen between the postal peons and the authorities should be left to the arbitration of the European Chamber of Commerce and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.]

Sunday Tatler (13), 30th Sept.

38*. "It is unfortunate that the strikers have landed themselves in this situation, which is indeed a pitiable one, and for this they have only to thank their advisers and certain publicists who have fomented and kept up the strike. Serious objection was taken to the presence of Mr. Vincent and his assistants at the conference which the Director-General had with representatives of the strikers. The men themselves have not taken any objection, but the inspiration comes from other quarters where the Police are an eyesore and where nothing is spared to misrepresent the intentions and actions of these functionaries......... It is the duty of the public to help, and instead of doing this, every obstacle is thrown in the way of settlement, by some mischief-makers who take a delight in tasks like that and earn cheap notoriety." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—" At the same time, the authorities and particularly the Director-General should take a leaf from the Viceroy's book and take the men into confidence by showing them some concession. Lord Chelmsford has demonstrated that even the most contentious question can be approached with sympathy and moderation, and the Director-General can easily do likewise and effect a compromise. This will redound much to his credit and there will be no loss of prestige.]

Gujarati (16), 30th Sept., Eng. cols.

***39.** "The postmen's strike has not yet terminated and the public are still being subjected to great and even intolerable inconvenience. It is all very well for Sir William Maxwell, the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, to think that only *some* inconvenience was being entailed on the public. But the fact is otherwise.......... That excellent and successful arrangements have been made in the interests of the inhabitants of Malabar Hill goes without saying, and we were much amused to read such an admission in triumphant language by Sir William Maxwell. That only confirms the complaint made by the Indian mercantile community as to the gross unfairness with which they are being treated.......... The question is no longer between the strikers and the Postal Department but between the suffering public and the postal authorities. The public are surprised to learn that the Director-General should have summoned a Conference where high Police officers including representatives of the C. I. D. were invited. What was still more extraordinary was the exclusion of the Postmen's attorney from the Conference when his services were urgently wanted. We have nothing to say against the Police officers. But the procedure was highly objectionable. The representatives of the Postmen should have been given full opportunity to speak out their mind undeterred by the presence of the police or other considerations. .... In England such a strike could have been easily brought to a happy issue by the officers talking to the men in their own tongue and taking them into their confidence. But in India such a free and cordial interchange of views is impossible because of the profound ignorance of the high officers of the language of their employés, and, secondly, because free and frank discussion is made impossible on account of the extraordinary notions the former entertain of their prestige and of the astonishing methods that are adopted for influencing the aggrieved employés." [In the vernacular columns the paper writes:—Officials here seem to think more of their prestige than the convenience of the people. They think low-paid employés are born to slave for ever; if they ask for higher pay they are disloyal! This is an intolerable libel. Why was an all-round increase given to the I. C. S. men as a compensation for loss in acting allowances, etc.? Why has Sir James DuBoulay again advocated an increase in their salaries on the ground of high prices? No notice is taken of the representation of the men for more than six months; and then if they strike, they are called disloyal! Sir W. Maxwell has played into the hands of local officials. The Post Office says that the post is regularly delivered in the Fort. We say this is an utter falsehood. The paper here enters on a long list of complaints about postal irregularities and suggests that the Post Office should be sued for damages by those whose business has suffered owing to its irregularities. If this were done the Postal authorities would show greater care in promptly disposing of the complaints of employés.]

Approval of the appointment of the Committee to consider the question of high prices allowance to low paid Government servants.

Indu Prakásh (39), 25th Sept.

40. The *Indu Prakásh* welcomes the appointment of a Committee to suggest a scale of allowances to low salaried Government servants in view of the present abnormal rise in prices of the necessaries of life. It declares that these prices have in many instances been put up by the shop-keepers for no valid reason and suggests the appointment of another Committee to ascertain the real cause of this rise and to fix the prices of the several articles of food, etc., after due examination of the circumstances.

Hindu Government Servants should be granted some more sectional holidays.

Hindu Missionary (New), 24th Sept.

41. The *Hindu Missionary* supports the representation made to Government by some of their Hindu employes praying that a few more holidays such as *Ashadi* and *Kartiki Ekudashi*, *Bhaubij* and Hindu New Year's day, may be included in the list of sectional Hindu holidays. It says that the High Court is closed on these days and in the mofussil also the Collectors are empowered to close their offices on these holidays. The paper thinks it unreasonable that whereas all other communities should get four or five sectional holidays, the Hindus should have only one such holiday, *viz.*, *Makar Sankrant*, and urges Government to consider the prayer sympathetically.

Complaint about paucity of Muhammadans in the public service of the Bombay Presidency.

Islámic Mail (4), 16th Sept., Eng. cols.

42. "There is a widespread complaint of the paucity of the Muhammadan element in the provincial service of the presidency and Moslem claims are said to be overlooked. There is some justice in it and if we take up the Civil List we find that the Muhammadans are very sparsely intermingled with the Hindu majority......... Now so far as the Judicial Department is concerned the outlook appears to be good, but the Revenue service is deplorably lacking in the Muhammadan element. There are not even 5 per thousand Muhammadans in the Mamlatdar's rank and only 7 Deputy Collectors out of 53, which is very unsatisfactory. Now that the Hindus have agreed to give us 33 per cent. as our share we do not know why this settlement should be restricted to election and should not govern the public service. We do not say that unqualified Muhammadans should be admitted into service, but what we say is this that one-third of the appointments in the provincial service should be given to the Muhammadans whenever qualified men are available. We hope Government will consider this proposal and take the necessary steps to adopt it. We do not want any preferential treatment or favouritism. We want our share. The service is the place where one can do more good to his country and community than from the Councils but Muhammadans are being kept away from it."

The Sind Muhammadans' address of welcome to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford.

Al-Amin (133), 14th Sept., Eng. cols.

43. "Is an association, composed of officials and non-officials, wherein certainly the former predominate by reason of their position and influence, well qualified to pass any judgment on any political matter? The Sind Muhammadan Association is one of the greatest phenomena of modern times. With an aerial habitation, it manages to creep into existence on all ceremonial occasions.......... No sooner was the announcement of the forthcoming visit of His Excellency the Viceroy made, than this dummy of an Association has begun to have life such as it never had before. There are drafts and drafts of the address, and the air is full of mystery. The very silence of the Karachi draft on the Home Rule question is galling to K. B. Peer Buksh, a retired Deputy Collector and a nominated member of the Council, and it is no surprise that his effort should contain abhorrence for the Home Rule movement.......... All the *defacto* Government servants should not henceforth be allowed 'to dabble' in politics or to continue to remain, even on ceremonial occasions, members of the Associations, if it should try, as attempts are being made for the first time, to include politics within the scope of its activities. Surely if the Rules for the Conduct of Public Servants prevent Government servants from agitating *for* self-government 'misnamed Home Rule,' as some would like us to say, they would be applicable with equal force to all agitation directed *against* it."

The evils of *Rasai* in Sind.

Al-Amin (133), 14th Sept.

44. After pointing out that the evils of *Rasai* in Sind are still as rampant as ever, the *Al-Amin* remarks :—"The simple reason of people meekly submitting to the untold hardships of *rasai*, *Chher* and *Lapo* is that they have learnt it to their grief, that their cry would always be in the wilderness, that to protest against it is to court untold dangers. The circulars of the Commissioner have not succeeded in the least in checking it, it continues to flourish as ever. Considering the present state of the Zamindars, the demand of definite evidence in each and every case is nothing short of avoiding an unpleasant enquiry. The result of all this indifference is the systematic sucking out of the blood of poor helpless people who do not possess the capacity to resist. But their grumbling, if inaudible at Karáchi, does exist and no one who knows Sind or Sindhis can deny it."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the expulsion of a student from the Dhárwár Mission School for writing a poem on Mrs. Besant.

Ráj Hansa (85), 19th Sept.

45. Referring to the case of Rungaiyya Shenvi (*vide* paragraph 54 of Weekly Report No. 36 of 1917) the *Ráj Hansa* says:—Rungaiyya Shenvi composed some verses to be published on the covering page of the *Vagbhushana*. They were published without any fault of his, as addressed to Mrs. Besant. There is not a single word of direct praise of Mrs. Besant in the verses except mention of her name. It is regrettable that his educational career should be blasted for it. Government and the High Court have shown clemency even to rebels. We do not think that the Educational Department will sentence the student to life-long suffering for a charge against him due to no fault of his. We hope that the Educational authorities will reconsider his case.

Students and parents should take vigorous measures to get "student circulars" cancelled.

Mahrátta (5), 30th Sept.

***46.** "Mrs. Besant has in a message to the Madras students published in *New India* of the 22nd instant, asked them to memorialise for the withdrawal of G. O. 559. She is not in favour of students calling outside meetings, even for settling the question of National dress. Sir Subramania Iyer gave similar advice some time back. The Madras students have shown exemplary enthusiasm in resisting in a suitable manner the unconscionable order of Government forbidding them to attend political meetings. When elders, for some reason or other, find themselves unable to co-operate in resisting encroachment on students' rights (which, we may note in passing, flow directly from the right of the nation to develop itself as speedily as possible in all directions), it creates rather an awkward predicament for the younger generation.......... Under these circumstances, if the elders to whom the term 'students' cannot possibly be applied by Government, refrain from properly resisting the blow to the national future dealt by Government in the form of circulars of the G. O. 559 type, the sensitive students fired by patriotism must either brood silently and breed wayward fancies or must take up the work, which *political tradition* has taught them to look upon as the business of elders. If anybody is to blame for this action of students, *it is not the students*, but the elders. And there is another standpoint, from which *action on the part of the students* is expedient and therefore justifiable. The elders have grown up in a different atmosphere.......... As a matter of fact, the younger generation of the day is generally speaking much more advanced in outlook than their elders. In submitting to a worn-out reactionary tradition demanding an unreasonable obedience on the part of the student-community to directions and dictates flowing from educational and other authorities, the younger generation rightly feel that they are doing undue violence to their Reason and their Patriotic Emotion. Such submission becomes unendurable after a time, and the idea naturally suggests itself to the students that for the very purpose of moving their elders to action, *action on their own part is vitally necessary*.......... Whatever difference of opinion there may be in the camp of the elders as regards the holding of outside meetings by students, there is unanimity as regards the question of memorialising against unjust orders and of calling *inside meetings*, *i. e.*, private meetings, to discuss and decide upon any course of united action on the part of large number of students, in the matter of 'National dress' or in other matters affecting students.......... 'Our elders—and no outside authority'—that must be the insistent demand of students of schools and colleges. The demand means that all the *outside* activities of students (*i.e.*, activities outside the school and college) must be left to the exclusive guidance of their parents and guardians, or of themselves, if they are their own guardians. We learn that Poona students are thinking of memorialising the Governor in Council through proper authorities on the subject of the Students' Circular. We heartily approve of the movement." [Elsewhere the paper wites :—" The students' circulars are not an isolated piece of executive action. They were issued as part of 'a policy'. The policy which dictated the exclusion, internment and externment orders, which put an embargo on the tongues and pens of 'emphatic' patriots, which prohibited public meetings and processions—this same policy (probably outlined in the confidential circular of March last), rendered necessary the issue of the students' circulars. The student's circulars are part of a policy—the policy which turned out many other oppressive orders besides these circulars. And, in our opinion, the way to get them cancelled is that which has secured the release of the illustrious interned. *Co-operation, vigorous protest* and *Passive Resistance.* Students from all parts of India must co-operate and send respectful yet unfaltering memorials to the authorities concerned. Their elders must co-operate with them. And, if this does not suffice, Passive Resistance must be adopted, where feasible."]

47. "The laying of the charge at the door of the illiterate is not a difficult task; but has our Education Department honoured, in any decent measure, the specific recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882? Has 'the *special* encouragement of Muhammadan education been regarded as a legitimate charge on local, Municipal and on Provincial funds'? Have 'the indigenous Muhammadan Schools been *liberally* encouraged'? Has 'the Higher English Education been *liberally* encouraged amoung the Muhammadans'? Has any 'Normal school or class for the training of Muhammadan teachers been established'? Have 'the Muhammadan inspecting officers been employed *more largely* for the inspection of Primary Schools'? Has the Government of India Resolution No. 7—215—25 of 1885 (Education Department) helped us in Sind in any special degree? The Government of India may say that 'In Sind there is an urgent call for special measures', but what can the Education Department do when there is no demand from the people? Should we continue to be satisfied with the present number of students in the Training College, when so many Vernacular Final passed men are loitering outside it? Should we not expect the appointment of at least a Muhammadan Vice-Principal in the College to infuse that spirit among the boys which may make them pioneers of education in villages, instead of a grumbling lot? Is the appointment of a Muhammadan Deputy in Upper Sind, where perhaps others will not be able to hold their own, and a Deputy for Mulla Schools a sufficient answer to the Bombay Government Resolution 2034-A (Education Department) of 1885? Is the long-delayed affiliation of the Khairpur State High School a happy commentary?"

The problem of Muhammadan education in Sind and alleged neglect of it by the authorities.

Al-Amin (133), 14th Sept., Eng. cols.

MUNICIPALITIES.

48. Complaining about the neglect of sanitation by the Karáchi Municipality, the *New Times* remarks :—" The present insanitary condition of the town has, for some time past, assumed such magnitude that any continuance thereof, constitutes a positive menace to the health and safety of the unfortunate public who are doomed to live or die therein......... If any observer cares to walk round the streets of the Town, the old Town, the Market Quarter, the Machi Miani Quarter, the Jail Quarter, or for the matter of fact, any quarter of the city, he cannot but be struck by the general neglect of the most elementary measures for sanitation for which a Public Health Department necessarily exists in every city. It is no exaggeration to assert that the conservancy arrangements have utterly broken down.......... The disposal of rubbish is effected in the same

Alleged grossly insanitary condition in Karáchi (Sind).

New Times (7), 24th Sept.

perfunctory manner. Metallic bins greet the eye at intervals in the streets. In these rubbish is thrown from day to day and it lies there under the powerful rays of a tropical sun to decompose, till a Municipal cart turns up to empty it....... Dirty water is thrown on Streets yet no effective means are taken to provant it. .... Fish hawkers go about the street throwing parts thereof on the pave-ment to rot and attract swarms of flies which now infest the streets the whole day, a prelude perhaps to some epidemic.......... Rotten fruit unfit for human consumption is hawked and sold near Bolton Market, the Karadur, the Town, Ranchore Lines and Joria Bazar with an impunity which suggests rightly or wrongly that there may after all be an understanding between these hawkers and the underlings of the Public Health Department. In short the sanitary condition of the Town simply beggars description. The inference seems to be clear that the executive machinery of the Health Department has utterly gone to pieces."

Comments on the official attempts to introduce house-tax in Lárkána and Rohri (Sind).
New Times (7), 21st Sept.

49. "The feeling over the question of the house-tax in Lárkána and Rohri has grown very intense and acute. At Lárkána Mr. Bolus and at Rohri Mr. Davis continue to put the pressure they can and the official attitude seems to have caused great alarm and anxiety amongst the people in both these places......... In the note he recently issued to the Press, Mr. Bolus laid down his arguments which were meant more to satisfy himself than to convince the people.......... The spirit of his whole note just contradicts the fundamental principle of local self-government which is, that the people themselves must legislate in local affairs. To tell the people that the tax is necessary in order to better their civic and social life and that the tax *must* be imposed in the interests of the poor who have no power to speak, or who somehow or the other do not speak, is to say the least, humbugging the people. Not a single body or association representing the poor peoples' views has so far approved of the tax.......... Mr. Bolus and several others of his class still seem to imagine that the people opposing the house-tax are *rich*. May we ask them to give us their definition of a rich man? The continued misrepresentation of the economic position of the middle class has become the basis of unfair attacks, violent anti-democratic legislation and is now becoming the inspiration of official reform—reform which mercilessly tramples down upon the sacred feeling of the people. To say the least this is carrying bureaucratic benignity too far. It is reform with a vengeance.......... We have throughout watched the official effort to impose the house-tax with grave concern as it shows a serious disregard for public feeling. If the people are not to be given any voice in the determination of the *form* of local taxes let there be no sham of local self-government. Let it be said frankly that the house-tax is being imposed because it is the will of the officials and with a consistent and deliberate opposition to peoples' will and judgment. To oppose public feeling so violently will be to sow the germs of discontent and restlessness in the province."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 5th October 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 40 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 6th October 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule :

- A poem on Home Rule 34
- Agitation for the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali . . . . 16—21
- Appeal to the authorities to release two interned Sind Muhammadans 23
- Attacks on some mythological personages held sacred by Hindus . . 30
- Caste representation on the reformed councils 25
- Comments on the recent meeting of the European Association of Calcutta. . . . . 5—10
- Foreigners' have looked more to the interests of the backward classes than the Brahmins 26
- Higher officials should be Europeans in the interest of the backward classes 27
- Indians must be allowed to carry arms 28
- Passive resistance should be resorted to if political prisoners are not released 22
- Plea for a general amnesty for political prisoners . . . . 14 & 15
- Presidentship of the Congress 33
- Protest against the continuance of the Viramgam Customs line . . 31
- Suggested regulation of prices of foodstuffs by the Government of India 32
- Suggestion that the Secretary of State should not visit Bombay in Christmas week 4
- The release of Mrs. Besant . . . . 11 & 12
- The secret of Mrs. Besant's power over Indians 13
- Urgency of a political deputation to England 24
- What Muhammadans are to expect if they unite with the Hindus . 29

Complaint about inadequate steamer service between Bombay and Ratnágiri 44

Imperial Legislative Council :

- Alleged inspiration by the *London Times* of His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in the — . . . . 1 & 2
- The Honourable Pandit Malaviya's resolution in the — regarding the Indian element in the I. C. S. 3

Police : Need of strengthening the — force in the suburbs of Bombay . 45

Postal Department : The strike of Bombay postmen . . . . 36—38

H 303—a CON

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Public Service:

Dissatisfaction at the amendment of the rule directing Kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination 47

Vatandars when acquitted should not be dismissed from their offices . 46

Revenue matters: Criticism of the Land Revenue policy of Government . 35

Sind: The anti-Home Rule clause shall not be withdrawn from the — Muhammadans' address to the Viceroy 48

War:

Alleged possibility of Japan siding with Germany owing to the policy of exclusion adopted by the British colonies towards the Japanese. 43

Complaint about recruitment in the Sholápur District 40

Indians and commission in the Army 39

The Indian public should be taken into confidence about losses at sea . 42

The prisoners in the jails in the Presidency should be utilised for war purposes 41

EDUCATION—

Comments on the attitude of the Collector of Karáchi and the Commissioner in Sind in the matter of the D. J. Sind College principalship . 49

Necessity of having a Government Middle School at Dhárwár . . . 50

MUNICIPALITIES—

Lárkána and Rohri: Alleged official high-handedness in forcing a house-tax on the people of — (Sind) 51

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(As it stood on the 1st October 1917.)

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay East Indian ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	J. L. Britt ; East Indian ; 70 ...	300
2	Commercial Gazette ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 41.	200
3	Indian Social Reformer ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A. ; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin) ; 46.	525
4	Islámic Mail ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Saiyad Mohomed Abdulla Khan ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 33.	1,500
5	Mahrátta ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Narsinh Chintaman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 44.	700
6	Message ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	2,000
7	New Times ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswani, M.A. ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 23.	400
8	Phœnix ...	Do. ...	Bi-weekly ...	Jáffar Faddu ; Muhammadan (Khoja) ; 63...	425
9	Sind Advocate ...	Sukkur ...	Weekly ...	Pribhdas Kodanmal Gogia ; Hindu ; 42 ...	500
10	Sind Journal ...	Hyderabad ...	Do. ...	Karamchand Gurumukhsing Mirchandani ; 35.	500
11	Sind Moslem ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman ; Muhammadan ; 41.	800
12	Sind Observer ...	Karáchi ...	Bi-weekly ...	J. Leonard ; Anglo-Indian ; 50 ...	375
13	Sunday Tatler ...	Bombay ..	Weekly ...	C. S. Menon ; Hindu ; 60.	1,000
14	Young India ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Jamnadas Dwarkadas Dharamsi ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 27.	750
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
15	A'ryă Prakásh ...	Baroda ...	Weekly ...	Motilál Tribhovandás, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Bania) ; 46.	1,000
16	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Rájkot ...	Fortnightly ...	Tribhovandás Damodardás ...	0
17	Gujaráti ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái ; Hindu (Bania) ; 34.	16,000
18	Gujarát Mitră ...	Surat ...	Do. ...	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala ; Hindu (Deolad Bania) ; 41.	1,200
19	Gujaráti Punch ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh ; Hindu (Mesri Bania) ; 40.	3,600
20	Hindi Punch ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár ; Pársi ; 59 ...	550
21	Hindusthán ...	Do. ..	Do. ...	Ratanlál Atmárám Sháh ; Modh Bania ; 36.	1,500
22	Hindusthán and Akhbár-e-Soudágar.	Do. ...	Daily ...	Do. do. ...	2,000
23	Indian Loyalist ...	Wadhwán ...	Weekly ...	Ganeshji Jethábhái ; Hindu (Khatri) ; 64 ...	575
24	Jám-e-Jamshed ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A., Pársi ; 41.	5,000
25	Kaiser-i-Hind ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin ; Pársi ; 34.	5,000
26	Káthiáwár Times ...	Rájkot ...	Bi-weekly ...	Trikamji Govindji Kotak ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 37.	800
27	Pársi-Sansár ...	Karáchi ...	Weekly ...	Rustomji Kharsedji Sidhwa ; Pársi ; 32 ...	500
28	Praja Bandhu ...	Ahmedabad ...	Do. ...	Jagjivandas S. Trivedi ; Hindu (Shrimáli Bráhman) ; 38.	2,700
29	Praja Mitra and Pársi ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Mihirjibhai Palanji Madon ; Pársi ; 57 ...	3,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI—concluded.				
30	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Bombay	Weekly	Mihirjibhai Palanji Madon ; Pársi ; 57	1,700
31	Rást Goftár	Do.	Do.	Dhanjibhái Jiváji Dhondi ; Pársi ; 48	825
32	Sánj Vartamán	Do.	Daily	Rustamji N. Vátcha-Gándhi ; Pársi ; 51	7,000
33	Suryá Prakásh	Surat	Weekly	Nagindás Dáyábhái ; Hindu (Nágar Bania) ; 71.	550
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
34	Chandrodayá	Dhárwár	Weekly	G. H. Honnapurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat); 47.	475
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARA'THI.				
35	Kanara News	Kumta (Kanara)	Fortnightly	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin); 46.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
36	Dnyánodayá	Bombay	Weekly	Alden Hyde Clark ; Christain ; 38	550
37	Dnyán Prakásh	Poona	Daily	Gopál Krishna Deodhar, M.A. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 45.	3,000
38	Dnyán Prakásh	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	4,000
39	Hindu Missionary	Bombay	Do.	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. ; Páthare Prabhu ; 48.	100
40	Indu Prakásh	Do.	Daily	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu ; (Marátha); 55.	2,000
41	Pragati and Jinvijay	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Anna Babaji Latthe ; Jain ; 31.	300
42	Shetkari	Ahmednagar	Weekly	Ganesh Krishná Chitale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 48.	200
43	Subodh Patrika	Bombay	Do.	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 41.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
44	O Anglo-Lusitáno	Bombay	Weekly	Dr. W. F. Pais, L. M. & S. ; Goanese ; 36	1,000
	ANGLO-SINDI.				
45	Frontier Gazette	Jacobabad	Weekly	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 35.	500
46	Hind Vasi	Hyderabad (Sind)	Daily	Jethmal Parsram ; Hindu ; 40	500
47	Lárkána Gazette	Lárkána	Weekly	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 28.	700
48	Sindhi	Sukkur	Bi-weekly	Mulchand Bhágchand ; Hindu (Baláni); 39.	1,000
49	Sind Patrika	Lárkána	Weekly	Devsing Shámsing ; Hindu (Amil) ; 30	500
50	Sind Upkárak	Shikárpur	Monthly	Bhai Mohandev Ghanshamdas ; Hindu (Bhátia); 55.	300
51	Sind Vasi	Hyderabad (Sind)	Daily	Vasomal Kishanchand ; 37	725
52	Sookhree	Karáchi	Weekly	Jámatmal Lálchand ; Hindu (Chapráo) ; 44.	500
53	Trade Advertiser	Shikárpur (Sukkur).	Do.	Teckchand Verhamal ; Hindu (Gokláni) ; 45.	800
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
54	A Luz	Bombay	Weekly	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 36	500
55	O Amigo do Povo	Do.	Do.	Sebastian Xavier Vaz ; Goanese ; 40	800
56	O Goano	Do.	Do.	M. A. Fernandes ; Goanese ; 44	900

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI.				
57	Akhbár-e-Islám	Bombay	Daily	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Parbundri; Muhammadan; 47.	2,200
58	Baroda Vartamán	Baroda	Weekly	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár); 47.	1,700
59	Bombay Mazah	Bombay	Do.	Sorab Sheriar Irani; Pársi; 30	500
60	Bombay Samáchár	Do.	Daily	Kaikhusru Máne[illegible] Minocheher-Homji, B.A.; Pársi; 42.	4,200
61	Broach Mitră	Broach	Weekly	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri); 35.	550
62	Broach Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Jehángirji Ardeshir; Pársi; 38	500
63	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Tuljáshankar Gawrishankar Yádnik; (Audich Sahasra Bráhman); 35.	900
64	Deshi Mitră	Surat	Weekly	Maganlál Kikábhai; Jain (Visa Shrimáli); 41.	1,300
65	Hind Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Dáyábhái Kasandás; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 51.	1,000
66	Hitechhu	Karáchi	Do.	Harilál Válji Thákur; Hindu (Audich Bráhman); 32.	100
67	Kaira Vartamán	Kaira	Do.	Somachand Panachand; Hindu (Jain Bania); 41.	500
68	Káthiáwár Samáchár	Ahmedabad	Do.	Bhaishankar Chhaganlal; Hindu (Bráhman); 47.	500
69	Loka Mitră	Bombay	Bi-weekly	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi; 42.	700
70	Navsári Patrika	Navsári	Weekly	Harivallabhdás Pránjivandás Párekh; Hindu (Bania); 43.	400
71	Political Bhomiyo	Ahmedabad	Do.	Nurkhan Amirkhan; Muhammadan; 62 ...	...
72	Praja Mitră	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	Jaffar Faddu; Muhammadan (Khoja); 63.	375
73	Praja Pokár	Surat	Weekly	Uttamram Umedram Reshamwala; Dásálád Bráhman; 41.	700
74	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania); 39.	4,100
75	Surat Akhbár	Surat	Do.	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel; Pársi; 42	750
76	Vivechak	Lachhras (Nándod, Rájpipla State).	Monthly	Chaganlal Naranbhai Mesri; Hindu (Bhavsár); 32.	800
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
77	Jain	Bháwnagar	Weekly	Devchand Damji; Hindu (Bania); 31	1,800
	HINDI.				
78	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Rámchandră Vásudeo Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30 and Shankar Narahar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Brahman); 41.	1,250
79	Jain Mitra	Surat	Weekly	Mulchand Kasandás Kapadia: Jain; 33	1,200
80	Shri Venkateshwar	Bombay	Daily	Pandit Chandulál Mehta; Hindu (Sáraswat Bráhman); 48.	1,000
81	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Do.	Weekly	Do. dc	10,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	KANARESE.				
82	Karnátak Vaibhav	Bijápur	Weekly	G. R. Mannur; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 50.	500
83	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayă.	Dhárwár	Do.	Krishnáji Hanumant Mudvedkar; Hindu (Vaishnav Bráhman); 44.	1,200
84	Lokă Bandhu	Do.	Do.	Gururáo Rághavendră Mamdápur; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhman); 49.	300
85	Raj Hansa	Do.	Daily	M. N. Tembe; (Karháda Bráhman); 34	600
86	Raj Hansa	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	600
87	Rasik Ranjini	Gadag (Dhárwár)	Do.	Gaurishankar Rámprasád; Hindu (Kanoja Bráhman); 54.	50
88	Savigara	Agdi (Dhárwár)	Do.	(1) B. P. Kale; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhmin); 30. (2) R. T. Karpur; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 35.	500
89	Shubhodaya	Dhárwár	Do.	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 50.	800
	MARA'THI.				
90	Arya Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly	Tulsidas Govind Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 27.	250
91	A'ryávart	Do.	Do.	Shankar Hari Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 29.	200
92	Bakul	Ratnágiri	Do.	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi; Hindu (Bania); 40.	400
93	Belgaum Samáchár	Belgaum	Do	Hari Bhikáji Sámant; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 55.	230
94	Bhárat Máta	Islámpur (Sátára)	Fortnightly	Vishnu Sitárám Athale; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 31.	400
95	Chikitsak	Belgaum	Weekly	Abáji Rámchandră Sávant; Hindu (Marátha); 54.	540
96	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Rámchandră Vásudev Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 30; and Shankar Narahar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 41.	10,000
97	Daily Report	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly	......	...
98	Din Mitră	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do.	Mukund Ganpat Pátil; Hindu (Máli); 30	600
99	Dnyán Ságar	Kolhápur	Do.	Vishnu Vithal Mantri; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 52.	600
100	Hasya Vinod	Bombay	Do.	Vishwanath Purshottam Pendharkar; Hindu (Karháda Bráhmin); 41.	1,500
101	Jagadádarsh	Ahmednagar	Do.	Káshináth Bahirav Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 66.	200
102	Jágaruk	Poona	Do.	Valchand Ramchand Kothari, B.A. (Jain); 26.	200
103	Jagad Vritt	Bombay	Do.	Ramrao Balkrishna Kirtikar; (Pathăre Prabhu); 42.	13,000
104	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit	Sholápur	Do.	Govind Náráyan Kákade; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 60.	450
105	Karmanuk	Poona	Do.	Hari Náráyan Apte; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 49.	3,400
106	Kesari	Do.	Do.	Narsinh Chintáman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 44.	20,000
107	Khándesh Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do.	Yádav Bálkrishnă Bahálkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 51.	500

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
108	Modă Vritt	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Dámodar Laxman Lele; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 38.	50
109	Mumukshu	Poona	Do.	Lakshman Rámchandră Pángárkar, B.A.; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 44.	1,700
110	Násik Vritt	Násik	Do.	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 37.	300
111	Pancham George Vijay	Belgaum	Do.	Balvant Ramchandra Sohoni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 33.	1,000
112	Pandhari Mitra	Pandharpur (Sholapur).	Do.	Govind Sakharam Bidkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 55.	100
113	Prabodh Chandrika	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do.	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 54.	200
114	Prakásh	Sátára	Do.	Rámchandră Ganesh Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 41.	350
115	Sahasrakar	Poona	Do.	Valchand Ramachand Kothári, B.A.; Jain Humad; 26.	850
116	Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balwant Kolhatkar, B.A., LL.B; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 37.	5,000
117	Satyă Shodhak	Ratnágiri	Weekly	Krishnáji Hari Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 32.	1,000
118	Shivaji Vijay	Sholápur	Do.	Madvalappa Sangappa Deomule; Hindu (Lingáyat); 32.	700
119	Sholápur Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal; Hindu (Telgu Máli); 36.	400
120	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Bombay	Do.	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande; Hindu (Marátha); 55.	1,500
121	Shri Sháhu	Sátára	Do.	Váman Hari Dhavle; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 36.	300
122	Shubh Suchak	Do.	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Chitale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 38.	250
123	Udyam Prakásh	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli; Hindu (Teli); 30.	50
124	Vaidyak Patrika	Poona	Do.	Mahadev Sakharam Date; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 38.	500
125	Vichári	Kárwár (Kánara)	Tri-monthly	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 43.	450
126	Vinod	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Kulkarni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 28.	200
127	Vrittasár	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Purushottam Ganesh Vaidyă; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 26.	90
128	Vyápári	Poona	Do.	Náná Dádáji Gund; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 61.	500
129	Wárkari	Pandharpur (Sholápur).	Do.	Vithal Keshav Limaye; Hindu (Chitpâwan Bráhman); 45.	300
	SINDI.				
130	A'ftáb-i-Sind	Sukkur	Weekly	Sháms-ud-din *walad* Muhammad; Muhammadan (Abro); 50.	500
131	Al-Amin	Hyderabad	Do.	Shahnavaz Pirzada, B.A.; Muhammadan; 21.	500
132	Al-Haq	Sukkur	Do.	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 41.	800
133	Bharat Vasi	Hyderabad	Daily	Viruram Vishindas; Hindu; 36	400
134	Khairkháh-i-Sind	Lárkhána	Weekly	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 44.	250
135	Mirpurkhás Gazette	Mirpurkhás	Do.	Gurudinmal Tahiling; Hindu (Amil); 36	600

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	SINDHI—*concluded.*				
136	Musáfir ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Weekly ...	Abdul Wahab Khan ; Pathan ...	900
137	Prabhát ...	Do. ...	Tri-weekly ...	Gopaldás Lekhráj Thadani ; Hindu (Amil) ; 29.	550
138	Sind Mail ...	Hyderabad ...	Weekly ...	Parmanand Rijhumal ; Hindu ; 60 ...	250
139	Sind Sudhár ...	Karáchi ...	Tri-weekly ...	Khánchand Rahtumal ; Hindu (Amil) ; 49...	800
	SINDHI, DEV NAGRI AND SANSKRIT.				
140	Hindu ...	Hyderabad (Sind)...	Weekly ...	Lokram Nainarám ; 28 ...	400
	URDU.				
141	Islámic Mail ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Saiyad Muhammad Abdulla Khán ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 33.	1,500
142	Mufid-e-Rozgár ...	...	Do. ...	Hazi Munshi Mahamad Husein ; Muhammadan ; 46.	3,500
143	Muslim Herald ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 38.	1,200

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Alleged inspiration by the London *Times* of His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Young India (14), 3rd Oct.

1. "One can hardly believe that it is a fortuitous coincidence that in some respects the leading article of the London *Times* of August 24 should bear a close resemblance to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's speech of September 5......... It is not, however, difficult to guess that these resemblances may be due to the inspiring presence of some 'wandering ministrels' closely connected with Printing House Square. The *Times* has made an attempt to withhold from Mr. Montagu the credit which is almost entirely due to him, and certain Anglo-Indian journals, particularly those which have acquired notoriety for their semi-official character, have faithfully re-echoed those sentiments, there is little reason to doubt, on the inspiration of these 'wandering minstrels'. We may be wrong in our surmise; but it would be the greatest calamity to India and England alike, if journalists and super-journalists were ever allowed to pull the strings of Indian Government."

Message (6), 2nd Oct.

2. "The explanation may lie the other way and be the result of a great transfusion of thought. It is well-known that Sir Valentine Chirol has long been under the protecting wings of Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues and having matured his thoughts on the principles of Indian progress, might have communicated them in advance to our contemporary in London. Our contemporary has indulged in its usual 'lot of nonsense' about what the Secretary of State should or should not do when he visits India and here again one is painfully conscious of the resemblance of thought and expression, which too may perhaps be explained as being the result of the presence of 'the wandering minstrel' within the ante-chambers of the Viceregal Lodge.......... This followed by an over-flowing apology for the silence of 'Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues,' conceived in advance in a vein similar to the Viceroy's utterance almost a fortnight later leaves one in doubt whether a secret conspiracy exists between Simla and Printing House Square. It is not and it cannot be a mere accident that these resemblances exist and it is preposterous that public opinion should be influenced by any unhealthy combination or understanding such as seems to exist in this case. Mr. Montagu will do well to take note of the fact as the public in this country will. If Mr. Montagu's visit to this country is to be productive of any good results at all, possible political wire-pullers harboured at the expense of the public should be cleared out of the country. The change of regime at the India office must needs be followed by a change of the angle of vision towards 'wandering minstrels,' whose presence is not only resented by the public, but is a sign of weakness on the part of the Government of India."

The Honourable Pandit Malaviya's resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council regarding Indian element in the I. C. S.

Hindusthán (20), 2nd Oct.

3. The *Hindusthán* considers the resolution moved by the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the Imperial Legislative Council to the effect that not less than one-half of the total number of posts in the cadre of the Indian Civil Service should be thrown open to Indians, as one that had the full sympathy of the Indian public. It is of opinion that the British character of Government would not have been affected in the least by the adoption of the resolution which would have gone a great way in allaying the discontent prevailng in the country. It expresses the hope that Mr. Montagu will give a careful consideration to the grievances of Indians in the matter of their share in the public services of the country and devise steps to do justice to the claims of India.

Suggestion that the Secretary of State should not visit Bombay in Christmas week.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 7th Oct.

*4. "A Press Note issued last week announces that Mr. Montagu will accompany His Excellency the Viceroy on a visit to Bombay between the 24th December and 2nd January next. We should like to bring it to the notice of His Excellency that this is the time when the Congress and the other important annual Conferences will be in session at Calcutta and that this arrangement places many men, who take an interest

H 303—3 CON

in public affairs from different points of view, under the necessity of either absenting themselves from the annual Conferences or foregoing the opportunity of meeting the Secretary of State. The object of Mr. Montagu's visit, we think, can be best served by his making Calcutta his headquarters during Christmas week. He will be able to meet there many leaders who will be attracted to Calcutta not only by the National Congress, but by the Social Industrial and Theistic Conferences, by the Muhammadan Educational Conference and other public functions which generally take place about the time at the place where the national gatherings are held every year. We are sure that the matter has only to be brought to the Viceroy's notice to receive sympathetic attention."

Comments on the recent meeting of the European Association of Calcutta.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 7th Oct.

***5.** "We do not believe and have never believed in politics as the highest or most worthy form of human activity, and what little experience we have had of it has not in the least tended to alter our opinion. Nevertheless, we are forced into politics, so to speak, in self-defence. Since Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, the Government of India with a few short interludes has been steadily tending to become a department of the British Government, swayed by the same Parliamentary and sectional interests, and, in consequence, less of the Government of India in the interests of the Indian people. The tradition of the great succession of Governors-General and Viceroys, Bentinck, Dalhousie, Canning, Lawrence, Mayo, Northbrook, came to an end when Lord Lytton came out with orders to repeal the cotton duties. One has only to compare the public utterances of the earlier Viceroys with those of the later to realize the revolution that has taken place in their position. We quote the following sentences from one of Lord Mayo's public speeches, because it is typical of the way in which the earlier Viceroys regarded their position in this country. 'In the consideration of all these matters', said the illustrious Viceroy, 'we must first take into consideration the inhabitants of this country. The welfare of the people of India is our primary object. If we are not here for their good, we ought not to be here at all.' He would, indeed, be a bold Viceroy who would dare to speak thus in these days. Lord Mayo would have made short work of Sir William Vincent's 'distinct understanding' to European tradesmen and planters who do business in this country.......... We say the steady tendency to subordinate the interests of India and the Indians to that of the official and non-official Europeans in India is responsible for the origin and is a *raison d'etre* of Indian politics. And that, too, is the reason why we who dislike politics as much as Mr. Ironside, are forced to devote a large part of our time to the study of political questions. Until this tendency is definitely and finally checked there can be no social progress and no spiritual growth."

Bombay Samáchár (59), 1st Oct.; *Hindusthán* (20), 29th Sept.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 29th Sept.

6. Commenting upon the proceedings of the meeting recently held at Calcutta by the European Association, the *Bombay Samáchár* characterises as ill-placed the opposition raised at the meeting against the release of Mrs. Annie Besant and against the task Government have set before themselves of framing a scheme of political reforms to be introduced in India. The paper observes that the interests of the European community, for the safety of which the European Association has been so very apprehensive, have not yet been imperilled in any manner and adds that for effectually safeguarding those interests the Europeans would do well to throw aside their present attitude of opposition to the Indian demands and to heartily co-operate with the Indians for the mutual benefit of both the communities. [The *Hindusthán* remarks that the cry raised at present by the European Association is the outcome of an excited imagination and believes that it will not receive weight from any quarter. It maintains that Indians have no objection to Europeans setting forth their demands and to justice being done to them but adds that the European Association has, in doing so, exceeded all proper bounds. It remarks that their present attitude clearly shows how far they intend to contribute in bringing about the calm atmosphere desired by Lord Chelmsford. The *Sánj Vartmán* remarks that the present agitation which the Anglo-Indians have raised in spite of the Viceroy's assurance that in considering any scheme of reforms the interests of all parties and communities will receive the attention of Government is of a more violent kind than the agitation carried on by the worst type of Indian Extremists. The paper writes :—These boisterous persons, though they claim to be the well-wishers of the British Empire, have no faith in the promise given by the representative of the King-Emperor. We hope that His Excellency the Viceroy will bring them to their right senses by administering to them a few words of advice.]

Young India (14), 3rd Oct.

7. "So far as Indians are concerned, we venture to assert that they do not need to be told that the European vested interests view with alarm, amounting to positive dismay, the increasing assertiveness of public opinion and the more than usual deference, which even such a body as the Government of India has at last been compelled to show to it. This state of things is not certainly conducive to the continuance of the monopoly which European capital has exclusively enjoyed in this country for more than sixty years.......... We are perfectly well aware that the orientalised European is not eager to embrace the brown or black skinned native as his brother; though for the sake of political expediency, he is not slow in dubbing him as his equal fellow subject. He would not be sorry perhaps to kick him and spurn him as if he were worse than a dog, the moment it becomes a practical question.......... All that we can at present say is that if these shortsighted people are allowed to produce a tearing and raging campaign against Indian reform, they may rest assured that Indians will be in no mood to make light of the nonsense which these people are permitted to indulge in or treat it with the contempt which it so richly deserves and remain idle. That position it is no longer possible to maintain, nor is it reasonable to believe that Indians will allow their elementary rights to be determined according to the conveniences of Anglo-Indian vested interests. The issue is now too plain to be confused. India must in future be governed primarily in the interests of Indians themselves, and any other interests must needs share a secondary consideration." [Elsewhere Mr. L. G. Khare writes :—"Those estimable beings who exist in this country to supply us with whiskey, and wines, to import into this land motor cars, and shoddy Brummagem ware, and to take away from it the wheat and the cotton it grows—they are on the ramp. Their apologists in their press are pretending to be concerned—not about the welfare of the European merchant, you know, but about the welfare of the inarticulate millions in India for whom the hearts of the *Pioneer* and of the *Englishman* and of the planter in Champaran and of the European merchant who sells you his whiskey and fits you up in the latest sartorial monstrosity bleeds—simply bleeds. They are trying their best to shield the poor Indian ryot from the ravages of the Zamindar, the pettifogging lawyer, and the artful Home Rule agitator. So they are on the ramp."]

Rást Goftár (30), 7th Oct., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 7th Oct., Eng. cols.

*8. "Is it for a handful of foreign traders to define the rights of the people of India and to lay down what rights shall be conferred on them and what not?......... We can only say that they must be blind to the signs of the times, and they have no conception of the strength of the national forces that have come into being in India. The World War is being fought for the rights of nations, and here we have a microscopic minority declaring that the people of India, a whole nation, have no rights. An agitation of this kind carries its own defeat with it." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"It is to be sincerely desired that opinion in England, fired by the past traditions and the ideals of the present war, will definitely snub all pompous arrogance on the part of retired Anglo-Indians, and thus show that the petty class interests of Anglo-Indians shall not be allowed to triumph at the expense of British statesmanship and British justice. If Anglo-Indians are sincerely of the opinion that Home Rule would do more harm than good to India, it behoves them to rally the true moderate Indian opinion to their side. But they will not win this co-operation by ungenerous and unbalanced attacks against one of the most popular Secretaries of State that India has ever had."]

Message (6), 2nd Oct.

9. A contributor to the *Message* quotes from Sir A. Birkmyre's speech and remarks :—........ "Sir Archy's speech was saturated with this noxious idea, among others, that Europeans meant the best element in India: 'it is common knowledge to all, that the greater part of the commerce of India, that the basis of her prosperity, is controlled and financed by Britishers.' That is of course true—and just because that is true, I go in for Home Rule. It is an unnatural, unjust and unbeneficial system which allows foreigners to usurp the *control* of the commerce of the country. British capital and British enterprise may be utilised in India but it should not be allowed to have a preponderating influence as it has hitherto been allowed to have."

Kesari (106), 2nd Oct.; *Sandesh* (118), 4th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (36), 2nd Oct.; *Prakásh* (116), 3rd Oct.; *Subodh Patrika* (42), 30th Sept.

10. Really speaking what cause is there for anyone to be dissatisfied with the release of Mrs. Besant and the consequent blessings of the people earned by Government? We have to admit regretfully that there are some such mischief-mongers and among them there are some who call themselves Moderates. But to-day we intend to write about a big party of Anglo-Indians formed to protest openly against the release of Mrs. Besant. They are not satisfied with mere press-criticisms. They have begun a regular campaign against the Government policy of reforms. European officials cannot speak anything however obnoxious the Government policy may be to them. They speak through this party. The European Defence Association was originally formed to defend European accused if any. Though the old name has been dropped it works on the old model of protecting the honour of Europeans. Europeans engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits do not pay attention to the good of India and to its general administration. They move only when there is a question of Europeans *versus* Indians and we may infer that their agitation forebodes evil to India. [The paper here proceeds to give a description of European agitation against the Ilbert Bill.] The present-day Anglo-Indians have not gone to the length of anti-Ilbert Bill agitators. But we must also remember that they have no cause for agitation as compared with Ilbert Bill days. In what way are Anglo-Indians harmed if Mrs. Besant is released? Similarly if a few rights of *swarájya* are granted to Indians in what way will the privileges of Anglo-Indians be endangered? The Anglo-Indians in India represent the Conservatives in England. Whenever any question of granting even the smallest rights to Indians is started Anglo-Indians draw their sword using their loyalty as a shield. The major portion of Europeans in India lives in cities and some live in the jungle. European officials are mere birds of passage. They are concerned very little with the grant of full *swarájya* in connection with local bodies and provincial councils. Railways, Customs, etc., are left to the Imperial Government which is not likely to come under the control of the elected Councillors in the near future. What cause is there then for the European cry that they are ruined? The Anglo-Indian interests would be taken care of and they have no reason to argue that they would be destroyed if *swarájya* were granted. At present Europeans and Anglo-Indians get beyond their due Government posts and rights. If at all they would be reduced a little, there is no question of any injustice being done to Europeans and Anglo-Indians. So long as final control will be in the hands of Europeans, Europeans will get precedence beyond what is their due and also Anglo-Indians according to the proportion of European blood in their veins. They should remain content with this much. Indians have to bear this differentiation so long as final power is in the hands of Europeans. With reference to the Calcutta Town Hall meeting of all sorts and conditions of Europeans, may we ask, what right have Greeks, Armenians, Jews, etc., who have come over to India and who are after money, to put a spoke in the wheel of Indian *swarájya*? [The *Sandesh* refers to Sir Archibald Birkmyre's argument that the British must have control over the internal affairs of India because much of their capital is invested therein and points out that British money is also invested in many other countries and that no such condition was imposed when the

money was originally invested. It further adds :—The profits of these merchants may be reduced a little if Home Rule is granted; but is Mr. Montagu to arrest permanently the growth of the strength of the British Empire in order to preserve the interests of a few merchants? The *Dnyán Prakásh* follows the ***Kesari*** in its comments and says that the interests of Europeans are closely watched from the moment they are born and even when they stand in the dock. It adds :—What more do they want? If they persist in their agitation we shall have to pay them in the same coin and the calm atmosphere of India will be disturbed. But the responsibility of it will not rest with us but with Europeans and Anglo-Indians who are pampered by Government. The *Prakásh* refers to the writings in the *Madras Mail* and the meeting of Europeans and says that Indians should not submit to the cry of Anglo-Indians and that they should expose the character of their movement and show that it is based on a selfish policy harmful to others. The *Subodh Patrika* says that it is good that Anglo-Indians declared that their interests differed from those of Indians, and remarks that European interests should be looked after but that the interests of crores of people should not be sacrificed to those of a handful of Europeans.]

The release of Mrs. Besant.

Vrittasár (129) 1st Oct.; *Sandesh* (118), 30th Sept.; *Hásya Vinod* (101), 1st Oct.; *Dnyánodaya* (35), 4th Oct.

11. Mrs. Besant's release has created great satisfaction throughout the whole country. Everyone will be gratified that constitutional agitation had the desired effect and that Government have at last curbed their own repressive policy. Mrs. Besant's release is indeed a great triumph of popular opinion and carries us nearer to our goal. The event has created unprecedented unity amongst all classes of the people who now proclaim with one voice that *swarajya* is their birthright and that they must have it. Persons like Mrs. Besant help the cause of the country by sacrificing their liberty. Her Home Rule League has secured thousands of adherents, many of whom are prepared to adopt passive resistance to promote the welfare of the country. We trust Mr. Montagu will not allow his judgment to be influenced by the Anglo-Indian outcry, but take the popular leaders like Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant into his confidence when he comes to India. We would also request Government to release all other persons interned under the Defence of India Act. [The *Sandesh* writes :—We must not abate our agitation or relax our efforts which have procured for us the liberty of Mrs. Besant. Mr. Montagu must realise the genuineness of our agitation when he comes here. The *Hásya Vinod* doubts the *bonâ fides* of Mrs. Besant's remarks that it is not quite correct to say that her release is a triumph of popular opinion as she has not been released unconditionally. The *Dnyánodaya* considers Mrs. Besant's message to *New India* to make sober comments as an admission that the paper occasionally indulged in intemperate language.]

Hitechhu (65), 23rd Sept.

12. The release of Mrs. Besant signifies the triumph of our legitimate political agitation. The agitation for Mrs. Besant's release has convinced Government that the public are in full sympathy with her. We must, therefore, congratulate the public on their having thus secured a substantial step in the direction of *Swarájya*. It is still a long way to *Swarájya* and the release of Mrs. Besant should give a further stimulus to the Home Rule movement. The Home Rule League and its various branches should direct their attention, in the first instance, to the question of the many Indians who have been interned under the Defence of India Act and move for their release.

The Secret of Mrs. Besant's power over Indians.

Hindu Missionary (38), 1st Oct., Eng. cols.

13. The *Hindu Missionary* publishes an article by Mr. Sutcliffe on Mrs. Besant in the course of which he remarks :—"No one but the mystic can really reach the Indian heart, which is essentially of the mystic, and Mrs. Besant possesses that heart. She will be known in future as the Mother of India, the India that will be free, for on that freedom she has set her heart and for that freedom she has devoted her life. To the Indian there is

nothing more sacred than a mother, at whose domestic shrine all alike must worship. To cast aspersions upon the mother, is the greatest of all insults to the Indian.......... Her former opponents even immediately rally to her side, for, this filial instinct is an irresistible force in the Indian heart. The internment was a master stroke, not of men but of gods, and against these Olympian forces, the opponents of India's emancipation are pitting their puny strength. Let them beware."

Plea for a general amnesty for political prisoners.

Mahrátta (5), 7th Oct.

*14. "*Neutrality* in religious matters is a very good principle for the British rulers. It is the only principle that will pay. We beg to submit that the attitude of the Government of India in respect of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali is absolutely inconsistent with this paying principle of religious neutrality. We hope that our Government will reconsider its decision and make up its mind to set free the Moslem brothers who are badly wanted by their community and the nation. The *New Era*, one of the leading Moslem journals, voices the opinion of the Moslems and—we dare say—non-Moslems also when it says that our leaders should *refuse* to co-operate with Mr. Montagu when he comes here until the two brothers are released. Co-operation ought not to be expected from people whose earnest prayers for the freedom of their beloved leaders remains unheard by the authorities.......... But should we be satisfied with having back 'the three' and 'the two'? We do not see any reason why we should be. The Irishmen have set us an example which we shall do well to follow in this matter.......... Some may fear that if Indians press for the grant of a general amnesty with obstinate persistence, refusing to co-operate unless this their demand were granted, Mr. Montagu might not come at all or having come might go back displeased. Let us assure these doubting friends that if the National Leaders—the leaders of the Congress and the Moslem League and other Bodies holding views in harmony with and supporting the Congress-League views—if these leaders can co-operate in refusing to co-operate with Mr. Montagu, unless and until the proclamation of a general amnesty was issued, we, instead of being ill-thought of, will surely be looked upon by Mr. Montagu and men of his nation as worthy fellow-citizens of the proud Britisher, and our demands will command a respectful consideration at their hands.......... So let us declare with all the force at our command that the grant of *a general amnesty is the sine qua non of any co-operation with Mr. Montagu.*"

Message (6), 4th Oct.

15. "X" writes to the *Message* :—"We now plead for a *general amnesty for all our political prisoners* not in the light of a legitimate *demand* emanating from the birthright of every free citizen to have his own ideas of Society and Statecraft—though that too may not be irrelevant here—but from the point of view of pure reason. Justice demands no two separate treatments for the same subjects of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor. When a certain praiseworthy concession is given to an open revolutionary in Ireland, there is no reason whatever to deny the same concession to a meek Indian political agitator."

Agitation for the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

Young India (14), 3rd Oct.; *Message* (6), 29th Sept.

16. "Sir William Vincent's reply regarding the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali has already caused profound disappointment among all classes of Indians.......... We are constrained to regard the justification put forward here as an attempt at evading the issue and it seems to us that Government have fallen victims to the virulent and unhealthy agitation among the European commercial magnates in this country."

[The *Message* writes :—"Whatever the Government may have to say, the reply is uncovincing not only to Muhammadans but to all the other communities. We are afraid Sir William Vincent's laconic statement coupled with the Viceroy's omission of reference to their case suggests to one's mind the too obvious inference that the Government of India has allowed itself to be overpowered by the bluff and bullying of Anglo-Indian agitators.......... The appeal which His Excellency addressed in the hackneyed spirit of Macaulay's

lines—'Then none was for a party, then all were for the State'—might well have been addressed to jute bag politicians and drug vendors and obsessed bureaucrats rather than to the whole Council or community. We, for one, extremely regret that the policy of conciliation was not carried to its legitimate conclusion."]

Muslim Herald (145), 28th Sept. and 5th Oct.

17. In the course of an article on the Bakr Id when Muhammadans offer sacrifices of animals the *Muslim Herald* observes as follows:—An ordinary sign of their (the Hindus') resolution, perseverance, and true patriotism is that they did not allow Government to keep Mrs. Besant interned for one month (*sic*), and compelled Government to release her. Mrs. Besant is at large again! A few well-wishers of the Muhammadan community such as Messrs. Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali, etc., lost their liberty over a year ago. Why did they lose it? For the sake of the community. Alas! no Musalman was moved by it. It is rumoured that they will also be released, not because the Muhammadans have laboured (in their behalf), but because our fellow-brethren have interceded for them. Shame, shame! [In a subsequent issue the paper refers to the refusal of Government to release Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, and declares that the Musalmans regard them as true followers of Islam and ardent lovers of their community. It is of opinion that Muhammadans believe that the charges levelled against the brothers are due to a misunderstanding and to misleading information, and it is amazed to find that Government accuses them of harbouring sympathy with the King's enemy. It avers that if the reference is to the Turks, there is no Muhammadan who does not sympathise with the Turks owing to community of religion, and refers to the telegrams by which the two brothers and others tried to dissuade the Turks from joining in the war. It questions if a Muhammadan can be interned merely because he sympathises with others of his own religion. It proceeds to point out that while Government refuses to release them, the Hindus are engaged in holding meetings, expressing sympathy with the detinues, requesting Government to set them at liberty. It also notes that Government have released Mrs. Besant after a short period of internment while the two brothers have been confined for two and a half years. It states that the Musalmans have begun to infer that might is right, that the agitators are bound to reap a reward of their efforts while the silent loyalists will be snubbed. It inquires if Government's obduracy and the Hindus' sympathy can bear any other fruit except the coalescence of the Muhammadans and the Hindus. The paper also refers to the revocation of the original partition of Bengal and the Balkan War both of which put a great strain on the loyalty of the Muhamadan subjects of the Crown, and draws particular attention to the decision of the Government of Bombay in respect of the teaching of Urdu, the common language of Indian Musalmans, which, it declares, will sweep it into oblivion. These and similar actions of Government, concludes the paper, are fanning the wrath of the Muhamadans, and the elders of the community who used to counsel moderation and preach loyalty have been forced to hold their tongue.]

Gujaráti (16), 30th Sept.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 4th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (59), 5th Oct.

18. The *Gujaráti* is sorry to see that Government have not seen their way to release Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali on the guarantee which they offered instead of the one required by Government, and which in its opinion fulfils all the conditions of the official guarantee and suggests that Government should accept the guarantee offered to them by the two brothers, as there is nothing in the teachings of the Qurán which would debar a true Muhammadan from being a loyal British subject. [The *Sánj Vartamán* is of opinion that the two brothers have never expressed any sympathy with the enemy and asks Government to lay before the public any evidence they may be in possession of to prove their allegations. It sees no substantial difference between the guarantee offered by the brothers and the one required by Government. It refers to the teachings of the Qurán which require its followers to be loyal to their rulers and asks Government to release the two brothers without undue delay. The *Bombay Samáchár* on the other hand is of the opinion that the two brothers are ill-advised in not signing the guarantee required by Government and expresses the hope that they will see their way to secure a release by acceding to the wishes of Government. It reminds the two brothers of the solicitude shown by Government for respecting the religious susceptibilities of Muhammadans and asks them to help Government to calm the political atmosphere by securing their release.]

Gujaráti (16), 7th Oct., Eng. cols.

*19. "The authorities have arrived at a serious decision and must have in their possession facts and circumstances that have influenced their course of action. If so, there can be no harm in placing them before the public at large. It is a pity that an officer of the C. I. D. should have been asked to obtain the necessary undertaking from the two interned brothers. .... The Indian public is not prepared to prefer the reports of the C. I. D. to the statement made by the Rajasaheb of Mahmudabad that he was thoroughly satisfied, as the result of the interview he had with the two brothers, that they were absolutely loyal to the British Crown. That is further confirmed even by the assurance given in the draft of the undertaking they were prepared to give. Their assertion of their 'allegiance to Islam' was no doubt uncalled-for and has created needless difficulties and misunderstandings. But Government need not have attached any secret meaning to this reservation and supplied an occasion for complaining that the detinues were not given the liberty to profess their adherence to their Islamic faith. We do not think Government can possibly have any such intention. But the *wide* gulf that separates the rulers and the ruled and the readiness of the authorities to attach exaggerated importance to the one-sided reports of the C. I. D. are productive of grievous blunders, and the present blunder is of that type. We are really sorry the Indian atmosphere which bade fair to improve vastly for the better before Mr. Montagu's arrival is again going to be stirred up by hot currents of excited feeling. If Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali have shown less tact and prudence than one had a right to expect from them, we cannot say Government on their part have shown sufficient tact and foresight in handling the situation."

Indian Social Reformer (5), 7th Oct.

*20. "The Director of the Criminal Intelligence Department, Sir Charles Cleveland, sent down a draft by the hand of one of his officers which the interned brothers were requested to sign, but they preferred to make a draft of their own which, evidently, Government could not accept. So far as we can see, the only difference between the two is that, while Sir Charles Cleveland's does not make any mention of the religious duties incumbent on followers of Islam, the other draft gives prominent place to them and makes the undertakings embodied in the first draft depend upon their allegiance to their religious faith. Unless, therefore, we are to assume—which there is no reason to do—that there are any obligations of Islam likely to come in the way of their due observance of their promises to refrain from saying or doing anything of the nature referred to, we do not see why the incorporation of the clauses relating to their religious faith, should have been regarded as detracting from the value of the document. We are inclined to think that the Government of India should not accept the views of the Criminal Investigation Department on this point. We do not ourselves see that there is any special relevancy in introducing reference to religious beliefs in a document of this kind, but the two brothers would seem to have dedicated themselves to the service of Islam and to persons whose lives are so dedicated such allusions come naturally. Why not request some independent non-official gentlemen, say, Sir Stanley Reed, to see the brothers and ascertain from them what precisely they mean by their religious obligations? It is no use sending down C. I. D. men, as few Indian gentlemen like to have to explain matters to them. The individual officers are, no doubt, good men and true, but the Service is odious in the sight of the Indian people."

Kesari (106), 2nd Octo.; *Sandesh* (118), 2nd Oct.

21. The *Kesari* condemns the Government attitude towards the question of the release of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali as wholly mistaken and says that the very fact that Government sent an emissary to negotiate the terms with

the interned shows that the offence of Mahomed Ali was of a minor character and was pardonable and remarks :—Government say that they cannot release these interned leaders as they sympathise with the Caliph, the enemy of the British. Why should Government make a mountain of the molehill when the leaders are willing to give a guarantee that they would do nothing harmful to the Allies or helpful to the enemy? Their sympathy will exist only in their minds. Why should not Government earn the satisfaction of seven crores of Muhammadans by the release of Mahomed Ali? The sympathy of Mahomed Ali does not come in the way of his loyalty. Though politically Muhammadans are very loyal subjects of King George V they cannot forget their religion or cease to take pride in it. The intention of Government to maintain a calm atmosphere in India pending the visit of Mr. Montagu will not be so much gained by the internment of these leaders as by their release. [The *Sandesh* says :—Sham Sunder Chakravarti, Arjunlal Sethi, Rai Govind Prasad of Ajmer and Hajrat Mohani and many other leaders have been interned, but they have not been accused by Government of sympathising with the enemy. The case of hundreds of youths interned and unknwn to fame is the same. We do not know what comes in the way of their release.]

Passive resistance should be resorted to if political prisoners are not released.
Mahrátta, (5), 7th Oct.

***22.** Referring to the business before the All-India Congress Committee the *Mahrátta* writes :—"Then there is the question of passive resistance which was referred for opinion to the Provincial Congress Committees and on which the opinion in the country is somewhat divided........., Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali are still un-released, in spite of assurances from accredited Indian leaders as to their future course of conduct. There are still hundreds of Indians suffering as political convicts or political suspects. To leave these sons of the Motherland rotting in their holes and huts, when there is going to be a momentous discussion over the future of the land and the people they have so ardently loved and worked for (may be in an over-enthusiastic 'rebel' manner in some instances) is, to say the least, disgraceful.......... Whatever may be reasonable and honourable from the standpoint of the authorities. from our standpoint it is neither reasonable nor honourable to busy ourselves in a perfervid manner over the preparations for the promised Feast, without doing our very utmost to bring back our brothers-in-the-Cause to share with us the joy of this Hopeful Period for the coming of which they tried in their own way."

Appeal to the authorities to release two interned Sind Muhammadans.
Sind Moslem (11), 22nd Sept.

23. Pleading for the release of Mr. Shaikh Abdul Majid, the interned editor of *Al-Amin*, the *Sind Moslem* remarks :—"Now that nearly ten months have passed away the release of the five leaders has created hopes that the Honourable Mr. H. S. Lawrence who is considered a 'Ma Bap' by the Muhammadan community of the province, will exercise that Royal magnanimity and arrange for his immediate release...... Another internment to which we should like to refer at this moment is that of Maulana Maulvi Mahomed Sadik Sahib of Khadda (Karáchi). He was the religious guide of some thousand people residing at Khadda, Karáchi, and other places. His internment was ordered some two years ago and it is high time that royal clemency be exercised in his case too."

Urgency of a political deputation to England.
Mahrátta (5), 7th Oct.

***24.** "We give elsewhere some passages from letters written by Mr. Joseph Baptista to the Secretary of the Indian Home Rule League.......... We would draw particular attention to the suggestion of Mr. Baptista that our representatives, at least some of them, must be in England in November. He points out that the objection that the British people do not want to hear anything about anything except the War is not well-founded. They want to hear about India, and the Indian demands. It is important that they should know about our minimum—the Congress-League Scheme. If we have to gain our object through the sympathetic co-operation of the British people, and if we have to gain it at an early date, immediately after the war or even before its termination (if possible), it is not at all too soon now to think of agitating in England......... It will be well for our leaders to go to England from another point of view. We want a general amnesty for our politicals. From the known attitude of the Government of India in the matter of the release of political prisoners, internees and detinues, it seems more than obvious that our demand for a general amnesty will not be granted without some powerful agitation in England. Mr. Montagu may himself be in favour of doing everything to bring about 'a calm atmosphere', but it is not in the interests of Anglo-India and even the bureaucracy to have such an atmosphere in this country. Hence difficulties are being placed and will be placed in the way of the demand for the release of even our revered leaders like Messrs. Mahomed Ali, Shaukat Ali and others."

Caste representation on the reformed Councils.
Mahrátta (5), 7th Oct.

***25.** "A Lingayat Nationalist writing in the *Times of India* urges very strongly that the privilege of special electorates should be bestowed upon the important sub-divisions of the Hindu community such as the Lingayats, Mahratas and Jains. We heartily support this demand. Whatever may be the theoretical merit of putting communal and caste considerations aside in dealing with National political questions, this must be admitted that when the several communities and castes are themselves unwilling to forget these considerations, the latter must have due influence allowed them."

Foreigners have looked more to the interests of the backward classes than the Brahmins.
Jágaruk (new), 28th Sept.

26. Mr. Tilak's is reported to have remarked at Sátára to the following effect:—'Some people oppose the demand for *Swarájya* on the ground that it would lead to tyranny by the Brahmins. But I ask whether, for the matter of that, the tyranny by our own people would not be preferable to foreign domination?' What a wonderful argument this! Who are these 'our own people' and who are the foreigners? In our opinion those who threw open the gates of knowledge to the backward classes are 'our own people' and the Brahmins who claim social superiority and oppose the efforts of the backward classes to free themselves from their intellectual slavery are the strangers. It is not surprising that the Brahmins should claim the backward classes as 'their own people' as they have always been growing fat at their expense. We thank Mr. Tilak for his sympathy for the backward classes!

Higher officials should be Europeans in the interests of the backward classes.
Jágaruk (new), 28th Sept.

27. Commenting on the Honourable Mr. Shastris' remark at the last Imperial Legislative Council meeting that Brahmin supremacy would be much more welcome to non-Brahmins than British domination, the *Jágaruk* says:—A more glaringly false and misleading statement than this would be hard to find. Mr. Shastri appears to be entirely ignorant of the conditions prevailing in the villages. We know of the hardships of the poor people there owing to all the officials from the Mamlatdar down to the Kulkarni being Brahmins. We do not think there will be much to choose between Moglai and British rule if the higher European officials are also re-placed by the Brahmins. We are sincerely of opinion that it is to the interests of the masses that the higher appointments should continue to be held by Europeans. To say that the interests of the Brahmins and the backward classes coincide is to distort facts.

Indians must be allowed to carry arms.
Mahrátta (5), 7th Oct.

***28.** In a lengthy article on the Indian Arms Act the *Mahrátta* writes:—"Here in our own country we are compelled to go without all manner of things which in England are considered the *sine qua non* of 'citizenhood'. Here in our own country we see Englishmen and all kinds of foreign and semi-foreign people treated with far more respect and confidence than we are. Here we see them enjoying privileges which are withheld from us. We are, in short—to use Mr. Chamberlain's own words—

'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for our Masters. England need not expect us to tolerate this degradation any longer.......... The Viceroy's assurance that in the matter of arms exemptions based on racial distinctions will be discontinued in the near future (?), though not unsatisfactory as far as it goes, is scarcely calculated to inspire enthusiasm. So long as an Indian in his country is not what an Englishman is in England (and in India), no contentment can prevail in this awakened Land. The matter of the arms is only one of the many vital matters which are now seriously pondered by the people of India. They all raise the question of 'trust in the people'. We demand that England shall trust us, if England cares that we should continue to trust her. We have made it clear—as clear as we could possibly make it—that we mean to maintain our connection with England at all costs—except it mean the progressive degradation of the peoples of this land. To such a degradation England may not expect us to bow with resigned humility. She must hurry up and give us our citizen rights. For any undue delay will lead the Indians to suspect her aims in regard to this country. And the atmosphere of suspicion in these and comming days will be no valuable asset for England."

What Muhammadans are to expect if they unite with the Hindus.
Islámic Mail (4), 23rd Sept., Eng. cols.

29. "We have before us as we write the result of elections for the Central Provinces Legislative Council and regret to find that not a single Muhammadan has succeeded in going up to the Council from any district. Does this not give food for reflection to those who believe that the Hindus are inspired with a genuine fraternising spirit and would sink racial prejudice and religious hatred in order to serve the cause of Indian nationality? If this state of affairs is possible in the Legislative Councils where Government have generously provided adequate safeguards against Hindu monopoly, what may be said of District and Local Councils where the Muhammadans are at the mercy of the Hindus?......... In spite of all the sophistry and false promises of such of our men as have been captured by the Congress party, the Hindus would appear to be determined to cast us aside from any share in the local self-government. In the Local Self-government Conference held recently at Poona the false hopes held out to us by one of their great leaders, who, we regret to say, is a Mussalman, were shattered to pieces and it was openly declared that no communal representation would be tolerated, and past experience has shown that without communal representation no Muhammadan will ever get a seat in the councils or boards.' Not only this, but the implacable attitude of our 'brethren' was further demonstrated in the select committee of the Local Legislative Council which sat to consider the Bill introduced in the Council, when the three Hindu members composing it opposed the principle of Muhammadan representation. May we know how his attitude reconciles with the declaration made at Ahmedabad by the President of the Bombay Provincial Conference that the arrangement arrived at Lucknow will apply with equal force to local boards and municipalities? If the declaration then made by Mr. Jinnah is of consequence, then how can we rely upon other settlements arrived at through him?"

Attacks on some mythological personages held sacred by Hindus.
Political Bhomiyo (71), 14th Sept.; *Arya Prakásh* (15), 30th Sept.

30. The *Political Bhomiyo* publishes a rambling letter from a Moslem correspondent in which the writer resents the description of the love affair between Akilkhan and Zaibunnisa, daughter of Aurungzeb, in a Gujarati book, and remarks that these aspersions are cast upon Zaibunnisa on account of the *animus* the Hindus have against the Muhammadans. He repudiates the charge of being *anáryas* (*i.e.*, uncivilised) at times levelled against the Musalmans by the Hindus and observes that the following examples will show what type of civilisation the Hindus had in the past. The writer then goes on to inquire what sort of civilisation it could be which permitted Draupadi, whom the Hindus regard as a model of chastity, to marry five husbands, the Pandava brothers. He further inquires what sort of chastity Sita was possessed of when she gave birth to two sons in a wilderness where she was staying with an ascetic. He then goes on to describe

how the two queens of King Pandu brought forth the five Pandavas through their connection with the god Yama and others, in order to avoid the effect of a curse which condemned their royal husband to death if he enjoyed his marital rights, and satirically raises the question whether he avoided doing so because of the curse or of his impotence. [As a rejoinder to the above, the *Arya Prakásh* publishes a letter written by an anonymous writer in which the correspondent bitterly resents the attack made in the above mentioned letter against celebrities of Hindu mythology. He observes that the editor of the *Political Bhomiyo*, after failing in a number of pursuits for earning his livelihood, has for the last few months started a campaign of fomenting dissension between Hindus and Muhammadans by publishing in his paper a series of anti-Hindu articles. He regards the charges contained in the letter of the Muhammadan correspondent noticed above as a gross defamation of the Hindu religion and remarks that by vilifying the spotless honour of Sita the writer has given the Hindus cause for excitement. He also regards the doubt about the potency of King Pandu as an indecent attack upon him and as a libel of the Hindus and the Hindu religion. The writer observes that the entire tactics of the *Political Bhomiyo* for some time past have been aimed towards creating feelings of bitterness between the Hindu and Muhammadan communities who have up till now been living in peace at Ahmedabad. He wishes the police to deal strongly with the paper and concludes by observing that small matters like this are calculated sometimes to lead to undesirable results.]

Protest against the continuance of the Viramgam customs line.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 5th Oct.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 29th Sept.; *Shri Sayáji Vijay* (74), 4th Oct.; *Hind Vijay* (64), 3rd Oct.

31. Remarking that the levy of the customs duty at Viramgam has not yet been abolished as a result of the Government of India and the Native States of Kathiawar not yet having arrived at a unanimous settlement as to the amount of import duty the States should levy on foreign goods, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* declares that the people, in consequence, have to bear the same amount of hardships as before. It observes that if the impost is to be abolished in recognition of the services done and the help rendered by the Native States during the war, as was declared by the Viceroy in the Imperial Legislative Council, there cannot be any condition attached to such a recognition. It maintains that, as the States apprehend, so hevy an import duty as 7½ per cent., which has been suggested by Government, is calculated to injure the development of their trade and commerce. Under any circumstances, the paper advocates an early abolition of this harassing customs line. [The *Sánj Vartamán* publishes the purport of a letter addressed to it from Rájkot in which a correspondent refers to the continuance of the levy of the duty at Viramgam in spite of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's statement with regard to its early abolition and remarking that the goodwill of the hundreds of thousands of the Kathiawar people, resulting from the proposed abolition, should be more precious to Government than the revenue of a few thousand rupees, requests Lord Willingdon to issue an order in that connection without any more delay. The *Shri Sayáji Vijay*, though it does not entertain the slightest doubt about the prospective abolition of the Viramgam customs duty, remarks that the present delay has rendered the levy of the duty more unbearable to the impatient public. It prays Government soon to abolish the duty regardless of the delay that might take place in arriving at a mutual settlement between them and the Native States. The *Hind Vijay* also wishes that Government should promptly issue an order abolishing the duty and thereby relieve the public of the existing trouble.]

Suggested regulation of prices of foodstuffs by the Government of India.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 5th Oct.

32. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the steps taken by the authorities in England to check high prices by fixing the prices of commodities such as bread, butter, etc., and asks why the Government of India should not take similar steps in view of the high prices now prevailing in the country and the strikes of low paid employees in consequence thereof. It suggests that an experienced officer should be deputed to study the question of high prices

in England and the steps taken to meet them so that he might be able to suggest the lines on which legislative measures might be adopted in India to relieve the distress caused by high prices.

Presidentship of the ensuing Congress.
Young India (14), 3rd Oct.

33. "The opinion all over the country is overwhelmingly in favour of Mrs. Besant's presidentship of the Congress this year, and of the Congress being held in Calcutta.......... We trust the Committee will show due deference to public opinion and act in accordance therewith. By following any other course, it will be setting the country on a path beset with serious dangers to the body politic. In such circumstances, we cannot but regard anyone who tries to thwart the country's deliberate verdict as a traitor to the great cause for which the Congress has laboured for over a generation."

A poem on Home Rule.
Hitechhu (65), 23rd Sept.

34. One Jamiyatram V. Acharya contributes some verses to the *Hitechhu* to the following effect:—We shall secure the boon of *Swardjya* by acquiring Home Rule. Dangers shall not abate our devotion or slacken our efforts. Even if the God of Death tries to oppose us we shall continue to cherish high ideals and shall not be disturbed by doubts or fears. We shall cherish the love of God, throw off all restrictions, and worship our motherland. We have become divine by drinking the nectar of patriotism and we shall be free by breaking the bonds of slavery and dependence on others. Unity and self-government shall be our *motto* and "Our motherland! Our motherland!" shall be our cry. We shall never rest content till we get *Swardjya*.

Criticism of the Land Revenue policy of Government.
Sind Journal (10), 20th Sept.

35. Discussing the Land Revenue policy of Government, the *Sind Journal* writes:—"The excessive latitude given to Settlement Officers to fix land revenue assessment leads to much hardship, specially in the case of such parts of the country where the settlement period is guaranteed for a short term as is the case in Sind. The paternal solicitude of Government to keep land revenue questions out of the purview of civil courts is really amusing. The Government of India pleaded for the hands of settlement officers being not tied by rigid rules which means leaving their discretion unfettered by any salutary checks. The right of laying down the principles of taxation and the methods of raising revenue belongs in every country which possesses the blessing of self-government to the Legislature composed of members elected by the people. Here in India the principle is reversed in practice and the Legislature is helpless in the face of executive omnipotence."

The strike of Bombay postmen.
Kesari (106), 2nd Oct.; *Indu Prakásh* (39), 3rd Oct.

36. Referring to the postal strike, the *Kesari* says that people are very much inconvenienced and that the postal officials are obstinate. It further remarks that both the parties seem to be determined and that the Bombay public suffers in the fight between the strikers and the officials. It holds that the money spent by the Department in making temporary arrangements could have sufficed to pay the increment asked for, for six months. The Bombay postal strike, it adds, got an increase for the Bombay Police just as the G. I. P. Railway strike got an increase for the mill-hands all-round. Adverting to the argument of the Police Commissioner that the proposals for the increment to the Police were under consideration for the last six months, the *Kesari* says that the immediate cause for the increase was the postal strike and it finally requests Government to settle the strike of postmen who have worked hard and rendered responsible service on small wages hitherto. [The *Indu Prakásh* in a general note on the "epidemic" of strikes says that both strikers and officials should consider the questions at issue trustful of each other, that they should not misrepresent one another's objects, that strikes should be prevented by a timely increment and that a lesson should be learnt from the example of the Police Commissioner.]

**Gujaráti* (16) 7th Oct., Eng. cols.; **Rást Goftár* (30), 7th Oct., Eng. cols.; *Hindusthán* (20), 5th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 6th Oct.; **Sunday Tatler* (13), 7th Oct.

37. "It is notorious that in Bombay an ordinary workman or labourer does not get less than eight annas and that living has become costly all round. More tactful and sympathetic officers would not have delivered an ultimatum to the men without trying their best to ascertain the real position from the men themselves in a spirit of conciliation and sympathy.......... The Department is now spending huge sums daily on the maintenance of the improvised arrangements which they have devised. In spite of what may be said by the officialised organs, the disorganisation of the postal service in the native town is so great that the inconvenience suffered by the public has become absolutely intolerable.......... Malabar Hill and other fashionable and influential quarters are no doubt well looked after. That was of course a foregone conclusion. The question is how the interests of the vast native population including native traders and merchants are going to be protected by the postal authorities.......... It is all very well for the Bombay Government to issue a Press Note and point out that the postmen are unreasonable, but that does not remove the difficulties of the public. Have Government ascertained what wages an ordinary labourer gets in Bombay and what amount a postman has to spend for rent and the maintenance of even a small family? That would have been a reasonable basis to go upon. It is deplorable beyond measure that whilst mill-owners were able to avert a general strike or conciliate strikers, the authorities of a Government Department should have so completely failed in dealing with a like situation." The *Rást Goftár* writes:—"The muddle in the postal arrangements is becoming hopeless while the patience of the public has reached the breaking point. The Department is spending money lavishly, but postmen cannot be improvised in a day or even in a month.......... The majority of letters are either not delivered or delivered very irregularly. The service has been thoroughly demoralised and public discontent is growing. Postmen in other parts of India have openly expressed sympathy with the postmen of Bombay, but the Department is heedless of other trouble that may be brewing elsewhere". [The *Hindusthán* expresses diasppointment with the Press Note issued by Government in the matter of the postal strike. It is afraid the slight increase in the postmen's pay offered by Government will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of the postman and his family during these times of high prices in Bombay and asks the strikers to modify their demands with a view to arriving at a compromise. It bitterly complains of inconvenience caused to the public by the strike and asks the postal authorities to take steps to redress their grievances. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also is disappointed with the Press Note and expresses fear that the strike will be prolonged and cause additional inconvenience to the public. The *Sunday Tatler* writes:—"The Government of Bombay should be congratulated on having issued its recent Press Communique in good time. It demonstrates the absurdity of the demands made by the postmen and the reckless, shameless and revolting allegations and statements made in a section of the local press.......... We fully sympathise with the men who are sadly misled through the misrepresentations in certain quarters".]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 1st Oct.; *Hindusthán* (20), 2nd Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 4th Oct.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 30th Sept.; *Rást Goftár* (30), 30th Sept.

38. The *Sánj Vartamán* complains of serious inconvenience caused to the public by the continuance of the strike and alleges that the new arrangements made by the authorities to meet the strike have failed to satisfy the public. It is of opinion that Government have taken a very stubborn attitude in not giving a sympathetic consideration to the demands of the postal peons. It asks Government not to dismiss the peons who have served them for many years and to bear in mind that there is not much difference between the salaries offered to the new employees and those demanded by the strikers. It exhorts the people of Bombay to call a public meeting to protest against the inconvenience caused to them by the continuance of the strike. [The *Hindusthán* suggests that the authorities and the strikers should meet half way to put an end to the strike. It is of opinion that no good purpose will be served by the strikers adhering to their original demands and asks them to effect a compromise. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* asks Government to appoint a committee of arbitration to put an end to the strike and the consequent inconvenience that is caused to the public. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses disappointment with the attitude assumed by the Director General in his interview with the deputation of the strikers and wishes that the strikers who are useful and honest public servants had been treated in a sympathetic manner. The *Rást Goftár* writes in a similar stain.]

Indians and commissions in the Army.

Dnyán Prakásh (36), 5th and 6th Oct.

39. The Secretary of State declared in the House of Commons on 20th August last that the bar which precluded the admission of Indians to commissions in the Army has been removed. People naturally thought this concession to be almost as great as the promise to grant *Swarájya*. Those who are aware, however, that this is not the first occasion on which Indians have been made eligible for commissions but that officers of the Imperial Cadet Corps have already received the King's commission before, will not value the present concession very highly. Eleven such Indian officers have already been given the King's commission prior to 1913. What is then meant by saying that nine Indian officers were given the King's commission for the first time on 25th August last? The declaration of the Secretary of State can only be justified on the technical ground that Indians are now made eligible for commissions in 'His Majesty's army' whereas the above mentioned eleven officers belonged to the 'Native Indian Land Forces' which are distinct from 'His Majesty's army'. Although the Secretary of State has thus left a loophole for escape, the question that we have now to consider is whether the step conduces in any way to our progress. It will be seen that it does not, since no new commissions have been issued under the present declaration. We, at any rate, are unable to appreciate the change of commissions from the 'Native Indian Land Forces' to 'His Majesty's army'. The change, however, is important in one respect. Although a definite undertaking was given in Lord Curzon's time that officers of the Imperial Cadet Corps would be treated as the equals of European officers, the Commander-in-Chief subsequently interpreted the commissions to mean that the Indian officers were to remain as regards command junior to all British officers in the regiment. The inclusion of these officers in the Indian Army, however, implies that this racial bar has been removed although Government have not even now given a definite promise to that effect. It is surprising that both the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy should be instrumental in making the people believe that a new concession has been given to them. [In a subsequent issue the paper suggests that the commissions instead of being confined to a few scions of noble families should be thrown open to Subedar Majors and Risaldar Majors who qualify for them.]

Complaint about recruitment in the Sholápur District.

Kesari (106), 2nd Oct.; *Kalpataru* (104), 30th Sept.

40. It is but reasonable that people should honour those who join the Army and it brings credit both to the people and Government if Indians realise their duties in the matter of recruiting. A friend from Bársi (district Sholápur) writes to us about the honour done to Bajirao Chimnarao, Deshmukh of Bársi Pargana. He also informs us that a Commission is likely to be given to this Deshmukh and it would encourage Marathas and other Kshatriyas who come forward to assist Government. But we must also make mention of the complaints we have received of undesirable proceedings in connection with recruiting in the Sholápur District. If what we have heard is true, recruiting will not be helped by these things; on the contrary the policy of Government will incur odium. It is said that recruiting is done through the Police in some parts of the district. Government have declared against recruiting men against their will. As the proposals of Government are attractive to ordinary labourers, they will surely enrol themselves. But the credit of getting 100 willing recruits is tarnished by the injustice and tyranny suffered by one unwilling recruit. We hear much of the good or bad name earned by Pandharpur (Sholápur) in this connection. As it is a place of pilgrimage, even single persons go there from distant places in a devotional spirit. Suppose some of these persons are handed over to the recruiting officer by the Police, what redress can they get? The Police are to inquire into any injustice done by the recruiting party. If the Police become themselves recruiting officers, it would be a betrayal of trust. What philanthropic man will come forward to help a man in difficulties at a distant place? What other way is there left for the wife and children of such a person but to weep at home and curse Government? The practice of the Police themselves handing over the people to the Army is so reprehensible that we do not dare to believe that such a report is wholly true. But a copy of a duly signed application personally presented to the Commissioner (Central Division) has been sent to us. How can we say then that it is false? What objection is there to believe that of ten such offences only, one comes to light? We understand that the Commissioner of the Central Division has been made aware of these complaints when he was at Sholápur. Whatever that be, we request Government to inquire carefully into the matter. [A Pandharpur correspondent of the *Kalpataru* writes that the fear of being forcibly enrolled in the army has apparently scared away young men from the bazar where only women and old men are now to be seen, causing a rise in prices. He adds that this want of labourers has also resulted in the closing down of some factories and in putting other trades to much inconvenience. He suggests that the authorities should make it clearly understood that no one will be enrolled against his will.]

The prisoners in the jails in the Presidency should be utilised for war purposes.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 2nd Oct.

41. Expressing a little dissatisfaction at the delay in publishing the Bombay Presidency Jail Administration Report for the year 1916, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* considers 1,10,000 (being the total number of prisoners accommodated in the Bombay Presidency prisons during the year 1916) to be an alarming figure. It believes that Government would do well to inform, by beat of drum, the class of would-be criminals that every person hereafter sentenced to imprisonment would be sent to the front for the purposes of the war. Why were not, inquires the paper, half the number of those who were fed in the jails at public expense during the year under report sent to Mesopotamia? It further suggests that new prisoners should be employed as labourers for carrying burdens at the docks. The paper believes that the best way of keeping the prisoners, who have been awarded long terms of imprisonment, out of the Presidency is to send them away to the front in battalions.

The Indian public [illegible]ld be taken into confidence about losses at sea.
Indu Prakásh (39), 3rd Oct.

42. Referring to the reticence of the Admiralty to publish an account of losses, the *Indu Prakásh* says:—It may be that from a naval point of view such information should be kept a secret. But enemy ships also must have gone to the bottom. What objection is there to publish these figures? Would not such publication increase our self-confidence? The information given by the Admiralty relates only to the ships sunk by the enemy. The mails were lost at such a place; the passengers of a particular boat were saved by a particular ship; nothing is heard of a ship that sailed from such a port on such a date. Such items of news have produced a dreadful sense of doubt about the doings of the unconquerable British Navy not only in India but also in England. In Parliament itself some members warned Government not to deceive the people but to lay before them the real seriousness of the situation. Thereupon the Prime Minister and his colleagues gave the necessary explanations. [The paper proceeds to give the shipping losses suffered by the British as given by the Prime Minister on 16th August.] The nett British shipping losses as given by the Germans is 4½ to 5 lakhs of tons per month. We should not forget that the figure is given by the enemy. But

how very frightening it is! Mere dry figures cannot give us the idea. The enemy thinks that the British trade will be destroyed if there is such a loss of ships every month. But two ships are constructed for one sunk. [The paper then proceeds to complain that Indians are not taken into confidence and requests Government to trust Indians equally with the British and declares that Indians would then do wonders.]

Alleged possibility of Japan siding with Germany owing to the policy of exclusion adopted by the British colonies towards the Japanese and other causes.
Hindusthán (20), 1st Oct.

43. Under the headlines "Japan's Future" and "Threat of becoming Germany's ally" the *Hindusthán* publishes the following views alleged to have been expressed by Mr. Kazen Kaghara (?), *ex*-Editor of the *Yorodzu* and the *Third Empire*, during the course of an interview in New York:—The people of the United States are not the only nation who would like to expel the Japanese. There are other nations also who would injure the feelings of the Japanese by expelling them and the worst offender amoung them (in this respect) is England, the ally of Japan. South Africa, Australia and other British Colonies exercise greater stringency than the United States in excluding the Japanese. Japan will have to fight not only with the United States but with all the white nations of the globe to secure for her people admission into the countries inhabited by the Whites on a footing of equality.......... The Japanese nation will be ready to fight the very moment it begins to apprehend any sort of danger to Japan's supremacy in China. For being excluded (from other countries) only a section of the Japanese is anxious to fight. But the other question is one over which the whole nation is unanimous. It is a question of life and death with us. Isolate Japan and you will be able to crush her. But we do not want to let it be crushed without fighting. You know that when the time comes for nations to form new friendships Japan will not be without friends. If the United States, Great Britain and France press us hard we will not hesitate to form friendship with Germany. In Japan there is no enmity against Germany. To tell the truth the Japanese admire Germany. Our army has been formed on the German model. Our doctors are the students of German surgery. There is no anti-German feeling in Japan, and the events of the war have increased our devotion towards the German Government and the German people. In times of necessity we will naturally turn to Germany, and that necessity will arise at the time when her present enemies will dispute our supremacy in the Far East, that is, in China.

Complaint about inadequate steamer service between Bombay and Ratnágiri.
Satyashodhak (119), 30th Sept.

44. The *Satyashodhak* writes that people are put to considerable inconvenience as only one steamer plies between Bombay and Ratnágiri and passengers for intermediate ports have to wait a whole day at Jaigad for want of adequate steamer service. He says that the dearth of steamers will also affect the Bombay labour market as a large number of people in the Rátnagiri district seek employment in Bombay and suggests that Government should take early steps to release the Co-operative Company's steamers chartered by them.

Need of strengthening the police force in the suburbs of Bombay
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 2nd Oct.

45. Referring to the dacoity recently committed at Goregaum (a suburb of Bombay), the *Jám-e-Jamshed* wishes that the police of that place would soon be able to hunt down the culprits implicated in the offence. It remarks that if the suburbs of Bombay are to be colonised for the sake of relieving the congestion in the city, the poor people staying in those parts should be guaranteed the safety of their lives and property. Alluding to the abovementioned dacoity the paper maintains that the incident will spread terror and disappointment among the suburban population. It hopes that, in view of the gravity of the present occurrence, the authorities wiil soon become more vigilant.

Vatandars when acquitted should not be dismissed from their offices.

Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 2nd Oct.

46. Refering to provisions of the Vatan Act disqualifying Vatandars who are convicted for certain offences from holding office, Venkaji Narso Kulkarni writes to the *Karnátak Vaibhav.*:—There is no provision that if the accused is acquitted he should not be reinstated. But after his acquittal, the Divisional Officer's report against him, recommending him for dismissal for the offences alleged, is sanctioned. For the same offence he is twice punished. He is not allowed even to appoint deputies. When once he is acquitted, he should be reinstated and no departmental action should be taken against him. If it be said that it depends on the discretion of Government to employ a Vatandar or not, even after acquittal, it is requested that departmental action should be first taken against him and that criminal proceedings should not be instituted in the first instance.

Dissatisfaction at the amendment of the rule directing Kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination.

Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 2nd Oct.

47. We understand that Government have made a change in the new rules about Kulkarnis and declared that they do not apply to representative Vatandars but only to Deputies. Will the new rule about the necessity of passing the Vernacular Final Examination apply to Deputies who may be sons of representative Vatandars or the representative Vatandars of some other *Kulkarniki?* If it does, what is the use of the change? If Government want to confer a benefit let them do it completely. Though there is a rule that the regulation should be enforced sympathetically, there will be dissatisfaction among the Kulkarnis. Vatandar Gowdas and Kulkarnis are the only respectable persons in villages. Government do not gain anything by enforcing schemes that will lower their status. Such schemes are not justified in the least at present.

The anti-Home Rule clause should not be withdrawn from the Sind Muhammadans' address to Viceroy.

Aftáb-i-Sind (132), 22nd Sept.

48. "We have every reason to believe that Sind Muhammadans will be highly shocked if the Anti-Home Rule clause is withdrawn from the address and the feelings of the vast Majority of Muhammadans ridden rough shod. The aggrieved Muhammadans may very probably venture to do something to show to the Commissioner or the Viceroy himself that they are against Home Rule and that the address does not represent the entire community but only a small group of Muhammadan Home Rulers. Since the demands of Muhammadans for separate rights have been receiving due consideration at the hands of the Ruler of Sind who has taken a step forward by appointing benches of Honorary Magistrates and by granting full control of Local Board and municipal affairs to the people wherein Muhammadans have received their due share, it will be sheer ungratefulness for Muhammadans to embarass Government at this critical juncture."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the attitude of the Collector of Karáchi and the Commissioner in Sind in the matter of the D. J. Sind College Principalship.

Sind Advocate (9), 20th Sept.

49. "In reviewing the incident at the last meeting of the D. J. Sind College Board, we are most painfully struck by the extraordinary narrow and illiberal attitude of European officials—an attitude that was, we think most disedifyingly and most reprehensibly expressed by the Collector who said that if Mr. Shahani was to be continued even as a temporary Principal he would resign his chairmanship of Standing Committee.......... To be serious, if there was any grain of self-respect in the College Board, Mr. Rieu's threat should have been put to the test and the Board might have improved upon his intention by suggesting that he was quite welcome to resign his chairmanship. What did Mr. Rieu mean by holding out such a threat? And yet we find a public man in the position of the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai so unnerved by that threat that he tamely withdrew his proposition in favour of Mr. Shahani's continuance as Principal. What

a pity that such a man should have surrendered an important principle in deference to the rooted prejudices of an unreasonable official! What was the reason urged by Mr. Rieu in support of the attitude he took up? That the discipline of the College had been at a very low ebb in Mr. Shahani's time. That is as far from the truth as is the north pole from the south pole. The discipline in Mr. Shahani's time has, as all Karáchi except a few narrow minded officials is aware, been far better than in the time of his lamented predecessor of whom we would speak nothing disaggreable, but that we are forced to it by the transparently partisan anti-Indian attitude of the Collector and the Commissioner in Sind, the latter having already enacted heroics worthy of the third rate electioneering tactician. In any case the discipline under Mr. Shahani would compare most favourably with that we had known for years before. The former is condemned because he happens to be an Indian while there is nothing but praise for his predecessor because he happened to be a European."

Necessity of having a Government Middle School at Dhárwár.
Shubhodaya (89), 28th Sept., Eng. cols.

50. A correspondent writes to the *Shubhodaya*:—"Dhárwár bids quite fair to become a University Town in the course of a very few years. This being the case, it is indeed a pity that Dhárwár should not have a model Middle School conducted by Government on modern and up-to-date lines.......... That several of the boys who finish their vernacular course should not even have admission into the first standard in any of the local schools for want of accommodation is really a great pity and the unfortunate children are consequently forced to take private tuition. Permanent residents of the city and Government servants find it sorely distresssing to send their infant sons to schools in distant towns their own big schools thus ruthlessly shutting their doors on them."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Alleged official high-handedness in forcing a house-tax on the people of Lárkána and Rohri (Sind).
New Times (7), 27th and 29th Sept.

51. "We have received a telegram from the *Gazette* Office, Lárkána, which shows with what high-handedness the Collector has imposed house-tax in Lárkána. The facts are all patent showing emphatically and without the least shadow of doubt that the 'people's voice' is against the imposition of the house-tax. Great excitement prevails at Lárkána, such as has never been witnessed in a mofussil place like Lárkána before. And inspite of five independant leading Hindu and Muhammadan Councillors denouncing the imposition of house-tax and throwing up their seats in protest and 2,000 people of all classes mustering strong outside the Council Hall praying the Collector-president to pity their condition and relieve them from the imposition of a tax which the poor people really consider as haoo-tax, 'The wolf tax', and further showing the futility of imposition of the tax, there being no financial deficit and the Octroi receipts* being quite sufficient to meet the demands, we ask if the proposition is carried with the help of the official members and others who have no interest of the people at heart, shall it not creat great discontent among the people?" [In the course of a contributed article in its issue of the 29th September the paper remarks:—"The moral of this cold-blooded official high-handedness is clear. It points to the hopeless want of political imagination which leads certain officials in this province to deny to the people of towns like Rohri and Lárkána where city Municipalities are soon to come into existence, the elementary right of local self-government, the right to decide through their elected representatives, the manner in which to improve municipal finance, whenever necessary."]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 12th October 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 41 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 13th October 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council: Interpellation in the — regarding alleged undue pressure in collecting War Loan 22

British rule :

Anglo-Indian agitation against the Home Rule movement . . . 3 & 5
Comments on the election of Mr. Mahomed Ali as President of the forthcoming session of the Moslem League 20
Comments on the refusal of Government to release Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali . . . . 6—8
Condemnation of communal electorates 13
Government servants and Home Rule politics . . . . . . 16 & 17
Hindu and Mussalman unity 9
India cannot bear even the existing burden of the Indian Civil Service . 15
Mrs. Besant and the Congress presidentship . . . . 18 & 19
Suggested change in the programme of Mr. Montagu 1
The backward classes must press for special electorates . . . 12
There should be a united demand for *Swarájya* 10
The Viceroy should not accompany Mr. Montagu during his tour . 2
Verses on Home Rule 14
Why Brahmins hanker after *Swarájya* 11

Excise :

Complaint that there is no salt depôt at Ratnágiri 24
Government should place the liquor traffic under popular control . 23
Indians abroad: Indian indentured labour and the Emigration Conference . 27
Postal Department: The end of the strike of Bombay postmen . . . 25 & 26

Public Service :

Appeal to Government to handle with tact and sincere good feeling the question of the emoluments of Government subordinates in view of the rise in prices 30
Protest against the Government Circular directing Representative Vatandar Kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination . 32
The *Potgi* scale for Kulkarnis should be increased 31
Revenue matters: Comments on the Bijápur Inamdars' petition against the orders directing them to keep a record of rights for their villages . 28
Sind: How Hindu Mukhtiarkars in — suffer through supersession by Muhammadans 29
War: Indians and the grant of army concessions 2

H 309—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's bill to amend the Medical Registration Act . . . . 33 & 34

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Government Press Note regarding Urdu education in the Bombay Presidency . . . . 37 & 38
Comments on the Sind College students' strike 35
Motion in the United Provinces Legislative Council regarding certain remarks of Principal Wood of Roorki College 36

RAILWAYS—

Grievances of third class passengers on Indian Railways 39

MUNICIPALITIES—

A complaint against the Dhárwár Municipality 42
An educational complaint against the Bijápur Municipality 43
An outsider should be appointed Chief Executive Officer of the Dhárwár Municipality 41
Comments on the decision of the Bombay Government on the subject of the Bombay Gymkhana boat-house on the Chowpatty Sands (Bombay). 40
Comments on the sanctioning of house-tax by the Larkána Municipality (Sind) 44

NATIVE STATES—

A general strike at Baroda 45

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Suggested change in the programme of Mr. Montagu.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 11th Oct.

1. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* urges that the published programme of Mr. Montagu's sojourn in India should be changed so far as his visit to Bombay is concerned. He is expected to be in Bombay during Christmas week when all the public leaders in the whole of India will gather together in Calcutta on account of the sessions there of the National Congress and other Leagues and Conferences. The paper thinks Mr. Montagu should attend these sessions and see for himself what work they do and how they do it, and it thinks that the necessary change in the programme would be made if the All-India Congress Committee and the Moslem League request him and His Excellency the Viceroy to honour their deliberations by their presence.

The Viceroy should not accompany Mr. Montagu during his tour.

Shri Sháhu (121), 3rd Oct.

2. The *Shri Sháhau* declares that as Mr. Montagu is coming to India to personally ascertain the views of the people with regard to reforms in the administration, it is not at all desirable to allow the Viceroy always to accompany him. It argues that as the Viceroy will always be pressing forward the views of the bureaucracy, Mr. Montagu will have difficulty in giving proper consideration to the representations of the people and therefore expresses its desire that the Viceroy should not accompany the Secretary of State.

Anglo-Indian agitation against the Home Rule movement.

Rást Goftár (31), 7th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (21), 8th Oct.

3. Commenting upon the recent meeting of the European Association at Calcutta, the *Rást Goftár* writes:—If in future a conflict takes place in India it will not be between the Hindus and Muhammadáns but it will be between the Indians and Europeans. The Europeans in India do not want any diminution in their privileges or influence. They want to continue in their arrogance in the belief that matters will always remain in the stage they are at present and wish to continue in the enjoyment of the influence they wield to the great prejudice of the interest of the Indian people. Is it not strange that while England is fighting for safeguarding the rights of smaller nations the selfish Europeans in India are opposing the reforms which British Ministers wish to introduce in India. [The *Hindusthán* deprecates the unfavourable attitude taken up by the Association towards Indian aspirations. It considers this to be due to their not having progressed with the times, and expresses a fear that the Association might come to grief through its advocacy of special privileges for Europeans.]

Message (6), 9th Oct.

4. Referring to the speech of Sir Hugh Bray in the Imperial Legislative Council, the *Message* remarks:—"The European commercial community may be sympathetic and all that kind of thing. But this will avail them little in the struggle that must ensue for the transfer of power and authority to the rightful claimants—the sons of the soil. India is no longer a *Juggernath*, whose wheels have stuck up in a political mire. The 'wagon,' as Sir Hugh Bray has *delicately* called it, is now on dry ground and its move must be commensurate with the times in which we are living. Whether the European commercial interests will it or not, India is at last on the high road to self-government, thanks mainly to the efforts of her own children and she will not stop until she has reached it and obtained the coveted prize."

Mahrátta (5), 14th Oct.

*5. "'No political agitation' is a convenient formula for those who have nothing much to gain and something solid to lose by the success of the agitation. It is the 'status quo' cry of the fat belligerents, put in a form suited to the internal politics of a country. None that has a clear mind and a sound heart, and *has a country to raise from a disgraceful status*, will ever be taken in by tricks or be frightened out of his straight course by threats and blows proceeding from well-entrenched opponents. He will go on opposing trick to trick and accumulating strength to return blow for blow, in the faith that his God expects all this work of him, urgently and imperatively. Anglo-Indian officials and un-officials are welcome, therefore, to continue their campaign against the 'agitators' of India. The latter are demanding that in their country the will of their countrymen *shall count.* The whole of the Indian agitation is directed towards the achievement of this single purpose. Whether we are agitating for the release of the interned leaders or for the release of the nation from the restrictions imposed by the present antiquated and oppressive system, we are agitating for the self-same principle, for the triumph of the *Will of the people.* There is no fear whatever of any men of stuff slackening their efforts for the rightful elevation of the People's Will, because of the 'discontent' that is spreading amongst Anglo-Indians, and the danger which they threaten to the peace of the country in case our agitation succeeds."

Comments on the refusal of Government to release Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali.
Kesari (106), 9th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (16), 9th and 12th Oct.

6. Hopes were entertained that the prejudiced vision of the Government of India would soon become quite clear, but something has happened and Government have declined to release Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and they have thus bitterly disappointed Indians and especially Indian Muhammadans. Would not Government have released the brothers, if they had signed the Government draft without changing a word? What wrong have they done by adding the words 'without prejudice to our religious beliefs'? When there is a distinct promise in the Queen's Proclamation that none of her subjects will have to suffer anything because of their religious beliefs, why should the Ali brothers remain interned because of their verbal sympathy for their religious head? Had there been anything more against them than the expression of purely verbal sympathy Government would never have thought of a compromise. It is most unstatesmanlike to disappoint people on some trivial ground after carrying on so much negotiation and after so many other things had been done to secure a peaceful atmosphere. How highly Mahomed Ali is held in respect by the entire Muhammadan world can be seen from the fact that he has been elected President of the Moslem League. Is it not time for the officials to question themselves whether they have not been in the wrong? But in India, officials are never in the wrong! They were in the right when they partitioned Bengal and they were also in the right when they annulled it. Similarly with the question of the release of Mrs. Besant. But the same Mahatma who advised these infallible officials to release Mrs. Besant will, we are sure, also secretly advise them to release these two brothers! [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the reasons given by Government for the detention of the brothers are not satisfactory. It also objects to the deputation of a C. I. D. man to negotiate with Mahomed Ali. It remarks however that Mahomed Ali should not have raised the question of religion and also holds that Government too should not have made such a minute inquiry into the matter. It points out that Muhammadans have been bitterly disappointed and requests Government to release the Ali brothers. In a further issue the paper remarks:—When the Raja of Mahmudabad asked Mahomed Ali about his political belief he expressed adherence to the Congress-League scheme and said that he would fight against the Turks, if they invaded India. No other argument is needed to prove that the suspicion entertained by Government about the loyalty of Ali brothers is baseless. We are also surprised that Saiyad Reza Ali was not allowed to interview the interned.]

Akhbár-e-Islám (57), 9th Oct.

7. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* fully sympathises with the agitation for the liberation of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali and hopes that the difference between the guarantee demanded by Government and the one proposed to be given by the two brothers will be removed by the efforts of the general public. It fails to see, however, what reason the interned had to add the saving clause about their loyalty to Islam, and it thinks it is the duty of the people agitating for their liberation to prove to Government that the clause is really harmless and does not mean what Government understand by it.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (142), 7th Oct.; *Islámic Mail* (141), 1st Oct., Urdu edition.

8. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* publishes an account of the communications addressed to, and interviews held with, Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali in connection with their projected release, and describes how thousands of Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis, men and women, undeterred by rain attended a meeting at Kandewadi, Bombay, on the 3rd instant to urge Government to set them free. It confesses its ignorance of why the Muhammadans should not take a leading part in urging such a course of action on Government, and while noting the Hindus' enthusiasm and Muhammadans' listlessness in this matter it declares it to be the prime duty of the internees' co-religionists to try every means for their release. [Referring to the resolution passed at an emergency meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League regarding the continued internment of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, the *Islámic Mail* says:—It goes without saying that the Council of the Muslim League has correctly interpreted the feelings of Musalmans in this matter. The Muhammadan press cannot sufficiently well give expression to the anxiety and consternation now swaying the Musalmans as a result of the continued incarceration of Muslim internees.]

Hindu and Musalman unity.
Political Bhomiyo (71), 5th Oct.

9. The *Political Bhomiyo* enters at length into the relations between the Hindu and Musalman communities and concludes that the unity said to exist between them is unreal. It says the Hindu politicians have been feigning friendship for Musalmans only in order to make the latter their tools in achieving their own ends. Their efforts, it admits, have been successful so far as to win over a few so-called Musalmans who claim to represent the entire Musalman community in the whole of India. But the community, it continues, does not know who these men are, where they hail from and what views they hold as regards the real tenets of Islam; and it asserts that if a plebiscite were taken the community would clearly show that it has no confidence in these so-called leaders. If these persons, says the paper, cannot save the community from Hindu violence now, how are they going to protect its rights after they get *swaráj*? The paper then goes on to harp on its usual complaints against the Hindu community as a whole—its alleged jealousy of Musalmans, its contempt and hatred for them, the insulting references made to Islam and Musalmans in books written by Hindus, and so forth.

There should be a united demand for *swarájya.*
Kesari (106), 9th Oct.

10. The opponents of *swarájya* may be divided into three classes. The first is that of retired Anglo-Indians who have grown fat on India's money, and even Governors and Viceroys like Lord Sydenham and Lord Curzon help them at times. When the Bill of *swarájya* will come before Parliament this party will oppose it strenuously and we shall have to fight our last battle with it. Another class which is beside itself at the sight of the flag of *swarájya* is that of the local Anglo-Indians. But they had to make the request in Council that their interests should be guarded if *swarájya* is granted. The third class is that of bureaucratic officials. But they are bound by discipline and they have to enforce the policy laid down by the Ministry. They might be doing all they can through confidential reports and through the agency of others. But their open scheming is stopped. Our natural enemies have thus to give up the offensive and adopt a defensive policy. Now there remains the non-Brahmin class which used to oppose a little the demand of *swarájya* in the beginning, be it through ignorance or misunderstanding or through the instigation of others and envy. But the sphere of their opposition is being contracted as

can be seen from the resolutions, passed at various centres by their representatives, approving of *swarájya.* There are very few demands which can be said to serve the interests of particular classes. When the number of the members of the Bombay Legislative Council will be increased to 100 or 125, can it be said that representatives of all classes can find room therein without any special electorates? Representatives may be assigned to different communities but they should be elected by mixed electorates. Communal representation is a question of distribution; the first thing that should occupy the energies of the backward classes is the demand of *swarájya.* It is not only desirable but necessary that there should be a united demand for *swarájya.* We should also see that our different schemes do not come into conflict with that of the Congress. The demand should also be made strenuously.

Why Brahmins hanker after *swarájya.*
Din Mitra (98), 10th Oct.

11. In the course of an article headed "Why are Brahmins hankering so much for *swarájya?*" the *Din Mitra* says:—These days Brahmins are as it were mad after *swarájya.* These rowdy and restless people do not like the peace and contentment prevailing in the country. The mass of the people want the present system of administration to continue. Then why are these Brahmins agitating for *swarájya?* If an administration admitted to be the best on the face of the earth exists in this country, why should the Brahmins dislike it? The secret lies in the fact that the establishment of the just British rule by the grace of God, has opened to the other castes the path of elevation and so deprived the Brahmins of the monopoly of power which they exercised in former times, and utilised it to oppress the Shudras. In those times Brahmins guilty even of murder were not hanged, but now they cannot escape the extreme penalty of the law. They are carrying on the present agitation to regain their lost privileges and supremacy and to prevent the non-Brahmins from raising their heads.

The backward classes must press for special electorates.
Jágaruk (102), 12th Oct., Eng. cols.

12. "The *Kesari* has at last admitted that the backward communities are prefectly justified in demanding special representation, though it is extremely unwilling to admit the desirability of special electorates. But the *Kesari* has also taken care to implore the non-Brahmins to stop their agitation, since, in its opinion, they are thereby likely to injure the political cause of their country. It is impossible to understand the meaning of our contemporary's warning. If the non-Brahmins or the backward classes form the bulk of the population and if it is essential that their interests should be safeguarded by their being given special representation, how can it be said in the same breath that their agitation is likely to prove injurious to the cause of their country? Perhaps the *Kesari* has, in its mind, the Brahmanic definition of 'country', according to which India is only Aryavarta or the abode of the Brahmins, while all the other communities are there only as Shudras or servants! Our contemporary seems to be labouring under the delusion that the agitators for special representation will be thrown off their guard and lulled into a sense of security by finding their claims conceded by the most influential of the organs of public opinion in the Maharashtra, while the *Kesari* will be free to take another somersault at the eleventh hour and oppose the non-Brahmin demand on the ground that the public opinion amongst the non-Brahmins themselves had never been strongly in favour of special representation. The *Kesari* evidently wants to deter our people from carrying on their agitation vigorously, when it says that they will thereby injure the cause of their country. The plea that communal representation is only a question of distribution and can very conveniently be deferred until after the favourable consideration of the Congress demand, is another dodge. Both the questions must be and can be considered only at one and the same time; and to say that the one is more important than the other is to affirm that the Brahmin rule is more akin to self-government than the one in which all the classes will be adequately represented."

Condemnation of communal electorates.
Shubhodaya (89), 5th Oct.; *Rdj Hansa* (85), 6th Oct.

13. The *Shubhodaya* strongly condemns communal electorates and says that no such elections are in vogue in England and that if *swardjya* is to be modelled on Parliamentary lines, the constitution of the British Parliament should be adopted. It further holds that the best men should be sent to the Legislative Councils and that no communal questions need be discussed in those assemblies. It points out that Brahmins do not form even five per cent. of the Indian population and that they are not likely to be elected, if the non-Brahmins do not want them. The *Rdj Hansa* also is against communal electorates and says that sub-divisions of Muhammadans have not been granted the right of election. It holds that it is ridiculous to form every caste into an electorate. It points out that a foreigner like Mrs. Besant, a Parsi like Sir D. E. Wachha and a Muhammadan like Mr. Jinnah are the country's political leaders and that a man comes to the front by his own merit and not on account of his caste.]

Verses on Home Rule.
Kaira Vartamdn (67), 10th Oct.

14. The *Kaira Vartamdn* publishes a poem entitled " Message of Home Rule to the sons of India ", which says among other things :—Rise with enthusiasm, O sons of India, and throw off your sleep. Wake up; this is the proper time. Be brave and accomplish your object. Fear not if hundreds of thousands of afflictions come in the way of your breaking the fetters of dependence on others and enjoying for ever the pleasing fruits of *swardjya*. Be Home Rulers, and elevate India. Freedom is the birthright of all; it is a gift of God; no one has a controlling right over it. Make *swardjya* firm by means of these principles ; be Home Rulers, and elevate India.

India cannot bear even the existing burden of the Indian Civil Service.
New Times (7), 10th Oct.

15. " Can India bear the increased burden recommended by the Commission ? Can India bear even the existing burden of this costly service ? Is not the Indian proverbially poor ? Is not the average income very small in India ? Is it possible for the poor peasantry to pay for the heavy salaries, the large number of allowances including the ' Pushtu allowance ', ' the Baluchistan allowance ', etc., of the official class ? Do the Civil Servants feel like ' exiles ' in India ? If not, can they argue that they must be paid fat salaries as a compensation for the ' miseries of exile ' ? Can't the Indian administration be at once efficient and cheap ? Hume—the one clear thinker of Great Britain—was certainly wrong when he said that ' all taxes are confiscation'. But to thrust a most costly service on a people whose taxable capacity is small is, to say the least, unreasonable."

Government servants and Home Rule politics.
Young India (14), 10th Oct.

16. " *Young India* refers to the cases of two Government servants at Broach and two at Karáchi, who had to leave Government service because they persisted in keeping up their connection with Home Rule Leagues, and writes :—" It will be seen from the order of the District Judge, Broach, that a Government servant cannot be a member of a political movement under Government rules. We concede that position willingly, though we are inclined to doubt whether these rules are applicable to poor, low paid servants alone. We raise this doubt because of a more notorious breach of Government rules which came to light during the last ' Congress week ' at Lucknow. It will be remembered that in connection with the Curtis-Round Table propaganda, the association of such ' superior officers ' as Sir James Meston and his Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Marris, to say nothing of the secret protagonists of the movement among the Indian Civil Service, was exposed to an astonished world. In both the cases, the gentlemen were highly paid and highly responsible officers, gentlemen who were supposed to set a wholesome example to the rest of the official hierarchy. What happened?......... When the public clamour became too loud to ignore any longer with safety or prudence, an attempt was made to condone their offence as if it were a matter of little or no consequence. The Government of India said that they would have nothing more to do with the Round Table movement and there the matter ended.......... The contrast offered by the dismissal of the Broach Karkuns and the Sind clerks is too glaring to be overlooked. The example set by these small men is really very commendable and we have no doubt the public will readily recognize the rare spirit of courage, patriotism and self-sacrifice shown by them."

New Times (7), 2nd Oct.

17. An anonymous correspondent quotes the instance of the dismissal of a clerk in the Karáchi Small Causes Court, and of the dismissal of one of his clerks by the General Officer Commanding, Karáchi, and continues:—"I believe if Sind officials take it into their heads to dismiss each and every servant of the Government, who is a member of the Home Rule League, I doubt if there will remain any young and low paid clerks left in Government service worth the name because most of the young men have begun to realize that it is just the thing which India requires and her regeneration will result by such actions on the part of the Bureaucracy.......... Let not young men forget that nothing noble can be achieved without self-sacrifice. I hope the leaders of the Home Rule League will not allow their young men to be so roughly handled and will take up the cudgels against such officers in Sind, who are adding fuel to the fire."

Mrs. Besant and the Congress presidentship.
Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 14th Oct., Eng. cols.

*18. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* stronly approves of the suggestion of the *Indu Prakásh* that Mrs. Besant should voluntarily resign the presidentship of the forthcoming session of the Congress and remarks:—"Now at least the violent Home Rulers ought to realise the depth of opposition to her election. But obsessed as they are with their own sense of importance, they can hardly be expected to do anything reasonable. Hence the alternative suggested by the *Indu Prakásh* is the only feasible one. We are not at all surprised that this suggestion should be characterised by the Home Rule organs as mischievous. They trot out the wild talk about the majority and so on. But they forget that usually in the case of candidates for the Congress presidentship they can be characterised merely in terms of good and better. But in Mrs. Besant's case opinion is most radically divided. Her election means a definite split in the Congress camp, and this split will only be averted by Mrs. Besant's self-denial. No particular purpose will be served by her election, while her refusal to be smuggled into the presidential chair will show her at her best: as the self-sacrificing saint that her followers say she is."

Bombay Samáchár (60), 8th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 8th Oct.

19. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the amicable and satisfactory manner in which the dispute that created a split in the Congress Reception Committee over the appointment of Mrs. Besant as the President has been settled. It congratulates both parties on the tact and foresight they showed in arriving at a settlement. It is of opinion that the assurance given by Mrs. Besant to His Excellency the Viceroy was a sufficient guarantee of her anxiety to maintain the traditions of the Congress, and it hopes that Mrs. Besant will be able to bring about closer relations between Government and the people. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* on the other hand considers it a weakness on the part of the Moderate section in the Reception Committee to have given in and voted in favour of Mrs. Besant. It quotes with approval the arguments advanced by Mr. P. C. Ray against the appointment of Mrs. Besant and opines that there is some truth in the statement made in certain quarters to the effect that India is not yet fit for *swarájya*.]

Comments on the election of Mr. Mahomed Ali as President of the forthcoming session of the Moslem League.
Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 14th Oct., Eng. cols.

*20. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses surprise at the election by the Council of the All-India Moslem League of Mr. Mahomed Ali as President of the forthcoming session of the League and remarks:—"Apart from the validity or otherwise of the internment we think that after all he is a man who is held in suspicion by Government and we are of opinion that the Muhammadans in India are not so poor in possessing capable leaders who could be trusted to guide the

deliberations of the League. We must admit we do not understand the wisdom of electing a man interned by Government and expecting him to do what he has not the freedom to do. Is this a lesson of the Besant incident? If so, we are afraid our Moslem friends are mistaken."

Indians and the grant of Army Commissions.
Kesari (106), 9th Oct.

21. Mr. Gupte, Pleader, has published an article on the question of the nine commissions granted to Indians recently. He says there is nothing new in them as the right had been already granted to us in the Queen's Proclamation and the Charter Act of 1833. He says also that these nine men already held Commissions under Lord Curzon's scheme. But they were not regular Commissions. But why do the words 'your orders will be obeyed by Native Sepoys and officers' occur in the Commissions granted to these men? According to the interpellation of the Commander-in-Chief of India, it appears that Indian Commissioned officers will always be inferior to all British officers. Mr. Gupte's suggestion that arrangements should be made to recruit $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ officers in India, is good. But how far it is practicable, taking into consideration the stinginess of Government, is another question!

Interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding alleged undue pressure in collecting War Loan.
Mahratta (5), 14th Oct.

*22. "The Honourable Mr. Upasni by his interpellations in the meeting of the local Council on the 11th instant brought to public notice some cases of undue pressure used in the War Loan collection business. A Marwadi in the mofussil was detained at the chavdi and his house kept locked on the 28th June 1917, while there was a marriage at his house on the next day. In another case the house of a Maratha was similarly kept locked for ten days. Government's reply in regard to these incidents was to the effect that Government did not propose to call for the information asked for, as no representation had been received from the Marwadi and the Maratha named by Mr. Upasani that they were dissatisfied with the action taken by the local officer. Who will deny the 'expert' propriety of Government's reply? He must cry out whom the shoe pinches, is an excellent rule. But a Government that styles itself 'paternal' ought to have a different notion of its duties towards its 'subjects' than the reply bears witness to. It may be excusable in the highest executive officials of the Local Government to be in the dark about the War Loan mal-activities of lower officials in the mofussil for months after they have been 'perpetrated'. But once such abuses of power have been brought to their notice, it becomes their business, in our humble opinion, to at once call for the necessary information and render justice to the *mute sufferers*."

Government should place the liquor traffic under popular control.
Dnyán Prakásh (16), 9th Oct.

23. Commenting upon the increased consumption of liquor in India, the *Dnyán Prakásh* suggests that the Abkári Department should be under some non-official not interested in the sale of liquor. It complains that the Abkári Committees have no constitution and that representatives of the people on them have no real power. It declares that it is not creditable that Government are not willing to make any change in their settled policy when, on account of the war, nations in the west are making strenuous efforts to check the evil. It adds:—Some notable changes have been proposed by the Bangalore Committee and it appears that Mysore will excel British India in this connection also as in education, *Punchayats* and separation of judicial and executive functions. We think it our duty to tell Government that there is no better way for them than to accept Sir Herbert Roberts' proposals to the Secretary of State for popular control of the liquor traffic in order to remove the people's belief or misunderstanding that Government are not willing to transfer power to popular representatives because of the lure of revenue.'

Complaint that there is no salt depôt at Ratnágiri.

Satya Shodhak (117), 7th Oct.

24. The people are complaining that salt is selling at 13 seers a rupee at Ratnágiri. The authorities have already declared that whenever salt becomes dear, the people should go to the fish-curing yard to purchase it: they should now accordingly cross the ferry with their baskets and enjoy the odours of the fish yard. The authorities are reported to be determined not to have a salt depôt in the town. There is no help ! !

The end of the Strike of Bombay Post men.

Rást Goftár (31), 14th Oct., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 14th Oct., Eng. cols.

***25.** "Bombay has had an experience which, we fervently hope, will not come to us again or even to the next generation.......... We need not inquire very closely into the terms of the settlement. The Director General's announcement says that the men have come back unconditionally and have left their demands to be favourably considered by him. So be it. Let prestige stand with an undiminished head on its high pedestal; if we have had a glimpse of its feet of clay let them be covered up again decently." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"We congratulate the postal authorities on the successful issue of the strike. But we are sorry we cannot say that they are in any way free from blame. We do think that they are certainly responsible for the long duration of the period of the strike. The end could certainly have been brought earlier if the question of prestige had not upset them. In fact we believe that it was in the hands of the authorities to prevent the strike."]

Sanj Vartamán (32), 9th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 9th Oct.; *Message* (6), 9th Oct.

26. The authorities have at length seen their mistake and the postmen have unconditionally surrendered on their being given an assurance that their demands will be favourably considered. Their surrender shows that the strikers had no intention of assuming an unreasonable attitude. The authorities have acted with foresight and liberality and we hope they will forget the past and not think of bringing either the men or their leaders into trouble. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is gratified at the end of the strike and hopes the authorities will take a lesson from it and never again cause any inconvenience to be inflicted on the public by the recurrence of such a strike. The *Message* remarks:—"The way in which the strikers held out during all this time must have, no doubt, convinced the authorities of the acute economic discontent which lay at the bottom of the present deadlock.......... Our congratulations to all concerned in this matter--the postal authorities, the postmen and the general public who particularly had to endure great inconvenience and loss of business. All's well that ends well."]

Indian indentured labour and the Emigration Conference.

Young India (14), 10th Oct.

27. Commenting on the proposal of the Emigration Conference regarding Indian labour, *Young India* writes:—"It is unnecessary for our purpose to go into a detailed examination here of the so-called substitute which the Conference has dangled before the Indian public. The proposal now put forward greatly militates against the happy announcement—made in the resolution—that 'the Secretary of State has desired that it should be made known that His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be reopened.'......... The reassuring effect of this statement is greatly disturbed by the proposals that have been put forward by the Conference for an assisted system of labour emigration to the Colonies......... The Conference may have been perfectly within its rights in suggesting a scheme of this kind—and we do not think it was possible to expect it to do better. But it was open to His Majesty's Government and also the Government of India to give, particularly in the light of the strong feeling in this country against Indian labour emigration, greater weight to the counsel of Indians in such a vital problem as the one presented here.

It is evident throughout that that was the last thing which either of the two Governments ever seriously regarded for a moment as a great obstacle in the way of a simple settlement such as the one proposed by the conference.......... 'So long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner within the Empire and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the Colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water,' it is clearly impossible to have patience with any proposals that seek to perpetuate the badge of helotry which any scheme of emigration to the Colonies must necessarily mean."]

Comments on the Bijapur Inamdars' petition against orders directing them to keep record of rights for their villages.
Kesari (106), 9th Oct.

28. Referring to the petition submitted by the Inamdars' Association of Bijápur against the orders of Government directing the Inamdars of the district to keep a record of rights for their villages, the *Kesari* remarks:—The khots have complained, the kulkarnis have complained, and now the Inamdars are complaining. It remains to be seen if there now remains any class which has escaped the shears of Governmunt. It is desirable that Government should not gratuitously hurt these classes. But as Government entertain quite a different point of view, who can help it?

How Hindu Mukhtiarkars in Sind suffer through supersession by Muhammadans.
Sind Journal (10), 4th Oct.

29. "The meritorious services of some of the Hindu Mukhtiarkars who are University graduates to boot, have been light-heartedly ignored and junior Muhammadan Mukhtiarkars appointed as Deputy Collectors over their heads. This attitude of the Commissioner in Sind is calculated to wound the feelings of Hindus who want only fair play and no favour. The Hindus of Sind have been practically debarred from becoming Deputy Collectors in the Provincial Service by the door of nomination, as every time such an appointment is filled it goes to a Muhammadan in preference to even better qualified Hindus. But when in addition to this injustice the claims of Hindu Mukhtiarkars to Deputy Collectorships are brushed aside the situation calls for the exercise of due vigilance by His Excellency the Governor in Council.......... The policy of giving preference to Muhammadans when they are the equals of Hindus can be understood, but it is inexplicable why the Hindus should go to the wall even in competition with Muhammadans of inferior qualifications and calibre. If such appointments are made only to serve as a sop to self-seeking Muhammadans in Sind, to cry down the Home Rule movement, we can only regret the short-sightedness of such a policy. For how long can the Muhammadans be satisfied with mere crumbs that fall from the table of the bureaucracy?"

Appeal to Government to handle with tact and sincere good feeling the question of the emoluments of Government subordinates in view of the rise in prices.
Rást Goftár (31), 14th Oct., Eng. cols.

***30.** "If the lot of the menial is heart-breaking, let it not be forgotten that the great number of those who live on the borders of poverty (*e.g.*, the subordinate clerks of the various Government Departments) own to a condition that is almost too hard to be borne. And poverty ever engenders dissatisfaction and discontent and is the mother of all crime. The situation of these unfortunates should be well grasped and taken in hand duly with tact and the sincerest good feeling. Our profoundest sympathies go towards Government at this hour when they are tasked to the fullest extent. But necessity is all over-ruling."

The *Potgi* scale for Kulkarnis should be increased.
Shubhodaya (89), 5th Oct.

31. A Vatandar Kulkarni from Belgaum writes to the *Shubhodaya*:—The *Potgi* scale of Kulkarnis was fixed 70 years ago and it has not been revised as yet. It is reasonable to quadruple it, as pay in all other Departments has been revised. The condition of many Kulkarnis is worse than that of slaves, peons and sanadis. Of late some Kulkarnis have been made to commute their vatans forcibly, illegally and fraudulently. We do not see any necessity of the adoption of the Talati system only in the case of Kulkarnis, leaving alone other Vatandars like Gowda, Talvar, Kolkar, Holiya, Chougula, etc. The right of *Bhaubands* cannot be destroyed by the surrender of his turn by a Kulkarni.

Protest against the Government circular directing Representative Vatandar Kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination.

Message (6), 6th Oct.

32. Commenting on the recent orders of Government directing representative Vatandar Kulkarnis to pass the Vernacular Final Examination, a correspondent of the *Message* remarks :—" The circular has caused a great flutter among the Representative Vatandar Kulkarnis whose turn of office begins this year, and it wants strict homage to it from every representative Vatandar let him be young, middle aged or old. I call this circular marvellous because it orders the Kulkarnis to complete the course of seven years in a single year and I style it as pernicious because it sweeps away Kulkarnis from the stage......... Will Government answer the following queries satisfactorily? What room is left by the Government in the case of Kulkarnis who have duly passed the old Kulkarni test and whose age is more than twenty-five? Has Government made any exception in the case of the representative Vatandar Kulkarnis who have discharged their duties once or twice and whose age exceeds 25? What steps have been taken by the Government in the case of Kulkarnis who are nearly 40 or 50 and have served Government with zeal and integrity for their lives and who are the sole representative Vatandar Kulkarnis and have not passed or cannot pass any of the School Finals?......... How can old and young Kulkarnis finish the six years' course in a single year? The circular comes off in January last and wants every Kulkarni to satisfy the said conditions within 1st of January 1918. Has Government considered the impropriety and the inconsistent nature of the said circular?......... Though the present pernicious circular appears mild in its outward form, it is more efficacious in removing the Kulkarnis young as well as old from the stage than the 'Kulkarni settlement' movement started some three years ago by the Government. That settlement wanted some sort of consent to it from the Kulkarnis, let it be forced or otherwise. Anyhow it was based on the principle of consent. The Government is grown wise in selecting a new weapon to do away with the Kulkarnis, based on the ground of efficiency, as the standard rests with Government only."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill to amend the Medical Registration Act.

Dnyán Prakásh (16), 12th Oct.; **Gujaráti* (17), 14th Oct., Eng. cols.; * *Indian Social Reformer* (3), 14th Oct.; *Message* (6), 13th Oct.; * *Mahrátta* (5), 14th Oct.

33. Commenting on the rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill to amend the Medical Registration Act the *Dnyán Prakásh* says that nobody expected that Surgeon-General Lyons would oppose a majority of elected members in the Bombay Medical Council when the United Provinces Medical Council and the Punjab Medical Council have already a majority of elected members of 3 and 1 respectively and it declares that it is at a loss to understand how unqualified persons would have got into the Council by the adoption of Mr. Patel's amendment. It further remarks that assurances were given at the time of the passage of the Medical Registration Act that it would not interfere with Ayurvedic medicine and that it is strange that a Doctor should be served with a notice for keeping connection with an Ayurvedic school. It adds :—How can Ayurveda be improved if Doctors have nothing to do with it? If it is not an offence to keep connection with an Ayurvedic school, why should not a clear mention of it be made in the Act itself as proposed by Mr. Patel? It is regrettable that Government should oppose the first reading of such an innocent Bill. [The *Gujaráti* writes :—" The Medical Act of the United Provinces embodies the very principle that was embodied in the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill and does not insist upon the exclusion of a medical practitioner from the medical register on the ground of his adoption of a theory of medicine and surgery not in accordance with the accepted views for the time being or of his

association with a Vaidya, Hakim or Homœopath. We fail to see why different principles should be followed in two provinces in determining whether the conduct of a medical practitioner is 'infamous'. It is murdering the English language and common sense to say that Dr. Popat's conduct is 'infamous' because he is actively associated with the Ayurvedic College and with the promotion of the Ayurvedic system of medicine." The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"'Infamous', of course, has a technical significance, but even so, if this pretension does not mean that the Ayurvedic and Unani doctors are to be regarded as 'untouchables' and pariahs of the profession, we do not know what it does mean.......... The only effect of the Bill being thrown out by the Council will be to deter the medical graduates of our Universities from interesting themselves in the indigenous systems. This is a pity, because it is they that can best sift the chaff from the grain, and assimilate to Medical Science, which belongs neither to the East nor to the West, all that is valuable in the Indian systems. Any one who ventures to openly associate himself with Ayurvedic or Unani studies may be branded for 'infamous conduct.'......... His Excellency the Governor threw out the suggestion that the indigenous systems must have their own separate organisation. This can be done only if Government extend to them some measure of patronage as in the case of the modern orthodox system." The *Message* writes:—"Mr. Patel's Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill has been rejected by the Bombay Legislative Council and we do not think the public were prepared for any other result, after the first day's demonstration of interested opposition in the Council. It does indeed seem in view of the line taken up by the temporarily nominated 'expert' members that the triumvirate were chosen merely to strengthen the voting on the Government side. The division which was very close—20 for the Bill and 25 against including the three 'experts'—discloses the real strength of public feeling on this question of vital importance. Although Mr. Patel's Bill has been lost for the time being, the spirit, we are sure, is not yet dead and we may hear more of it before long." The *Mahrátta* writes:—"None but the merest interested bigot can assert that the indigenous systems have not contributed and are not contributing to the alleviation of the suffering of the teeming millions of India. Once this service of the indigenous systems is recognised (we will not refer here to the special excellences of not a few native drugs and of some methods of native treatment, which put the alien system into shade), it follows as a matter of course that any authority that is responsible for the well-being of these millions owes it to these millions that it should endeavour directly and indirectly to put these native systems of medicine in train for improvement on modern lines. The Medical Act which indirectly empowers the Medical Council to penalise as infamous conduct the association of a registered practitioner with a practitioner of native medicine cannot be characterised truly except as *an infamous measure*.......... The defeat of this Bill we look upon as the success of the party of self-interest and unreason and irresponsible attachment to things Western combined with indifference to the requirements of 90 per cent. of the population of India."]

Bombay Samáchár (60), 13th Oct.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 12th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 12th and 13th Oct.

34. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresess itself in full sympathy with the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill further to amend the Bombay Medical Registration Act and is of opinion that it was not fair on the part of Government to have appointed two Indian medical practitioners who were confessedly antagonistic to the indigenous system of medicine as additional members of the Legislative Council as long as the Bill was before the Council, and wishes that Government had appointed an equal number of additional members who were advocates of the indigenous systems of medicine. It considers that a great hardship has been inflicted on the public in general by the Registration Act requiring medical men not even to study these systems or to have any connection with hospitals or dispensaries where these systems are practised and expresses its regret at the rejection of the Bill. [The *Sánj Vartámán* considers it unjust on the part of Government to have appointed additional members who were antagonistic to the indigenous systems of

medicine. It does not think there is any cause for the public to despond at the fate of the Bill as almost half of the Legislative Council voted in its favour. It suggests that the cause of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine should be publicly agitated to secure for them the consideration they deserve. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also deprecates the attitude taken up by Government towards the Bill. It is of opinion that the rejection of the Bill was due to the desire on the part of Government to maintain the prestige of the Medical Council.]

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Sind College students' strike.

Indu Prakásh (40), 12th Oct.; *Message* (6), 13th Oct.

35. Referring to the strike of the students of the Sind College, the *Indu Prakásh* remarks :—It is extremely difficult to say whether the liking for strikes is good or bad. Nobody would say that strikes should take place in our country simply because they are frequently occurring in civilized countries. It is true that even a worm turns when things become unbearable. But it is wrong to have resort to strikes at every turn. Severe steps must be taken to break such strikes. The public must keep a calm attitude in showing sympathy to either side. To express sympathy with strikers on each and every occasion has undesirable results. It is well that the Sind College students have listened to the advice of Mr. Mehta and ended the strike. [The *Message* remarks :—"There is a bumper harvest of strikes everywhere in the country, not the least important among which are the Students' strikes. There is nothing in them which should be disquieting to the minds of sober and thoughtful people, though to men of an antiquated type, the phenomena may appear strange and inexplicable......... In educational as in political institutions the spirit of antiquity dominates and if anything is their distinguishing characteristic, it is their obsoleteness. Things that have been discarded in Europe are the fashions in this country......... It is no wonder that the growing national consciousness of the people, both old and young, should manifest unrest with antiquarianism."]

Motion in the United Provinces Legislative Council regarding certain remarks of Principal Wood of Roorki College.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 14th Oct.

***36.** With reference to a motion in the United Provinces Legislative Council by the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru regarding certain remarks of Principal Wood of Roorki College, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"We see that the Honourable Pandit has been blamed for bringing the matter before the Council. We think he was fully justified in doing so. Government have issued longwinded resolutions on the supposed decay of parental authority and respect for elders among Indian students, and prepared at considerable cost moral text-books to restore these vanishing virtues. But here is the Principal of a College traducing Indian gentlemen and Indian homes, and it is right that the public here and in England should know the share of the Principal of one at least of the Government Colleges in undermining parental authority.......... If Sir Michael O'Dwyer abuses Indian politicians, and they venture to protest, they are endangering the good relations between Europeans and Indians. If Principal Wood vilifies 'a great many Indian homes' as dens of intrigue before the sons of these 'homes'—in itself a most ungentlemanly proceeding—and Indians insist on his being asked to withdraw and apologise, His Honour must needs point to the maintenance of good relations between Europeans and Indians as a reason for their sitting quiet."

Comments on the Government Press Note regarding Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 14th Oct.

***37.** "We wish to raise the central issue whether Government have any right to prevent a community from adopting, if it desires to do so, whatever language seems best to it, as its vernacular. The Government of India does not seem to claim any such right, because His Excellency the Viceroy expressed the other day the hope that English will some day be spoken in Indian homes. The Government of Bombay, however, have for years past laid down that Indian children shall not be educated in English for the first four years of their school life. They now lay down that Muhammadan children shall not be educated in Urdu, and shall be educated in the local vernaculars. We have protested against the first prohibition, we can on no account acquiesce in the second. Our fundamental objection is this; that the parents know much better than any Government—whose personnel and policy are constantly changing—what is good for their children from every point of view. Now, this question of Urdu is a vital one for Muhammadans *and more particularly in places where they form a small minority*......... We cannot understand the frame of mind which has produced this resolution. In the Indian States of Mysore and Baroda there are Urdu schools for Muhammadans. No scruples such as have led Government to reverse the policy of their predecessor in this matter have ever affected these states. We cannot help saying that the Muhammadan community has some excuse to feel that Government have, without sufficient reason and in face of the unanimous opinion of the Muhammadan gentlemen whom they themselves had selected to advise them on this question, not quite kept faith with it.......... We do hope that Government will not be in haste to give effect to their resolution."

Bombay Samáchár (60), 12th Oct.

38. The *Bombay Samáchár* discusses at great length the arguments advanced by the advocates of Urdu in this Presidency against the Press Note issued by Government and is of opinion that the Press Note can in no wise be said to be a blow to Urdu education as is alleged against it, and it asks them to consider carefully the reasons that have actuated Government to decide in favour of giving instruction to Muhammadan children through the medium of the languages they speak at home instead of inflicting upon them the hardship of receiving their education through Urdu. It asks the advocates of Urdu to take advantage of the position given by Government to Urdu as a second language in schools for Muhammadan boys and take steps for the development of the language instead of insisting upon having Urdu as the medium of instruction and thus indirectly retarding the progress of education among Muhammadans.

RAILWAYS.

Grievances of third class passengers on Indian Railways.
Gujaráti (17), 7th Oct.

39. The *Gujaráti* fully endorses the views expressed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the grievances of third class passengers on the Indian railways in a letter to the *Times of India* and remarks that no improvement in the lot of the third class passenger will be effected as long as the railways continue to provide comforts for the first and second class passengers from the profits made from the third class passenger traffic. It is of opinion that the appeal made by Mr. Gandhi to honourable members of the Legislative Council, big officials and Maharajas to travel in third class carriages will fall on deaf ears.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the decision of the Bombay Government on the subject of the Bombay Gymkhana boat-house on the Chowpatty sands (Bombay).
Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 14th Oct., Eng. cols.

*40. "The reply of Government to the representation of the Municipal Corporation requesting that the Bombay Gymkhana boat-house standing on the Chowpatty sands be removed from that position is a sample of the ways in which Indian public opinion is so often flouted by the bureaucracy. Laborious arguments have been brought forward in support of the undesirability of having this boat-house removed. Recreation for a chosen few may spoil the look of a beautiful promenade. Where are our aesthetic lords who always glory in the aesthetics of the West? What city in the West could put up with such a disgraceful shed? The bureaucrats want the boat-house and they will have it a beauty spot only. Here is a matter for the public of Bombay and we trust it will not sit quiet."

An outsider should be appointed Chief Executive Officer of the Dhárwár Municipality.
Karnátak Vritta (83), 9th Oct.; *Ráj Hansa* (85), 8th Oct.

41. Referring to the appointment of Mr. Kadkol, Chief Officer of the Dhárwár Municipality as Chief Officer of the Dhárwár District Local Board, the *Karnátak Vritta* says that though the Municipality will have to appoint as its Chief Officer some person who is selected for Mamlat by the Commissioner as according to the new Government Resolution the Chief Officers' posts of Gadag and Dhárwár Municipalities are included in the grade of Mamlats, it would be better if the Municipality appointed an outsider as its Chief Officer. It adds :— It is needless to mention who will be appointed as Chief Officer looking to the influence of the majority in the Municipality and the disorderly state of its administration. We still hope that the city fathers now in power will do nothing unconstitutional that would leave a stain on local self-government. [The *Ráj Hansa* also suggests that an outsider should be appointed as Chief Officer of the Dhárwár Municipality and that the Municipality should follow the example set by Hubli (Dhárwár) and Guledgud (Bijápur).]

A complaint against the Dhárwár Municipality.
Karnátak Vritta (83), 9th Oct.

42. A merchant writes to the *Karnátak Vritta* :—There is no doubt that the affairs of the Dhárwár Municipaliy are conducted with great partiality. So long the Chief Officer was bent upon prosecuting a number of merchants for evading payment of toll. There was a thick rumour that Mr. Rudrayya Hiremath would also be prosecuted for a similar offence, but somehow the whole thing was hushed up. There is a thick rumour that Mr. Basappa Minajagi brought bodice cloth from Hubli 25 days ago and tried to pay less toll by making a false statement about its value. It is also said that *Pachnama* was made. I do not know why Mr. Minajagi has not been prosecuted till now. Can it be that the Chief Officer has not prosecuted Mr. Rudrayya and Mr. Basappa because they are councillors of the municipality? Is there one law for municipal councillors and another for other merchants under British rule?

An educational complaint against the Bijápur Municipality.
Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 2nd and 9th Oct., Eng. cols.

43. "One of the standing grievances of the Kanarese people in this city of Bijápur is the necessity of a Kanarese Girls' School in its centre. The absurdity of teaching Maráthi to the Kanarese Girls attending the Victoria Memorial Girls' School and the disproportionate expenditure incurred by the Municipality over this item was for the first time pointed out to the Municipality by Mr. R. C. Brown, when he was the Collector of this place. In subsequent years all the Educational Inspectors suggested, at the time of inspection, to the Municipality to put a stop to the absurd practice of giving instruction in Maráthi to the Kanarese girls of this school. The result of all this was that a Kanarese class was started in this school which promised to flourish in a short time and could have developed into a full-grown Girls' School in the centre of the city. But the Municipality was pleased to discontinue the class on the ground that it was not desirable to have a Kanarese class in a Marathi school." [In the next issue the paper writes :—"If we classify the school-going girls of our Municipality according to their mother-tongue, the Kanarese girls are entitled to receive the first consideration of our Municipality and the claim of the Urdu girls will stand prior to that of the Marathi girls. But the real state of things is quite the reverse. The best and suitable buildings erected by the Municipality for the use of girl schools are being utilized for Marathi girls, while the Kanarese girls are being locked up in rented houses which are as a rule ill-ventilated and dilapidated. The position of the Urdu girls is still worse. In some cases they had to resort to mosques, as the Municipality could not get even rented buildings for these poor girls."

Comments on the sanctioning of house-tax by the Lárkána Municipality (Sind).

New Times (7), 3rd and 4th Oct.; *Sind Journal* (10), 4th Oct.; *Sind Advocate* (9), 27th Sept.

44. "The Crown Prince of Germany is reported to have said that the submarine is the last argument of kings; and if the reports which have reached us concerning the way in which a house-tax has been imposed on the Lárkána people be correct, we are constrained to say that the submarine method has proved to be the last argument of the mighty Collector of Lárkána.* The new tax is apparently imposed by the local Municipality: but is really thrust upon a poor people by the President who is no other than Mr. Bolus. The Municipality of Lárkána is a nominated body; not a single member is elected by the people." [In the next issue the paper writes:—"It is impossible for any people with any grain of self-respect in them to keep quiet over the affair; the house-tax imposed on them in the teeth of opposition is a blow to self-respect; it is arbitrary; it is unjust; it is a burden which is rightly resented in these days when retrenchment is our cry; it is a monstrosity born of a foolish conception of official prestige; it should be an eye-opener to all who may not know that the so-called local self-government is a farce in places like Lárkána where Municipal bodies are officialised and presided over by petty bureaucrats." The *Sind Journal* remarks:—"The principle of local self-government has been reduced to a farce by the Collector of Lárkána inasmuch as he has relied upon official members and outsiders to foist a most unpopular tax on the people of Lárkána." The *Sind Advocate* remarks:—"The much talked of question of house-tax was disposed of by the Lárkána Municipality on the 24th instant in a manner which reduces local self-government to a farce......... The public mind is greatly excited, and it is expected that the matter will not be allowed to rest here, as it affects rich and poor like. All classes of the community—Hindu and Mahomedan alike—are opposed to the house-tax, as it affects them all."]

NATIVE STATES.

A general strike at Baroda.

Hind Vijaya (65), 10th Oct.

45. The *Hind Vijaya* reports a general strike at Baroda and gives a detailed account of the incidents that led to the people of Baroda closing their shops and refusing to conduct their business for about five days owing to a belief on their part that some people were being forcibly enlisted in the army for war service and to the attempts made by the people to secure their release, the calling of the military to disperse the mob and the alleged unwarranted assault made by some members of His Highness the Maharaja's Body Guard on the people. It remarks that the unfortunate incidents would have been prevented if the officials had taken pains to allay public feeling by punishing the petty officials whose conduct was responsible for excitement on the part of the people, instead of trying to shield them. It asks for a commission of enquiry.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 19th October 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 42 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 20th October 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's remarks in the — on the subject of resolutions moved by non-official members . 33 & 34
Comments on the debate in the — on the question as to who should be Chairman of a Select Committee to which a Bill is referred . 36
Comments on the replies to interpellations at the last meeting of the — . . . . 31 & 32
Complaint that much time is needlessly wasted in the debates in the — 35
The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's resolution regarding the Modi script in the — . . . . 27—30

British rule:

A warning to non-Brahmins 8
Alleged need of a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the Indian administration 1
Alleged persecution of Mr. B. G. Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, by high Government officials 15
Approval of the decision of Government not to apply the orders in the student's circular to students of the Government Law School .. 23
Attempts are being made to invest Mr. Montagu's visit with a halo of official glory . . . . 2 & 3
Comments on the Bishop of Bombay's address at the Deccan Sabha, Poona, on Indian politics 22
Comments on the internment of Shivaprasad Varma by the Central Provinces Government 16
Comments on the recent meeting of the European Association in Bombay . . . . 17—21
Condemnation of some of the speeches delivered at a recent backward class meeting in Poona 7
Demand for separate representation for the Parsi community . . 6
In what circumstances should Muhammadans join with the Hindus in demanding Home Rule for India? 24
Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali . . . . 11—14
Need of an all-India agitation for the release of all political prisoners . 10
The claims of the Lingayats for special electorates 4
The Indian wheat merchants of Karáchi and the Wheat Commissioner 26
The Maratha community is not prepared to call itself backward . 9

H 328—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

British rule—*concluded.*

What is to be the position of Brahmos in a system of communal representation? 5
Why Sind Muhammadans are opposed to the grant of Home Rule . 25
Indian National Congress: Mrs. Besant the first female President of the — 40
Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the scheme proposed by the Emigration Conference as a substitute for indentured labour . . 42
Portuguese India: Grant of *Swarájya* to Goa postponed on the advice of some other nation 41
Postal Department: Dissatisfaction among the Bombay postmen . . 46—48

Public Service:

Claims of members of the Subordinate Medical Service to Commissions in the I. M. S. 44
Government should give up their attempt to destroy the Kulkarnis . 43
Parsis and the Bombay Provincial Service 45

Sind:

Alleged cow-killing by a European at Karáchi 49
Comments on the strike of the — College Students as a protest against the reversion of Professor Shahani from the post of Principal . 50

War:

Comments on the progress of the — 37
Complaint about excluding a large number of undergraduates from the Bombay University Corps 39
The situation in Russia 38

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill . . . . 51—53

EDUCATION—

Comments on the order of the Director of Public Instruction prohibiting students of the Broach High School from serving as volunteers at the Educational Conference at Broach 56
Complaint that boys attaining the age of 18 are being made to leave schools. 57
Need of educational reform in India on the lines of Mr. Fisher's innovations in England 54
Students' strikes in the Central Provinces and the Berars 55
Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency . . . . . . 58—61

NATIVE STATES—

Administrative reforms in Native States are for purposes of mere show . 65
The general strike of Hindus at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár) . . . . 62—64

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Alleged need of a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the Indian administration.
New Times (7), 15th Oct.

1. In the course of an article in which it supports the suggestion for a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the Indian administration, the *New Times* writes:—"We easily understand that some interference with freedom of speech and movement is inevitable in a time of War; but surely when interference becomes gratuitous, whimsical, frankly autocratic—when meetings are suppressed and the Press is muzzled and respectable persons arrested and interned on charges which are 'unproven' before the tribunal of justice and are repudiated by unanimous verdict of the people, surely, the time is then to cry halt. We cannot easily forgive Lord Hardinge for the Press Act which, by a clever move of that diplomacy of which he was a master, he imposed upon India when the Indian leaders were in an unwary mood; and we know, by this time how the India Defence Act can be applied by a bureaucracy that feels secure in its saddle, do what it will. A Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry will convict the administration of irregularities and show that the Prussian ideal of Government is inconsistent with English ideals not alone in Europe but also in India."

Attempts are being made to invest Mr. Montagu's visit with a halo of official glory.
Message (6), 18th Oct.

2. "The various communiques on the subject of Mr. Montagu's visit leave one in no doubt that attempts are being made to stage-manage the whole affair and invest it with a halo of official glory. It seems to us that the public have overlooked the re-shuffling of personnel that is now going on at the Simla Secretariat. The personnel, whose selection the Government of India have taken in hand, is apparently being selected in such a way as to surround the Radical Secretary of State with out-and-out bureaucrats. What the effect of such a step will be in the long run, Indians do not need to be told. The placing of a number of sun-dried and sun-cured bureaucrats including the distinguished Home Member of the Government of India on special duty offers food for serious reflection and Indians who seem to be determined in placing too great a premium on the Secretary of State will be well advised in being warned betimes of the risks they run in believing that the visit will lead them to the coveted goal. The Indian authorities backed up by the non-official European elements are evidently taking care to see that the Radical Secretary of State does not give them away when he comes here. If Indians fail to take cognisance of this fact and regulate their conduct in accordance with the exigencies of the situation they are bound to succeed in defeating the splendid object of the visit or minimising its value."

Message (6), 20th Oct.

3. "In a communique issued by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, only the other day, it is stated that 'the names of those who will form the deputation should be given as well as the names of those who are proposed for the interview'. It is added that the number of persons composing the deputation should be kept as low as possible and so on. All these preliminaries might have been considered necessary if the Secretary of State was going to visit this country in a purely and exclusively official character. But that the visit is not to be an official one, we have the authoritative declaration of Mr. Montagu himself. It is, therefore, difficult to understand where lies the necessity for all these and more elaborate precautions. The more we ponder over these little incidents the more pessimistic do we become of any decent amount of good resulting to us from the visit. We would rather wish under such circumstances that the Secretary of State did not visit this country at all and allowed the Government of India to economise thereby and appropriate the savings in connection with the more vigorous prosecution of the war. Such a course will do much good to both; it will save the Indian bureaucracy from an embarrassing situation and it will prevent the waste of the Indian taxpayer's money to however small an extent."

The claims of the Lingayats for special electorates.
Karnatak Vaibhav (82), 16th Oct., Eng. cols.

4. Referring to a recent letter in the *Times of India* putting forth the claims of the Lingayats for special representation, the *Karnatak Vaibhav* writes:—"When the non-Brahamin communities in the Madras Presidency clamour for their rights and cry against the iniquities supposed to be done to them we can understand their feelings. But for the Lingayats to protest in the same strain is to deliberately ignore the real facts and the past history; for in social and religious matters, they disown the authority of the Brahmins, and are a different sect in themselves. Let them by all means try to have their status improved, but let them not raise this false chorus of protest like the other communities. They being a separate sect in themselves, and mostly traders by profession, have flourished at all times without being subjected to any extraneous influence of any community.......... If they fritter away their energy in vilifying and calumniating the Brahamins they will lose that status and position which they are likely to occupy by remaining faithful to their genius and profession.......... To claim separate representation on the basis of caste or religion is to embarrass the good working of the administrative machinery. We are disposed to think that it would be an evil day for India if provision be made for the representation of the important minorities on the basis of caste. It would serve only to create endless heartburning and to widen the gulf between the various sects of the Hindu Society which it is not desirable to perpetuate."

What is to be the position of Brahmos in a system of communal representation?
Subodh Patrika (43), 14th Oct., Eng. cols.

5. "It was to be expected that when the Government decided upon granting special representation to the Muhammadan community in the Legislative Councils, there should arise the much larger question of communal representation. And now that we are on the eve of substantial constitutional reforms, the demands from non-Brahmins, Lingayats, Indian Christians and the Depressed Classes for recognition as separate political entities grow apace. We have not seen anything so categorical as the scheme of communal representation outlined at the special Andhra Conference recently held at Bezwada. [Here the paper quotes the resolution which demands communal representation for non-Brahmin Hindus, Brahmins, Christians, Panchamas, etc.] For our part, we are opposed to anything which tends to enhance the fissiparous condition of Indian Society, and our opinion is that the Andhra Conference took an extremely reactionary step in passing such a resolution. Supposing a scheme such as the one recommended by the Conference be adopted by Government, what would be the position of a Brahmo? Is he for the purposes of franchise to be counted among the Brahmins, or non-Brahmins? Or will he be regarded as having closer affinities to Indian Christians and Panchamas? Or are Brahmos to claim special representation for themselves?"

Demand for separate representation for the Parsi community.
Praja Mitra and Pârsi (29), 16th Oct.

6. The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* refers to the history of communal representation in India and opines that the granting of special elecIorates to Muhammadens opened their eyes and made them perceive that their interests were identical with the rest of the people. It believes that the demands of the Europeans in India for special electorates will similarly lead them to sympathise with the aspirations of the Indian people. It refers to the agitation that is being made in certain sections of the Parsi community for special representation and trusts that nothing but good will come out of it as the granting of the demand by Government will make the Parsis more keen in safeguarding their own interests and thus securing the ultimate good of India by infusing enthusiasm in them for political reform.

Condemnation of some of the speeches delivered at a recent backward class meeting in Poona.
Sandesh (116), 14th Otc.

7. The *Sandesh* condemns some of the speeches delivered at the recent backward classes meeting held at Poona to demand special electorates for these classes as thoughtless and says:—To those who are distrustful of Brahmins we would ask the question as to whether they can point out a single measure which the Brahmins have got passed, which has benefited the Brahmins alone

and done harm to non-Brahmins. On the contrary it can be conclusively shown that the non-Brahmins alone have benefited by the agitation carried out by the Brahmins. Such being the case it is fatal to the interests of the country for men like the Rev. Mr. Tilak to raise a false outcry against the Brahmins. Are his friends prepared to interdine and intermarry with Mahars and Chamars? Then why abuse the Brahmins alone? If we secure Home Rule, neither Brahmins nor the Marathas will be particularly benefited, but all, including Hindus, Parsis, Muhammadans and Christians, will be equally benefited.

A warning to non-Brahmins.
Sandesh (116), 20th Oct.

8. Himatrao Pawar writes in the *Sandesh*:—As a non-Brahmin I am very much pleased to see the present awakening among the non-Brahmins. But at the same time I am very much grieved to see that this awakening has its origin at least indirectly not in self-interest but in the hatred of others. Those who are taking a lead in the present agitation never cared to see uptil now that their fellowmen had remained backward nor have they ever tried before to remedy the state of things. Who originated and developed the idea of the depressed classes mission? How many non-Brahmins helped in the foundation of the Social Service League? Who has laboured to spread the temperance movement among the mill-hands? Many of the leaders of the present movement have shown themselves to be actuated by Brahmin hatred in their conduct. Brahmins are being hated not on account of any particular quality, but simply because they are Brahmins. All agitation, not based on high principles, is bound to fail. The present non-Brahmin leaders are no doubt actuated by good intentions, but they are unconsciously leading the non-Brahmins to the wrong path.

The Maratha community is not prepared to call itself backward.
Kesari (106), 16th Oct.

9. Balkrishna Malhar Lad of Belgaum writes to the *Kesari* stating that no Maratha leader was present at the meeting of the backward communities held in Belgaum on the 10th instant. He says that the Maratha community is not willing to style itself backward or non-Brahmin and thus lose its self-respect. He declares that the Marathas do not oppose the Congress-League scheme and adds that though the Marathas want to ask for some special rights they will be in accordance with that scheme.

Need of an all-India agitation for the release of all political prisoners.
Mahrátta (5), 21st Oct.

***10.** Comparing the views expressed by Mr. Mahomed Ali in 1914 with those expressed by him in a recent interview with the Raja of Mahomedabad, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"So we have really no change in the 'political creed' of the brothers. What it was in 1914 it is now in 1917. In view of these and other proofs of the continued loyalty of the brothers and in view of the authorities not giving to the public any 'other' reliable information, the latter have reason to infer that Government in prolonging the internment of the brothers are only *playing a political game*. Whai is this game? While the bureaucracy *honestly* believe in more and stronger measures of 'public safety', the new Secretary of State with, of course, the consent and suport of the Cabinet in England, has desired of them quite another course of action. As subordinates, the Indian bureaucrats must be 'loyal' to the orders coming from Home. But this much is in their hands. They can be *grudging* in their execution of the directions received from their superiors. When you cannot say a direct 'nay,' you can still try evasion hoping to succeed materially by that method. That is what our authorities seem to be doing. That is the game they seem to be playing. For 'a calm atmosphere' such as Mr. Montagu seems to desire, a *general amnesty* is the only effective path. But our bureaucracy do not like the idea of what they must be looking upon as a great danger to their prestige and future prospects. So our authorities, bent upon making the best of a bad bargain, determind upon yielding as little as they possibly can, are higgling over every case of injustice that is being brought to their notice by the 'agitators.' We would urge *an immediate all-India agitation* for the release of our politicals. The policy of 'confidence' adopted by the British Government in dealing with the Irish irreconcilables—why should that policy not be adopted here?......... The policy of a general amnesty is the only policy that will suit the hour, from the above standpoint. The bureaucracy think otherwise and are acting accordingly. It rests upon our shoulders to make it impossible for the bureaucracy to commit *a gross blunder* and thereby to give a hand to the spread of inveterate Sinn Feinism in this land. We, therefore, regard it as a grave dereliction of duty on our part not to give a due place to the question of a general amnesty in our present agitation......... The first All-India Deputation that should wait on Mr. Montagu, as soon as he comes here—*uninvited and disallowed* (if so it must be !)—should, in our firm opinion be one with the sole business of 'praying for' the announcement of a general amnesty and an immediate effectuation of such an announcement. We are driven to suggest this course, because we feel that the bureaucracy will not 'respect' any prayers on our part for such 'a bold course.' But whatever the bureaucracy may choose to do in this respect, the necessity for our moving immediately in the matter is most urgent." [Elsewhere C. V. P. Shivram writes :—"With all the hue and cry raised, the bulk of our political workers are yet either in the Andamans or confined in jails inland or interned, not because they have waged war against His Majesty the King-Emperor, not because they have helped the enemies of our King in this war, but because they hold some *opinions* with regard to the system of government obtaining in this country and that which should replace it—opinions which are not palatable to the vested interests of this land. Some of them are suffering because, altogether innocent as they very probably are, they are 'suspected' by the 'efficient' police of our country, whose infallibility our bureaucracy has no reason to doubt ! People in this country are not even allowed the liberty of having their own 'opinions' ! Are opinions so great a 'crime' as to necessitate internments, transportations and all the rest of it ? Even the universally accursed Russia of the olden days has become 'civilised'. Will Britain remain behind Russia ? Will she not do to India the same justice she has done to Ireland ? Will she not follow here that generous and humane policy towards India's politicals which she followed in regard to the Sinn Fein rebels who ransacked Dublin Castle ? The case of V. D. Savarkar, Bar.-at-Law, is well known. A cultured son of our motherland, he was caught up by the authorities in connection with the Násik conspiracy case.......... Who can maintain that Mr. Savarkar has been as bad as the Sinn Fein Rebels of Ireland ? And there are so many others who are suffering, like Mr. Savarkar ! As regards internees, etc., the Bengal Government has officially admitted the truth of some astounding revelations regarding the *solitary confinement of political 'suspects'*. There have been cases of internees having been driven by their surroundings to commit suicide. Shall we still continue to be indifferent to the honour of our Motherland ? Shall we still hesitate to demand the immediate release of this Army of our political prisoners ?"]

Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.
Mahrátta (5), 21st Oct.

* **11.** "The stiffness of the authorities appears to be simply a part of the policy of evasion. They want to do as little as they can in the way of reversing repressive orders and so they are making difficulties where none need be made. Who could have thought that the Honourable Syed Riza Ali, Mr. Zahur Ahmed, Bar.-at-Law, and Mr. Khaliq Uzzaman, B.A., LL.B., would not be allowed to see the Moslem brothers to give them legal advice ! .... The Honourable Syed Riza Ali says that this most high-handed action of the ruler of the Central Provinces may be taken to mean that 'the Central Provinces Government want to place it beyond Mr. Mahomed Ali's and his brother's power to take any legal steps for the withdrawal or reversal of their internment orders'. What answer has the Central Provinces Government to make ? Undertrial prisoners, as also those who are actually serving a sentence of imprisonment, are allowed to be visited by their legal advisers. This fact makes the treatment given to the Honourable Syed Riza Ali and his companions all the more condemnable. The Defence of India Act has indeed served as an occasion for demonstrating to what lengths our bureaucrats can go, once they get a loosely worded law to lean upon. Blessed will be the day when the accursed Act will be erased from the statute book of this unfortunate country."

Al-Amin (131), 5th Oct., Eng. cols.

12. Expressing regret at the fact that Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali have not yet been released, *Al-Amin* remarks:—"In the present war the attitude of the Indian Mussalmans has been one of faultless straightforwardness, of free, whole-hearted, nay, one of uncommonly generous co-operation, and no one can more legitimately claim to have created that sense of responsibility than those two for whose release the community is so unanimous in its demand. Governmnent have had a unique opportunity of rallying to themselves still more closer the Moslem opinion, and even now that chance is not lost. The Mussalman sacrifices of blood and money entitle the community to be heard and heard well. Already the Moslems all over the country have begun to rub their eyes in perfect astonishment and we trust Government would not be slow in making the Mussalmans continue to believe in 'Much more is wrought by prayer than this world dreams of'."

Akhbár-e-Islám (57), 20th Oct.

13. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* gives its support to the meeting of Musalmans held at Muzaffarabad Hall, Bombay, praying to Government to release Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, though it is of opinion that the *elite* of the community were absent from the meeting. In view of the opinion expressed by Mahomed Ali in his interview with the Raja of Mahmadabad—that he would fight against the Turks if they invaded India—the paper thinks there can be no doubt as to the loyalty of the interned brothers. It believes that if released the brothers will be very useful to Government in winning over to the right path the other interned Musalmans. In conclusion it calls upon the Anjuman-e-Islam of Bombay to call a similar meeting.

Muslim Herald (143), 19th Oct.

14. Referring to the meeting of Muhammadans held in the Muzaffarabad Hall, Bombay, on the 14th instant, to consider the question of the release of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, the *Muslim Herald* declares that unrest is spreading among the Musalmans like an electric current. The generality of Musalmans, says the paper, argue from the fact that while Mrs. Besant and her companions have been set free these Moslems are still in confinement, that therefore the Government does not care to listen to their complaints, and considers them to be a negligible quantity as they are a quiet sort of people. It refers to the letter of the internees' mother giving an account of the interviews held in September last and declares that it has created strange feelings among the Muhammadans with the result that even the opponents of the two brothers now sympathise with them. The paper makes a loyal appeal to Government, and states that the inaction (lit. silence) of Government in this matter is quite inexpedient.

Alleged persecution of Mr. B. G. Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, by high Government officials.

Young India (14), 17th Oct.

15. Commenting on Mr. Horniman's resignation of the editorship of the *Bombay Chronicle*, *Young India* writes:—"Few people will ever succeed in realising the trials and difficulties which Mr. Horniman has had to endure in editing the paper: for his fearless independence and his open and sympathetic espousal of the Indian cause, he was subjected to a sort of social ostracism in the society of his own countrymen: at one time Government officials and non-official Englishmen did not disdain to talk away his reputation at private meetings and employ some of the worst and most reprehensible methods, from which every honest Englishman and Indian will shrink with horror, to bring pressure to bear on him to change his views and policy. But like a true Englishman, he refused to listen to the voice of intrigue and calumny and was not to be turned away from upholding the cause of justice and righteousness, at the bidding of high placed officials, be they his own countrymen......... What petty tyrannies he has had to endure from short-sighted, none the less high placed and high salaried, English officials is perhaps the least known chapter of his editorship of the *Bombay Chronicle*."

Comments on the internment of Shivaprasad Varma by the Central Provinces Government.
Message (6), 16th Oct.

16. "Messrs. G. S. Gupta, LL.B., and O. B. Ghate, LL.B., Pleaders, writing in the *Message* complain that though they travelled a good deal of distance to see their friend Shivaprasad Varma, B.Sc., LL.B., Pleader, interned under the orders of the Central Provinces Government at Lakhnadan, a place 38 miles distant from the nearest railway station, they were not allowed to put up with him by the Police. They also complain that though the internee expressed a desire to have his relations with him, his request was not granted, that 'the house in which he lives is wanting in sufficient light and ventilation,' and that 'the small allowance meted out to him is hardly sufficient to maintain himself.' They further declare that 'the Government of the Central Provinces must have been led astray in this particular case at least by very doubtful and worthless reports. The present atmosphere is such that the Government can win over even the worst conspirators by dealing liberally with them'." [The *Sandesh* does not seem to have published the communication referred to above.]

Comments on the recent meeting of the European Association in Bombay.
Indian Social Reformer (3), 21st Oct.

17. Commenting on the proceedings of the European Association meeting in Bombay, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The opinion which the people of India had of British rule when it was established is not in all respects the same as they hold to-day. Does Mr. Wardlaw Milne think that the masses do not feel being looked down upon as an inferior race? Does he think that the soldiers who have fought and are fighting in the battlefields of France, Egypt, the Dardanelles, East Africa and Mesopotamia, feel that it is in the natural order of things that veterans of their own race should be placed under the orders of mere striplings because the latter happen to be English?......... Does Mr. Wardlaw Milne know what the feeling among the ablest of the Indian officers of Government is? Does he think that they accept gladly their never ending task of training young lads from England in the routine of the administration? We can assure him that they have enough of human nature—of the devil, if you like to call it so—in them to resent this role of perpetual ladders for other men to climb over to places from which they are all but excluded.......... So far as we are concerned, the one great reform in Indian administration we are anxious about, is the immediate abolition of all trace of race superiority and inferiority as between Indians and Englishmen. Only because, and so far as, constitutional reforms are calculated to ensure this supreme reform, do we attach importance to them. If our European friends object to them, then, let us have a pure, simple autocracy without any humbug about Legislative Councils and so on, and let us all, Englishmen and Indians, bow to it. We are not going to put up for a day longer than we can help with invidious race distinctions in this country. That is the fundamental fact which European Associations will do well to mark, learn and inwardly digest thoroughly. Some of the speakers at the meeting invited the co-operation of Indians in infusing moderation in political propagandism in this country. They must see that, unless absolute equality is conceded as between Englishmen and Indians, it is impossible for any Indian with any sense of decency to co-operate with our European friends in a campaign which, under the present conditions, is virtually a campaign to perpetuate the Indian's position of political inferiority."

Message (6), 16th Oct.

18. "That people who have for years and decades enjoyed in a foreign land an unnatural and untenable position of authority and power and influence should feel apprehensive at the general awakening in the land is not to be wondered at. But what is really astonishing is the claim set up by those very people who have not disdained, in the not far-off past, to regard the sons of the soil as no better than hewers of wood and drawers of water, that their attitude, firstly of unquestioned opposition to any kind of change, and secondly, if change is inevitable, of presumption that they have the large majority of sober minded men on their side, is both belated and ridiculous......... We really pity those members of the European community, who try to delude themselves or others

that there is still such a party as "Moderates" in this country......... Notwithstanding their profuse protestations of love and good-will towards the Indians, we refuse to believe in the unquestionable sincerity or absolute disinterestedness of those who took active part in last Friday's meeting at the Skating Rink......... As we ponder over the fatuous logic of the 'European' movement, we begin to despair more and more of our European commercial brethren ever learning to respect the inevitable and immutable laws of progress. They are one and the same in Europe and Asia, and yet such is the incomparable irony of things that our European brethren, sun-cured in the tropical climate of India, will not hesitate to talk in the same breath of the 'righteous war waged in the cause of the weak and the oppressed', and of an unrighteous campaign to oppose the irresistible divine forces of nature."

Kesari (106), 16th Oct.

19. The *Kesari* complains that Europeans who point out that Indians pass violent criticism against Government have themselves used very strong language like the following "Government have shown their weakness by releasing Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues", "Government have shamelessly surrendered to disorderly people", "Government have lowered their flag before unconstitutional agitators" and invites Government to consider how far their prestige has been maintained by these remarks. It further adds:—If their criticism had been true, it would have been something. But these big Sahebs are either more ignorant than an ordinary educated man or they feign ignorance purposely. Otherwise we cannot explain some mistaken and some foolish statements made by them. Our Bombay European brethren say that it is even dangerous to discuss the reform schemes during war-time. Do not those who boast of their wisdom really know that Mr. Lloyd George who has quite endeared himself to the English people has vowed to solve the Irish question? Many political questions are being discussed in England while it is in the whirlpool of war. What sin has India committed that she should not even talk of the impending reforms? The vision of these men has become perverted. They have expressed their sympathy with Indian aspirations, but they want to maintain their predominance. Europeans should give up their ideas of dominance; then only their words will be valued. They are already over represented in higher branches of public service and in Councils. Still they have set up an outcry that their interests should be looked after. The President of the Bombay meeting has said that India was conquered by their forefathers and not by Government and that they will not allow their rights to be taken away. We can see what rights they will give us if we bear in mind their selfishness and their threatening words. It will then be seen why we have called them a new enemy of *swarájya*. We should meet their agitation with counter agitation and we should guard our interests as they have guarded theirs.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 19th Oct.; *Indu Prakásh* (40), 13th Oct.

20. At the European meeting at Bombay, Mr. Wardlaw Milne referred to the demand "India for the Indians", and contrasted it with the old adage "India for the Empire and the Empire for India". Indians had indeed identified themselves for a long time with the sentiment expressed by the latter adage, but they have found by experience that while its first part is being literally acted upon, the latter part is being completely forgotten and attempts are always being made by the countrymen of Mr. Wardlaw Milne and the Colonials to create a monopoly for the whites in all the higher posts of the administration and all lucrative professions. Indians are not allowed to enter the Colonies and when allowed to do so are treated just like coolies. Nay even those Indians who have shed their blood for the sake of the Empire are not treated with even a tenth part of the respect due to them by the Colonials. The agitation carried on by the Anglo-Indians against the liberal policy of Government is utterly selfish. They appear to be afraid that there would be a reduction in their present easy conditions of life if the Indians are granted political rights. But the times are now changed, and the selfish agitation of the Anglo-Indians will not help to stop the tide of progress which has set in [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—Why is the advice given only to Indians not to embarrass and harass Government?

Why is it not given to Australians, Canadians and some of the English people? What is there of embarrassment and harassment in the Congress-League scheme? No Indian can make it out, except Europeans whose powers will be reduced thereby and the bureaucracy. We welcome the sympathy of Europeans and their advice to proceed slowly. But what is there of hastiness in the Congress-League scheme?]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 13th and 15th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (21), 17th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 15th and 16th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 15th and 16th Oct.

21. The European Association would have proved their loyalty better by expressing their approval of the step taken by the Imperial Government in inviting Mr. Montagu to India than by finding fault with them. It is very strange that the Association should have declared that the rights of Indians would be safeguarded by maintaining the privileges of the Anglo-Indians. We do not see any reason why the European community should entertain any fears that they will be treated with neglect in the proposed scheme of reforms. The speeches made in the meetings at Calcutta and Bombay lead us to believe that the Europeans are opposed to the scheme of reforms prepared by the representatives of the people. They are no doubt professing sympathy with the aspirations of the people, but if they had any real sympathy with the people they would not have stood aloof from the Congress for the last thirty years. [In a subsequent issue the paper condemns the attack made by the *Morning Post* on Mr. Montagu and exhorts all the political bodies in India to join in the condemnation and asks them to inform Government that the Indian people are of opinion that the adoption of any policy other than that outlined by Mr. Montagu will be harmful to the interests of the Empire and that the removal of Mr. Montagu from the India Office will spell disaster to India. The *Hindusthán* asks the Europeans to co-operate with Indians in asking for political reforms and warns them that their opposition and protests will stimulate the Indians in pressing forward their claims and carrying on their agitation in a more vigorous manner. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* disapproves of the agitation that is being engineered by the Anglo-Indians and expresses hope that the monster petition that is being signed by the people supporting the popular demands will conclusively prove the futility of the opposition of the European Association. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* characterises the opposition of the European Association as shortsighted and asks the Europeans in India to submit a scheme to Government on the question of reforms.]

Comments on the Bishop of Bombay's address at the Deccan Sabha, Poona, on Indian politics.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 14th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 17th Oct.; *Kesari* (106), 16th Oct.

22. Referring to the address delivered by the Lord Bishop of Bombay on the 11th instant under the auspices of the Deccan Sabha in the course of which he praised the Prussian methods of administration from the standpoint of efficiency, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* declares that the Lord Bishop has awakened from Rip Van Winkle's sleep inasmuch as he has shown himself ignorant of the objects for which the Allies are at present fighting the German enemy. It expresses surprise that when the Allies wish to free the German Empire from the present Prussian methods of administration, the Lord Bishop should have spoken in support of the introduction of those methods in the administration of India. The paper also remarks that in holding the beliefs that the democratic form of Government is contrary to the very principles of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions and that the masses do not take any interest in political matters but prefer to be ruled by others, he has been misled by some selfish persons or sycophants. In refutation of these two charges it refers the Lord Bishop to the past literatures of India and to the present methods followed by the Indians of submitting social matters for solution to their *máhájans* and *jamáts* and asks him to ascertain for his own enlightenment with what amount of concern and enthusiasm political questions are being discussed by the general mass of the Indian public. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that in adducing the plea that parts of India have always been under autocratic rulers, in support of the contention that Indians have shown no predilection for self-government, the Bishop forgets that those rulers were themselves Indians and that made all the difference between them and an alien bureaucracy. While admitting that one man's rule like that of Akbar may find favour with the Indians, it remarks that it is futile to expect under a foreign rule anything like the prosperity that was possible for India under the rule of an Akbar. The *Kesari* writing on the same subject refers to the reply given to the Lord Bishop by Professor Limaye who presided on the occasion and remarks:—The Lord Bishop had to admit himself to be convinced by the crushing arguments put forth by Professor Limaye. Will not the Lord Bishop now at least support the demand for Home Rule as the Bishops of Calcutta and Madras have done?]

Approval of the decision of Government not to apply the orders in the students' circular to students of the Government Law School.

Message (6), 16th Oct.; *Young India* (14), 17th Oct.

23. "It will be remembered that sometime ago the students of the Bombay Law School memorialised His Excellency Lord Willingdon to do away with the humiliating restrictions placed on their right of attending political meetings. It is gratifying to learn that His Excellency has been pleased to respond to the appeal of the Law students. In reply to a question by the Honourable Mr. Patel, it was stated the other day that the Government have directed that the orders contained in circular No. 1405, dated the 7th June 1917, regarding the participation of students in public meetings should not apply to students in the Government Law School at Bombay. We are sure everyone will be pleased with this ready act of sympathy from His Excellency and pray that he may withdraw altogether the needlessly harsh circular. It has done no good whatever. On the other hand, it has been the cause of great unrest and excitement among the student community." [*Young India* also urges that the circular itself should be bodily cancelled.]

In what circumstances should Muhammadans join with the Hindus in demanding Home Rule for India?

Islámic Mail (141), Urdu Edition, 8th Oct.

24. Discussing the part which Muhammadans should play in relation to the demand for Home Rule, the *Islámic Mail* declares that they will not reap an advantage by joining in the agitation for its conferment on India, and advises them to refrain from partaking in it altogether. At the same time it disclaims any intention of dissuading them from engaging in agitation of all sorts, firstly because it is the day of the agitator, and secondly because it is open to them to bargain with the Hindus in the matter of getting one-third of all government appointments, at present monopolized by Hindus. If, says the paper, the Hindus agitate for getting us our share of the appointments we should willingly agitate for Home Rule. Otherwise the Musalmans of whose loyalty to the King-Emperor the British officials themselves are proud and which has stood the test of the present war, should continue to ask for their rights from the Government itself, and not break away from it for the sake of others.

Why Sind Muhammadans are opposed to the grant of Home Rule.

Aftáb-i-Sind (130), 6th Oct., Eng. cols;

25. "It is our humble suggestion that as the Muhammadans have boldly and rightly shown their dissent in the Home Rule question and objected to the withdrawal of the Anti-Home Rule clause from the address, they should muster strong to represent to the Secretary of State that Sind is differently circumstanced from the rest of India, that it consists of an overwhelming majority of Muhammadans who are quite backward in education and who have already a small or practically no share in the public service of the country, that if any kind officer has ever tried to make up this deficiency our Hindu brethren have put in very strong protests and that, therefore, the grant of Home Rule in a country where one community is high up on the top and the other low down in the bottom will be suicidal to the interests of the latter. .... It is highly necessary for the Sind officials to impress upon the Secretary of State that memorials or petitions presented to him during his sojourn here do not show the real voice of the country and do not represent the masses but only the educated people in the country who by posing as leaders of the people want to encompass their own ends.......... It is incumbent on every literate Muhammadan to make it known that all Sind Muhammadans are opposed to the grant of self-government or 'Home Rule' as they call it until they have proved themselves fit to claim it."

The Indian wheat merchants of Karáchi and the Wheat Commissioner.

New Times (7), 16th Oct.

26. Commenting on the memorial of the Karáchi wheat merchants to His Excellency the Viceroy complaining of the action of the Wheat Commissioner in directing his European agents to stop purchasing wheat from Indian merchants, the *New Times* remarks:—"We confess we are unable to understand the rational basis of the wheat Commissioner's action specially when the Indian merchants undertake to sell the wheat at the same price to him. The Indian wheat merchants of Karáchi, the 'granary of India', are the biggest grain dealers in India' and it would be a pity if the local grain market is so disorganised by the thoroughly unreasonable action of the Wheat Commissioner. About 15,000 tons of grain is at present lying in Karáchi. There appears to us to be absolutely no wisdom in the wheat Commissioner's suggestion that the Indian merchants might send their wheat up-country where it may be bought from them when the merchants offer to give the wheat at the same price at Karáchi which is now paid for the up-country wheat brought to Karachi. The situation created by the Wheat Commissioner's order is unreasonable, ridiculous and is putting the wheat merchants and their friends up-country to a great loss.......... It would be a great blow to the indigenous grain trade if the greatest wheat market in India is interfered with in this arbitrary manner. To us the attitude of the Indian grain merchants appears thoroughly reasonable and their grievance just and we hope His Excellency the Viceroy will investigate the matter and redress the grievance."

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's resolution regarding the Modi script in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Young India (14), 7th Oct.; *Message* (6), 16th Oct.

27. "At the close of the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council at Poona, Government sustained a crushin defeat on a question of exceptional public interest. Those who have followed carefully the controversy over the 'Modi *versus* Balbodh Script' will understand at once how unreasonable was the opposition of Government to the restoration of a script which has been in popular use for over six centuries. In the face of grave differences of opinion among the officials themselves and the strong protests of the public, Government attempted to do away, by a stroke of the pen, with a familiar and popular form of writing because it did not suit the tastes and inclinations of a few dozens of European Civilians, and order the substitution of the Balbodh.......... If Government were fully alive to the state of public opinion, they could have easily discovered from the discussions that non-official opinion in the Council was too strong to be discounted. Apparently very little regard was paid to that opinion and Government persisted in their unreasoning opposition." [The *Message* writes:—"The resolution was carried in the teeth of strong official opposition, 18 voting for and 17 against. The non-official speeches on the resolution have revealed the the strength of public feeling against the arbitrary, and we may say the high-handed, enforcement of an untenable position on the people, simply because it was supposed to subserve the convenience of a handful of officials. Now that the resolution has been carried and public opinion allowed to prevail, we trust Government will see its way to restore the old order of things."]

Kesari (106), 16th Oct.

28. The *Kesari* says that the work turned out by the Council was small and that only some rules regarding the procedure of the Council and the *Modi* resolution of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye were the only topics discussed. It points out that there are still 36 resolutions, some held over from July and questions whether they will all be discussed at least in the December sessions. It further remarks that officials do not correct their mistakes if otherwise brought to their notice and that therefore Honourable Members have to propose so many resolutions. It proposes that meetings should be held more frequently and that they should also be prolonged and it holds that the real remedy lies in Government correcting their mistake before a resolution is moved. It refers to the *Modi* resolution and thinks that Government needlessly took the step of abolishing *Modi* on account of the prejudices of Mr. Kincaid and of the selfish encouragement given by lazy civilians. It congratulates the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye on the success won by him and the Honourable Sir M. B. Chaubal on his keeping neutral. It hopes that Government will give up their obstinacy now at least. [It proceeds to discuss the rules of procedure proposed and says that Government rejected the Honourable Mr. Pathan's and the Honourable Mr. Patel's suggestions empowering the proposer of a Bill to become the Chairman of the Select Committee on account of their notions of prestige and it quotes a passage on the 'vices' committed in India by the officials for the sake of prestige from a speech delivered by Mr. Montagu five years back.]

Gujaráti (17), 21st Oct., Eng. cols.; *Indian Social Reformer* (3), 21st Oct.

*29. "The debate on the resolution moved by the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye for restoring the Modi script to its former position in Government records showed how the convenience of a few officers and their personal influence with the executive Government plays an important part in the decision of Government on questions affecting millions of people.......... It is a most significant circumstance that the Honourable Mr. Chaubal refrained from voting. But it was a deplorable feature that high officials should have stooped to the level of insinuating that the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye and the supporters of his motion were inspired by the wish to maintain the monopoly of Brahmins in public servie. It was an undignified imputation unworthy of any member of Council. Are we to suppose that those who trotted out the difficulties of Mahrattas, Muhammadans and Parsis were touting for their sympathy and vote and seeking to set up one class against another? Such a supposition would be absurd on the face of it. Arguments like these cut both ways and it is a pity that any such insinuation should ever have been made in the debate upon the motion." [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"Government deserved the defeat which they experienced in the Legislative Council last week on the question of the disuse of the Modi script in Government offices in Marathi documents......... There are so many serious matters demanding the attention of Government that we wonder that they have the time to conceive and carry out these petty schemes which serve no purpose but to add a little fuel more to feed the fire of unrest. We sympathise with Mr. Seddon's plea that the use of Modi (which cannot be learnt in the ordinary way) operates as a serious handicap to the employment of persons not belonging to the literate classes of Maháráshtra in the subordinate Public Services. The remedy for it is, not to introduce a violent innovation in the way of writing Marathi, but to extend steadily the use of English in the subordinate services and ultimately to make it the general language of the administration in the higher as well as in the lower grades. This will put all classes on a footing of absolutely equal opportunity and will ensure uniformity not only throughout this Presidency but throughout the Indian Empire.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 17th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 19th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 17th Oct.

30. Referring to the debate in the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council on the Hon'ble Mr. Paranjpye's resolution regarding the Modi script, the *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its disapprobation of the official view on the subject which favours the substitution of Balbodh on the ground of the convenience of the executive. It remarks that since the Modi script has been in vogue for over 600 years and is used by ten millions of people it is not quite desirable that it should be tabooed from the official records so lightly. It is of opinion that in the matter of a script regard should be had not to the convenience of a few officers but to the convenience of hundreds of thousands of subjects. The paper hopes that since the resolution

has been carried in the Council the Government of Bombay will soon give effect to it. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* cannot find much weight in the arguments advanced on behalf of Government in favour of retaining Balbodh in official records. It regrets that in support of the official contention in favour of Balbodh recourse was had to the plea that the use of Modi restricts the scope of selection of men for Government establishments. It maintains that in the Marathi-speaking districts men belonging to communities other than the Marathas have to learn Modi and that no section of the public has ever made any representation to Government to substitute Balbodh for Modi. The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the contrary, is in favour of retaining Balbodh in the official records on the ground that there is a preponderance of opinion in favour of that script. It remarks that the apprehension entertained by the advocates of Modi that in future, after Balbodh has come to be established for a considerable time, registration of documents written in Modi may be refused and they may not be admitted in evidence is ill-founded.]

Comments on the replies to interpellations at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Kesari (106), 16th Oct.

31. Discussing the replies to interpellations at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council the *Kesari* remarks:—What do Government mean when they say that no further inquiry is needed because the Police Inspector was not present at the meeting of the Hubli Rate Payers' Association? Have they forgotten their own Penal Code? Is not an attempt to commit an offence, an offence in itself? Is it not an offence to try to force his way into a meeting where he had no authority to go? It is quite an independent matter that his attempt was not successful. It does not make the conduct of the Police Bahadur excusable. Another mistake of the officials brought to light at the Council meeting occurred at Panvel. A man's land was taken possession of in 1915 and the notification was issued in 1917 and in the meantime the assessment on the land taken possession of was also recovered! Look at another instance of Government's vigilance in excusing the misconduct of officials under them. Government say that they do not wish to inquire into alleged forced contributions of Khusalchand Marwadi and Saya Appaji for war-loan as the parties concerned have not complained to them! Government must inquire into unjust and tyrannical conduct, whatever be the channel of their information. But the prestige of Government comes in the way. The higher officials try in all ways possible to put off inquiries about complaints regarding war-loan. But people become confirmed in their suspicion by the evasive replies given by Government. It is undoubtedly true that lower officials misuse their powers in collecting war-loan contributions. The Mamlatdar of Dapoli has issued summonses under S. 189 of the Land Revenue Code against those who have not paid up their constributions for the war-loan and has threatened them with fines, if they do not attend. Is not this misuse more typical than that of the Defence of India Act and of the Press Act? The higher official says that subscription to the war-loan is a matter of discretion and the lower officials issue summonses to pay up! It is a question whether Government will even call for an explanation from the officer who has so perverted matters.

Jám-e-Jámshed (24), 18th Oct.

32. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* says it has nothing to say against the steadily increasing number of interpellations that are being put in the sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council, but it wishes that the interpellations may be more carefully and clearly worded. Referring to the interpellation in the recent session held at Poona with regard to the Co-operative Housing Association, it remarks that the objects of the Association are not likely to be realised unless and until Government extend pecuniary support to it in a substantial manner and give the investors a lead by first constructing model chawls at their own expense. The paper expresses surprise that only six students should be under training in the pottery school attached to the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Arts, while that school is maintained at an annual expenditure of Rs. 16,000. It wishes that Government would devote their attention towards increasing the usefulness of this institution in order to give the public proper benefit of the money spent over it. The paper expresses gratification at Government proposing to remove the restriction upon law students taking part in public meetings and suggests that the same concession should be extended to students attending colleges. Alluding to the Government declaration that the means to relieve the agricultural classes from their chronic indebtedness are the practice of economy, improvements in the methods of agriculture, spread of education among them, etc., the paper wants to know what Government have achieved in these directions. Regard being had to the slender annual income earned by an agriculturist, it considers an admonition to him to practise economy to be quite out of place. The paper emphasises the necessity on the part of Government to appoint a commission or a committee to inquire into the poor condition of the agricultural classes and to suggest means to remedy it.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's remarks in the Bombay Legislative Council on the subject of resolutions moved by non-official members.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 21st Oct., Eng. cols.

*33. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* dwells on the importance of the privilege of moving resolutions enjoyed by members of Council under the Morley Minto Reforms, and remarks:—"To Lord Willingdon they seem difficult of management. We agree it is trying for His Excellency to sit up and listen to unpleasant things, which, it must not be forgotten, Government themselves are very often responsible for creating. We see that the hit that certain Honourable Members seemed to have the whole floor to themselves in the Council was directed against the Honourable Mr. Patel whose energetic efforts are relished by the people. Mr. Patel is in the Council on behalf of the people and the people look up to and support him. The itching caused by exposures conveyed in resolutions is perhaps troublesome. But there are other ways to avoid it."

Sandesh (116), 14th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 16th Oct.

34. At the last Legislative Council meeting His Excellency Lord Willingdon warned Honourable Members that the steady increase of resolutions on the agenda will have to be met by adopting the procedure followed at the drawing of a lottery. His Excellancy also remarked that the importance of resolutions lay not in their number but in their value. We are sure Honourable Members will feel grateful to His Excellency for his advice. We are afraid, however, that the advice is likely to prove out of place so long as the Provincial Legislative Councils are the only media for obtaining redress even for minor grievances and so long as the meetings of these Councils are few and far between. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes in a similar strain and says that Council meetings should be held at least once in two months. Referring to the Modi resolution, it says that though the resolution has been passed, it is in the hands of Government to enforce it or not. It further remarks:—His Excellency advised the members not to form non-official and official parties. It lies in the hands of Government to put an end to these differences. But it appears from the opposition of Government to many proposals that they do not want to forget differences.]

Complaint that much time is needlessly wasted in the debates in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Mahrátta (5), 21st Oct.

*35. "Much waste and little work is the usual programme of our Councils. Our Local Council sat for the third time in the year in the last week. The four days which it devoted to its 'work', could have, in the opinion of any impartial critic, turned out much more work than they actually did—if the President of the Council had regulated the speeches properly. The debate on the Medical Act Amendment Bill could have been very much shortened. The Honourable Mr. Patel in moving the first reading of the Bill had eschewed all discussion on the Western and Eastern systems of medicine and had requested His Excellency to disallow any such dissertation as being irrelevant to the matter in hand. But this request went for nothing. More than one speaker was allowed to wax eloquent on irrelevant points in spite of repeated appeals to the Chair for a proper ruling. The debate on the rules of business might similarly have been curtailed without any disadvantage. As it was, much time was wasted and as a result only one out of 38 resolutions on matters of public importance could be taken up. What is the remedy? The regulation of the debate being a matter for the President, it seems almost hopeless to expect this matter being properly dealt with so long as the angle of vision of the President of the Council remains unchanged. It is only when the President is made amenable in a measure to the opinion of the Council and the Council itself made really representative of the people concerned, that the time of the Council will not be wasted so carelessly as it now is. But meanwhile, we can have more meetings of the Council in a year than we have now. There was a resolution on the agenda of the last session to the effect that the Council should meet six times in a year instead of three times only as at present. And we think that the adoption of this proposal would be an undoubted improvement."

Comments on the debate in the Bombay Legislative Council on the question as to who should be Chairman of a Select Committee to which a Bill is referred.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 15th Oct.

36. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* lends its full support to the amendment proposed by the Honourable Mr. Patel to one of the Rules for the Conduct of Business, in the last sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council, *viz.*, that the member in charge of a Bill shall be the chairman of the Select Committee to which the Bill is referred. It considers as unjust the practice, which has been allowed to continue, of appointing the member in charge of the department to which the Bill pertains as the Chairman of the Select Committee. It refers to the remarks made by His Excellency during the discussion to the effect that the Chairman's duty is to keep his mouth closed and observes:—We are glad that His Excellency Lord Willingdon set before the Council the Parliamentary practice with respect to the duties of the Chairman and we would very much like to see that practice introduced in the Legislative Council and the Select Committees. It must, however, be noted that His Excellency himself takes part in the discussion in the Council in spite of his being the President, and in the select committees the chairman generally takes part in the debates like other members. [Referring to His Excellency's remarks asking the Honourable Members not to entertain any party spirit, the paper remarks:—The advice given by His Excellency the Governor was meant for the non-official members and not for himself to follow. The attitude assumed by His Excellency in the matter of the Medical Bill in appointing three experts who were antagonistic to the Eastern systems of medicine affords the latest example of how he acts up to his precepts.]

Comments on the progress of the war.

Rást Goftár (31), 21st Oct., Eng. cols.

***37.** There is absolutely no sign of the war coming to an end, because practically nothing has been achieved to bring peace in sight.......... The Allies have not been beaten; neither have the Central Powers.......... From the outset the one determination of the Allies has been to crush Prussian militarism. So far it has been found impossible to achieve this object. Whatever the British gains in Flanders or however heroic the French stand at Verdun Germany is very far from being beaten. German forces have not yet been expelled from Belgium or France, while on the east the menace to Petrograd is every day coming nearer. The hope that the Russian army will rally and drive the invader out of Russia is becoming remote. For the ultimate defeat of Germany a great deal of hope now rests on the Americans, but can it be approximately calculated how many millions of American troops will be necessary to thoroughly beat the armies of the Central Powers on the west, drive Germans out of Belgium and the still occupied parts of France, invade Germany and then compel the Central Powers to sue for peace? The truth, however bitter, must be faced and it is being faced by English publicists and statesmen. It may be said that the coming in of America makes a great change and when that great country completes her Brobdingnagian preparations the defeat of Germany will rapidly follow. That should be the general expectation, but it must not be forgotten, on the other hand, that Russia from whom so much

was expected, has proved a broken reed, and it is extremely unlikely that she will be able to retrieve the situation on the eastern front. The most sanguine view that may be taken is that on the western front although the British have covered themselves with glory and the French have created an unparalleled record victory such as will lead to the headlong flight of the Germans or Germany being exposed to invasion is nowhere in sight, and at the rate the war in going on it may become another Seven Years' War unless economic pressure decides it sooner."

The situation in Russia.
Kaisar-i-Hind (25), 16th Oct., Eng. cols.

38. "News from the Riga region is positively depressing. The Hun has gained a victory of an important nature there. Divisions have been landed on Oesel and Dago islands in the gulf of Riga, and on Hapsal on the mainland. This capture deprives the Russians of their predominant positions in Riga. Experts recognise the seriousness of the move, but do not consider that Petrograd is immediately menaced. The gravity of the situation is, however, realised and the Government has decided to put aside political and domestic affairs and concentrate all its strength on the defence of the country. This grim determination is a sufficient indication of the seriousness of the situation. It is doubtful that such determination will achieve anything against well-organised and long-prepared plans. Russia is the last of Allies at the present moment to be able to resist the Hun onslaughts. Petrograd is certainly in danger and we can only hope that the worst won't come off."

Complaint about excluding a large number of undergraduates from the Bombay University Corps.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 17th Oct.

39. The *Sanj Vartamán* observes that it cannot understand why out of 300 students who were medically declared fit to join the Bombay University Corps, and who were accordingly even drilled for about three weeks, only 124 have been selected and the rest have been refused admission into the Corps. It does not know on what grounds the latter have been rejected. It declares that great disappointment has spread among those who have been refused admission. The paper hopes that the Bombay University Senate will promptly institute proper inquiries into this matter.

Mrs. Besant the first female President of the Indial National Congress.
Subodh Patrika (43), 14th Oct.

40. Mrs. Besant will enjoy the unique honour of being the first female President of the Indian National Congress. She has completely identified herself with our cause and suffered for it, and, therefore, very naturally commands our respect. It may perhaps be true that she has not that experience of Indian politics which would enable her to pronounce definite and authoritative opinions on certain delicate questions. But her many qualities of head and heart and her self-sacrifice will surely make up for this deficiency. We are aware she does not even now command the confidence of many people and we also doubt very much whether she would have got so many votes if she had not been interned. But as she has been honoured by the whole of the nation, all will join to show due respect to her wherever she may go.

Grant of *Swarájya* to Goa postponed on the advice of some other nation.
Sandesh (116), 20th Oct.

41. The Goa correspondent of the *Sandesh* writes:—The Bill granting *Swarájya* to Goa has been passed in Parliament and also published in the official Gazette. But it is rumoured here that the Portuguese Government has postponed its enforcement on the advice of a certain other nation.

Comments on the scheme proposed by the Emigration Conference as a substitute for indentured labour.
Sind Advocate (9), 4th Oct.

42. The *Sind Advocate* expresses entire dissatisfaction at the scheme proposed by the Emigration Conference as a substitute for indentured labour, and remarks:—"Indian leaders should not waste a moment to raise their voice against the so-called proposed reforms, contents of which bottle remain almost the same but pass under a different name, and we should demand once more that no Indian should be allowed to migrate if he enters into a bond for any service as a labourer. We shall also demand that an Indian should be allowed to emigrate only when he has sufficient funds to maintain himself for a few days after landing in the colony and wants to return to India finding the restriction too severe for him. What we want more is to make the recruitment penal. These are in short the demands which should be satisfied if the colonies require Indian labour for their benefit."

Government should give up their attempt to destroy the Kulkarnis.
Shubhodaya (89), 12th Oct.

43. The Collector of Dhárwár speaking at the District Darbar said that 88 representative watandars and 22 sharers have consented to the commutation of their watans and he called upon the other Kulkarnis to follow in their footsteps before Government withdrew the concessions offered to those who commute. We thought that Government had let alone the poor Kulkarnis. From the words of the Saheb Bahadur we find that the question is still before Government. We have often said that the idea of destroying the Kulkarnis is unnecessary, prejudiced and wholly unjust. The official who is responsible for the idea which does not benefit Government but only brings the Kulkarnis into trouble must indeed be a very wise man. We again advise Government to pause in their attempt to destroy Kulkarnis.

Claims of members of the Subordinate Medical Service to Commissions in the I. M. S.
Sind Observer (12), 31st Aug.

44. Complaining of the exclusion of members of the Subordinate Medical Service from the grant of Commissions in the I. M. S. the *Sind Observer* remarks :—"For some time it was objected that these Assistant Surgeons do not possess British diplomas and were therefore not suitable for Commissions in the I. M. S. With the progress of the war the shortage of medical men has grown so acute that it has been found necessary to grant commissions to candidates with Indian qualifications and in no way superior in this matter to the Assistant Surgeons. The objection formerly advanced is thus no longer valid. The splendid work which the Assistant Surgeon class have done on the battlefield and elsewhere has been acknowledged by the award of decorations and unstinted praise, but the bar for some reason which we find it difficult to understand, remains as before. Government will in future find it very difficult to induce the stamp of men they require to take on in the I. S. M. D. as the memory of the treatment this deserving service received in the great war will live for many years. It is a question which we commend to the notice of the authorities. The policy which underlies the attitude towards the I. S. M. D. is unsound."

Parsis and the Bombay Provincial Service.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 19th Oct., Eng. cols.

45. "Every year the Government of Bombay issue a notification in the Revenue Department inviting applications for one or more posts of Probationary Deputy Collectors. We read one such notification only about a month back, and so we presume that Government will soon proceed to nominate one or more probationers for Deputy Collectorships. Appointments to the Provincial Civil Service used, at one stage, to be made by means of a competitive examination. But for some unknown reason, after only two or three years' experiment, the examination was abolished. In fact one admitted, though scarcely legitimate, reason for abolishing the examination is, that it was found that the system of competition led to an over-representation in the service of the Brahmins and Parsees, and that the other communities were practically excluded. The result was that, on grounds of policy, Government thought it imperative to interfere in the interests of the less intellectual communities. The motive of Government is no doubt very good. The idea is to encourage the educationally backward communities. But why should the intellectually and educationally advanced communities pay for it? If we are not mistaken, even a member of the depressed classes has been nominated. We have no objection to it. On the contrary, we heartily approve of it. So also Anglo-Indians, Native Chistians, Indian Jews, have all had their turn. But why should a fully-qualified first-class Parsee or Dakshni Hindu have his prospects blasted, in order to make room for an inferior Muhammadan or Native Christian? That

is the essential injustice and impropriety of the method of nomination. We do not like to raise this racial question in connection with Government posts. But it has unfortunately been given prominence to already by the vicious system in vogue. Preferential treatment of particular communities, Government would probably consider inherent in the problem of the administration of India. But it may be pushed too far, and result is gross injustice, not merely to individuals, but even to whole communities. Of this the case of the Parsees furnishes a conspicuous illustration. In the time of the competitive test, in three years two Parsees got in. Under the system of nomination, in fifteen years not one."

Dissatisfaction among the Bombay postmen.
Young India (14), 17th Oct.

46. "The profuse protestations of solicitude for the men's welfare so vociferously expressed by Mr. Murtrie and Sir William Maxwell and the repeated assurances given by them, too, to the men, left one under the impression that the postal bureaucrats were in a chastened mood over the failure of their tactical and strategical plans to inflict a crushing defeat on the strikers and had learnt a rather costly lesson at the expense of Rs. 70,000 of public money that they would no more be prepared to leave the sore unhealed. But it was a mere snare and delusion—this excellent impression. The concessions that were published after the men had resumed work were only partial and cannot certainly be regarded either as adequate or satisfactory.......... As regards the so-called concessions we feel that they have belied the grandiloquent promises and assurances. The men have been very badly served apparently for having been too trusting.......... What they will do or how they will act, we do not wish to suggest or anticipate. But if any fresh and untoward developments take place, the public will hold the authorities entirely responsible for acting in a penny wise and pound foolish spirit."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 18th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 19th Oct.

47. The *Sánj Vartmán* characterises the resolve made by the Bombay postmen to postpone for the time being going on strike again, which they once intended to do, as a very wise act on their part. It remarks that their present resolve demonstrates that they wish to deal with the situation in a spirit of patience and forbearance. It expresses the hope that the Director-General of Post Offices, the Postmaster General of the Bombay Presidency and the Presidency Postmaster will sympathetically reconsider the demands made by this poor, quiet and hardworking class of people. The paper observes that according to the new scale of pay fixed by the Director-General only a portion of the men who had been on strike will get a satisfactory increase in their pay whereas the lot of others will scarcely be affected in an appreciable manner and that, therefore, such an arrangement can hardly be called "liberal" as the Government of India characterise it. The paper appeals to the Director-General to reconsider the case of the 83 men who will not at all be benefited by the revised scale and that of a large number of others who will only get an increase of one or two rupees in their monthly salaries under the new arrangement. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the show made by the postal authorities at the time when the strike of the Bombay postmen came to a close, that the latter had unconditionally surrendered, is not in keeping with the subsequent action of the Presidency Postmaster, Bombay, in calling the postmen before himself and assuring them that their grievances, if placed before himself, would be duly considered. It further believes that such action on the part of the Presidency Postmaster coming on the top of the Government of India communique, warning the postmen that they would be severely dealt with if they again went on strike, is only calculated to jeopardise the prestige of the Imperial Government. The paper regards the attitude of the postal authorities in connection with the postal strike as a vain attempt to uphold their own prestige and requests the Government of India to impress upon the minds of their officials what the prestige of Government really means.]

Indu Prakásh (40), 16th Oct.; *Subodh Patrika* (43), 14th Oct.

48. Referring to the recent Press Note issued by the Government of India on Bombay Postmen's grievances, the *Indu Prakásh* writes :—Although the pay of the appointments has been increased there is no corresponding increase in the number of men who would actually be benefited. Indeed the authorities may be said to have taken away with one hand what they gave with the other. Under the new scheme Government agreed to the additional expenditure of Rs. 1,375 which, however, is not considered adequate. The course adopted by the authorities is certainly not straightforward. It is not fair to intimidate poor people. The threat to adopt stringent measures will certainly not solve the whole problem. [The *Subodh Patrika* writes that the Postal Department which spent more than Rs. 2,000 a day during the strike could very well have spent the money in giving increments of pay to its servants. It says that the Department in its anxiety to maintain its prestige uselessly wasted public money. The paper does not consider the new scheme to be satisfactory and exhorts the authorities to benefit by their recent experience.]

Alleged cow-killing by a European at Karáchi.

Gujaráti (17), 14th Oct.

49. One Chhaganlal Ghelabhai writes to the *Gujaráti* from Karáchi, under date 3rd October 1917 :—A European of this place, Bucklan by name, has shot and killed a poor cow. It has been sent to the veterinary hospital for examination. Two men of the Jámnagar Lancers heard the firing of the rifle and saw the cow coming out of the compound of the European and falling dead at some distance. What use do the Europeans make of the arms they carry! The general public is eagerly awaiting the decision of the court of law.

Comments on the strike of the Sind College Students as a protest against the reversion of Professor Shahani from the post of Principal.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 21st Oct., Eng. cols.

*50. " The students of the Sind Arts College have gone on strike as a protest against the appointment of a new European Principal. The demand to have a voice in the government of the country is not the same as the demand to govern an educational institution according to the dictates of students. Does this come out of the present agitation or the misunderstanding of it? In either case the stupid and impudent step taken by the students of the Sind College deserves to be punished with an iron hand. We are glad that Mr. Mehta, the Vice-President of the Karachi Municipality, urged the strikers to desist. At the same time we must say that they did not deserve the encouragement that was given to them by the promise made by Mr. Mehta to take up the cause in earnest. Our agitators had better beware lest they carry matters too far. The present strike is an instance of the highest pitch of impertinence."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill.

Message (6), 18th Oct.

51. " The rejection of Mr. Patel's simple and straightforward proposal to relieve the Medical Council of its obsession regarding the infallibility of the Western system, has created a new intolerable situation and it has now become the imperative duty of the general public not to take the defeat of the proposal lying down. It devolves on the public to organise public opinion and carry on an endless and vigorous agitation until the wrong is remedied. The public are already sufficiently preoccupied with more urgent things, it is true; but it cannot be difficult to induce the public to take up this vital question in right earnest. It affects directly the interests of the large masses of humanity, who in spite of all the Government patronage and propping up of the allopathic system have still clung to the indigenous systems. In the interests of all concerned, it should be open to all medical practitioners, registered or unregistered, to practise all or any of the systems in the art of healing. Those who are in any way opposed to such course cannot but be extremely selfish, impelled

solely by motives of personal interest. As Mr. Paranjpye remarked in his speech, they were merely showing a spirit of trade unionism and it is the height of absurdity to allow it to be practised upon the public with the support of Government."

Kesari (106), 16th Oct.

52. We had no idea that Government would oppose so much the Honourable Mr. Patel's innocent and just amendments to the Medical Registration Act. One of these amendments is to be adopted by Government themselves and introduced by them in the form of a Bill. Non-official majorities on the Medical Councils have been adopted by other local Governments. No reasonable man could oppose the demand for the definition of "infamous conduct". How are we to characterise the obstinacy of Government who defeated the amendments by creating two new Councillors, when all the amendments proposed were universally acceptable? Compare the assurances given by Sir Richard Lamb when the Medical Registration Act was passed that it would not interfere with native medicine and the proceedings under the Act we had to experience later on. The Honourable Mr. Asadkhan has got a resolution to give encouragement to native medicine passed in the Imperial Legislative Council. And local Governments are driving out medical practitioners for the unpardonable crime of working in co-operation with native medicine. How are we to reconcile these conflicting attitudes? Will Government themselves declare how they intend to give encouragement to native medicine?

Gujaráti (17), 14th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (21), 13th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 15th Oct.; *Islámic Mail* (141), 15th Oct., Urdu edition.

53. There is truth in the statement made in the Council to the effect that many of the people passing as Vaids and Hakims are quacks and they practise medicine without any systematic study. But such people will not be prevented from so doing as long as Government do not give any encouragement or help to the study of the Ayurvedic and Yunani systems of medicine. It would, however, be unjust to compel medical men educated according to the Western system to have no connection with any institution that imparts instruction according to the Eastern systems of medicine or to consider their conduct as unprofessional if they are connected with such institutions merely on the score that there are many quacks who profess to practise those systems of medicine. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—We wish Government had not listened to the advice given to them by selfish doctors and had accepted the Bill and submitted it to a special Committee as requested by the Honourable Mr. Patel. No distinction should be observed between the Eastern and Western systems of medicine, for we know of many cases in which patients have been cured of serious ailments by Vaids and Hakims after they had been given up as incurable by medical men educated according to the Western system of medicine. The *Bombay Samáchár* asks the advocates of the Ayurvedic system of medicine to prepare a scheme for organising the study of Ayurvedic medicine as suggested by His Excellency the Governor and to submit it to Government for their approval and help.] The *Islámic Mail* while expressing regret at the speeches of some of the Honourable members of the Legislative Council running down the Hakims and Vaids asserts that the Yunani and Ayurvedic systems of treatment are superior to the western system which is unrivalled only so far as surgery is concerned. It expresses approval of His Excellency the Governor's suggestion regarding the maintenance of a separate register of Hakims and Vaids.]

EDUCATION.

Need of educational reform in India on the lines of Mr. Fisher's innovations in England.

New Times (7), 11th Oct.

54. **"Compulsory attendance at school upto 14 and later at continuation schools, upto 18—here is a significant provision of Mr. Fisher's Bill; it has been welcomed in England and a similar provision will be welcomed in India. In Canada, everybody is educated upto 16; in Germany, compulsory education is continued upto 21; and the French Minister of Education has a scheme making education compulsory upto 20.**

Indu-Prakásh (40), 16th Oct.; *Subodh Patrika* (43), 14th Oct.

48. Referring to the recent Press Note issued by the Government of India on Bombay Postmen's grievances, the *Indu Prakásh* writes :—Although the pay of the appointments has been increased there is no corresponding increase in the number of men who would actually be benefited. Indeed the authorities may be said to have taken away with one hand what they gave with the other. Under the new scheme Government agreed to the additional expenditure of Rs. 1,375 which, however, is not considered adequate. The course adopted by the authorities is certainly not straightforward. It is not fair to intimidate poor people. The threat to adopt stringent measures will certainly not solve the whole problem. [The *Subodh Patrika* writes that the Postal Department which spent more than Rs. 2,000 a day during the strike could very well have spent the money in giving increments of pay to its servants. It says that the Department in its anxiety to maintain its prestige uselessly wasted public money. The paper does not consider the new scheme to be satisfactory and exhorts the authorities to benefit by their recent experience.]

Alleged cow-killing by a European at Karáchi.
Gujaráti (17), 14th Oct.

49. One Chhaganlal Ghelabhai writes to the *Gujaráti* from Karáchi, under date 3rd October 1917 :—A European of this place, Bucklan by name, has shot and killed a poor cow. It has been sent to the veterinary hospital for examination. Two men of the Jámnagar Lancers heard the firing of the rifle and saw the cow coming out of the compound of the European and falling dead at some distance. What use do the Europeans make of the arms they carry! The general public is eagerly awaiting the decision of the court of law.

Comments on the strike of the Sind College Students as a protest against the reversion of Professor Shahani from the post of Principal.
Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 21st Oct., Eng. cols.

*50. "The students of the Sind Arts College have gone on strike as a protest against the appointment of a new European Principal. The demand to have a voice in the government of the country is not the same as the demand to govern an educational institution according to the dictates of students. Does this come out of the present agitation or the misunderstanding of it? In either case the stupid and impudent step taken by the students of the Sind College deserves to be punished with an iron hand. We are glad that Mr. Mehta, the Vice-President of the Karachi Municipality, urged the strikers to desist. At the same time we must say that they did not deserve the encouragement that was given to them by the promise made by Mr. Mehta to take up the cause in earnest. Our agitators had better beware lest they carry matters too far. The present strike is an instance of the highest pitch of impertinence."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill.
Message (6), 18th Oct.

51. "The rejection of Mr. Patel's simple and straightforward proposal to relieve the Medical Council of its obsession regarding the infallibility of the Western system, has created a new intolerable situation and it has now become the imperative duty of the general public not to take the defeat of the proposal lying down. It devolves on the public to organise public opinion and carry on an endless and vigorous agitation until the wrong is remedied. The public are already sufficiently preoccupied with more urgent things, it is true; but it cannot be difficult to induce the public to take up this vital question in right earnest. It affects directly the interests of the large masses of humanity, who in spite of all the Government patronage and propping up of the allopathic system have still clung to the indigenous systems. In the interests of all concerned, it should be open to all medical practitioners, registered or unregistered, to practise all or any of the systems in the art of healing. Those who are in any way opposed to such course cannot but be extremely selfish, impelled

solely by motives of personal interest. As Mr. Paranjpye remarked in his speech, they were merely showing a spirit of trade unionism and it is the height of absurdity to allow it to be practised upon the public with the support of Government."

Kesari (106), 16th Oct.

52. We had no idea that Government would oppose so much the Honourable Mr. Patel's innocent and just amendments to the Medical Registration Act. One of these amendments is to be adopted by Government themselves and introduced by them in the form of a Bill. Non-official majorities on the Medical Councils have been adopted by other local Governments. No reasonable man could oppose the demand for the definition of "infamous conduct". How are we to characterise the obstinacy of Government who defeated the amendments by creating two new Councillors, when all the amendments proposed were universally acceptable? Compare the assurances given by Sir Richard Lamb when the Medical Registration Act was passed that it would not interfere with native medicine and the proceedings under the Act we had to experience later on. The Honourable Mr. Asadkhan has got a resolution to give encouragement to native medicine passed in the Imperial Legislative Council. And local Governments are driving out medical practitioners for the unpardonable crime of working in co-operation with native medicine. How are we to reconcile these conflicting attitudes? Will Government themselves declare how they intend to give encouragement to native medicine?

Gujaráti (17), 14th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (21), 13th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 15th Oct.; *Islámic Mail* (141), 15th Oct., Urdu edition.

53. There is truth in the statement made in the Council to the effect that many of the people passing as Vaids and Hakims are quacks and they practise medicine without any systematic study. But such people will not be prevented from so doing as long as Government do not give any encouragement or help to the study of the Ayurvedic and Yunani systems of medicine. It would, however, be unjust to compel medical men educated according to the Western system to have no connection with any institution that imparts instruction according to the Eastern systems of medicine or to consider their conduct as unprofessional if they are connected with such institutions merely on the score that there are many quacks who profess to practise those systems of medicine. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—We wish Government had not listened to the advice given to them by selfish doctors and had accepted the Bill and submitted it to a special Committee as requested by the Honourable Mr. Patel. No distinction should be observed between the Eastern and Western systems of medicine, for we know of many cases in which patients have been cured of serious ailments by Vaids and Hakims after they had been given up as incurable by medical men educated according to the Western system of medicine. The *Bombay Samáchár* asks the advocates of the Ayurvedic system of medicine to prepare a scheme for organising the study of Ayurvedic medicine as suggested by His Excellency the Governor and to submit it to Government for their approval and help.] The *Islámic Mail* while expressing regret at the speeches of some of the Honourable members of the Legislative Council running down the Hakims and Vaids asserts that the Yunani and Ayurvedic systems of treatment are superior to the western system which is unrivalled only so far as surgery is concerned. It expresses approval of His Excellency the Governor's suggestion regarding the maintenance of a separate register of Hakims and Vaids.]

EDUCATION.

Need of educational reform in India on the lines of Mr. Fisher's innovations in England.

New Times (7), 11th Oct.

54. "Compulsory attendance at school upto 14 and later at continuation schools, upto 18—here is a significant provision of Mr. Fisher's Bill; it has been welcomed in England and a similar provision will be welcomed in India. In Canada, everybody is educated upto 16; in Germany, compulsory education is continued upto 21; and the French Minister of Education has a scheme making education compulsory upto 20.

Surely it is time for the Government of India to shake off its inertia to move forward in obedience to the call of the spirit of the New Times and send a quick response to the demands of the Indian leaders who represent the inarticulate masses and have repeatedly asked for a national, efficient, free, compulsory, organised education for the Indian people."

Students' strikes in the Central Provinces and the Berars.
Sandesh (116), 16th and 20th Oct.

55. Referring to the strikes of students in the Central Provinces and Berar the *Sandesh* says that the charges made against students that they are wayword and undisciplined and mischievous are baseless. It holds that it will be difficult to find elsewhere than in India such obedient, disciplined and harmless students. When these boys go on a strike, it continues, it may be taken that circumstances have become so difficult that they cannot but go on a strike. It hopes that the authorities and parents and guardians in the Central Provinces will arrive at some satisfactory settlement of the question. [In a subsequent issue it refers to the rustication of Abdul Hamidkhan, an M. A. student, for presiding at a students' meeting and says:—The students instead of being frightened by this step, again called a meeting of students, and publicly honoured Mr. Abdul Hamidkhan and also held a procession in his honour. This is one of the visible signs of the sentiments of self-respect and self-confidence which are rising among the boys. We do not mean to say that our boys should raise the flag of revolt against their teachers. But the fact is that when the orders of the Educational authorities transgress the proper limits, the students are left no recourse but to disobey them. When orders not to attend public meetings are utilised to prevent students from attending innocent *bhajans*, they are naturally encouraged to disobey the orders. Students are not inanimate things. If they are treated like convicts and prohibited from listening to the thoughts of the leaders of the people, should they not even appeal to the authorities to withdraw the restrictions? The Risley circular has so much exasperated the students and the guardians of the Central Provinces that it deserves to be withdrawn at an early date.]

Comments on the order of the Director of Public Instruction prohibiting students of the Broach High School from serving as volunteers at the Educational Conference at Broach.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 17th Oct.

56. Disapproving the action of the Director of Public Instruction of the Bombay Presidency in prohibiting students of the Government High School, Broach, from serving as volunteers at the session of the Educational Conference recently held in that city, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regards the Director of Public Instruction's order as a rigid, though unintelligent, adherence on his part to the letter of the Government circular prohibiting students from attending or taking part in any public meeting. It cannot comprehend how such an order can help the realisation of the objects underlying the circular, which are to inculcate discipline among students and to keep them away from extreme political views. It observes that the prohibition of students to act as volunteers in connection with a function like the session of an educational conference is antagonistic to the policy of Government of introducing the boy scout system among Indian students. The paper advises the promoters of the Educational Conference to appeal to the sympathy of His Excellency the Governor in this matter, and, failing in that appeal, to bring a resolution in the local Legislative Council with a view to fixing the proper scope and extent of the circular appertaining to students. It further suggests that some such resolution should be brought in the Imperial Legislative Council if its coming session is to be held prior to the next session of the Bombay Legislative Council. It also observes that since the wording of the circular estops students from acting as volunteers for preserving order and discipline at gatherings that will be held to welcome Mr. Montagu during his forthcoming visit to India, it is the duty of public leaders to appeal to the Viceroy and get his decision in this matter before bringing a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council.

Complaint that boys attaining the age of 18 are being made to leave schools.
Shubhodaya (89), 12th Oct.

57. A teacher writes to the *Shubhodaya*:—Many days ago Government issued a Circular that boys over 18 should not be allowed to attend schools, but it was not acted upon. But of late it is being enforced and as soon as boys attain the age of 18, they are asked to leave the school. Government should withdraw the Circular. Though it now lies with the Head Master and the Educational Inspector to keep boys over 18 in the school, they are driving out the boys.

Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency.
Islamic Mail (4), 14th Oct., Eng. edition.

58. In the cousse of the first instalment of an article headed "The life and death of Urdu," the *Islámic Mail.* writes:—"Muhammadans regard Urdu as their national language. It is a fallacy, a grievous error, we admit. But the feeling is there and the Hindu opposition to Urdu has intensified the feeling. The extinction of Persian as a medium of instruction has made the teaching of Urdu a necessity and the fact that all the Muhammadan religious and moral books are in Urdu has, if anything, made this necessity doubly felt. If the Muhammadan boys are to get an elementary knowledge of morals and religion the teaching of Urdu is indispensable. Also if Urdu is anywhere necessary it is in primary schools to satisfy the wishes of Moslem parents who desire their boys to know something of their religion first. There may be men like Mr. Jinnah who are not Muhammadans first and Indians after it. They may not consider it necessary to teach the rudiments of religion and morals to their boys; but their number is infinitesimal. The majority of the Muhammadans consider it a duty and a necessity to make their sons pucca Muhammadans, and so far as we know the reason why they have not taken advantage of the facilities offered by Government for primary education is that it does not fulfil their wishes and requirements. The Government of India say that it has to be recognised that there are considerable tracts in which the Muhammadans have dropped the use of Urdu. We cannot vouchsafe the truth of this assertion. We can claim to speak with knowledge of many parts of India and we will attest that Urdu is still the medium of primary instruction everywhere. Even in our Presidency where Gujarati and Marathi are the dominant languages Urdu holds its own and is taught to all the Moslem boys whether in public schools or in private maktabs. The prejudice shown against Urdu by the Hindus on the ground of its being a Moslem language and the efforts that they have made to promote the obsolete Hindi language has naturally strengthened the Muhammadan attachment to Urdu; and gradually as the Hindus are winning the game and making Government believe that Urdu is dropping out the Muhammadan attitude in favour of Urdu becomes stronger and their desire to adopt it as their language keener. In Bombay, we admit, it is not racial jealousy which has prompted the desire to promote Urdu, although the advocacy of the use of the Modi script has to a certain extent created the feeling. It is bare necessity which compels the Muhammadans to adopt Urdu for use in primary schools, in order, as the Honourable Mr. Edroos said in the Council, 'to ensure moral and religious education'. During the debate on the Urdu resolutions in the Bombay Council a few years ago, even that eminent educationist, the Honourable Mr. Sharp, was forced to acknowledge that 'Muhammadans had to learn Urdu for the sake of their religion'."

Muslim Herald (143), 12th Oct.

59. The *Muslim Herald* states that the decision of Government regarding the abolition of Urdu as the medium of instruction has generated unrest among the Musalmans. Besides advancing old arguments such as Urdu being the *lingua franca* of India, it declares that religious and moral books exist only in that language and adds that Moslems are too poor to undertake the preparation and publication of a series of books of equal merits in Gujarati and Marathi. It asserts that Government view the question from the standpoint of those Moslem leaders who speak Gujarati or Cutchi in their homes. It goes on to declare that the number of families to which the above class of men belong is infinitesimal as compared with those whose mother tongue is

Urdu, and the young members of which stand in great need of education through that language. The paper maintains that it is not so important to learn the local vernacular, which, however, may not be neglected, as to acquire the use of one's mother tongue through the medium of which alone can sound education be given to children. It concludes by requesting Government to reconsider their decision.

Political Bhomyio (71), 19th Oct.

60. The Government of Bombay have recently issued a Press Note and have ordered that primary education should not any more be given in this Presidency in Urdu, a leading language of this province and the *lingua franca* of India. This is very much to be regretted. This attack on their mother tongue, without their knowledge, has caused profound sorrow among the entire Musalman community. There is every chance that incalculable harm will be done to the community by this attempt to deprive them of their own language and thrust an alien tongue into their mouths. The number of Urdu-knowing people in the Presidency is greater than that of those knowing any other language. If that is the case, why have Government made this attempt to deprive Musalmans of their language? They ought to know that this will entail great hardships on the Musalmans, and will reduce them to a miserable condition.

Akhbár-e-Islám (57), 16th Oct.

61. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, while regarding the Press Note recently issued by Government on Urdu teaching in the Presidency as a blow to the Urdu language, absolves Government from blame as, in its opinion, they have arrived at the decision after consulting Muhammadan opinion. It holds the Muhammadans themselves responsible for the Press Note and asks them to take steps to encourage the study of Urdu independently of Government who have shown solicitude for the welfare of the Muhammadans and have done everything in their power to stimulate the love of education amongst the Muhammadans.

NATIVE STATES.

The general strike of Hindus at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár).

Young India (14), 17th Oct.

62. Commenting on the general strike at Wadhwan consequent on certain orders issued by the Administrator of the State, *Young India* writes:—"The whole trouble seems to have arisen over the untenable attitude taken up by the so-called Administrator of an essentially peaceful and Hindu State towards the conduct of the Hindu public in Wadhwán. From the facts we have been able to glean, it would seem that some people in authority have made deliberate attempts to sow dissensions between the Hindu and Muhammadan subjects of the State, and create needless differences among them. We are reliably informed that before the present incumbent was appointed Administrator, the Hindu and Muhammadan subjects of the State had pulled on together exceptionally well for centuries together without any mutual dissensions whatsoever. Our own knowledge of the state of affairs in some of the Native States leads us to think that Hindu-Muslim differences under Native rulers are a matter of recent creation, fomented by blind or self-seeking men, for reasons which it is not difficult to conjecture. In this case, it has been alleged that since Mr. Kadri took charge of the Administratorship—the legitimate ruler has been deposed and is now residing in Bombay—insidious attempts have been persistently made to create a split between Hindus and Muhammadans. How far the attitude of Mr. Kadri is responsible for it, or how far that gentleman himself was directly the contributory cause of it, it is very difficult to say. But the fact remains that since he was appointed Administrator, the two great communities which seem to have lived in peace, amity and goodwill for centuries and decades, began to show signs of dissension and disagreement.......... It would be the greatest mistake to regard these manifestations of public unrest and excitement as of no serious import and treat them lightly. We trust, therefore, that His Excellency Lord Willingdon, who is politically the immediate overlord of the Native States in the Presidency and is directly responsible for their good or bad administration, will kindly lose no time in looking into the complaints and remedying them. In the case of Wadhwán especially, such responsibility is doubly great and it should be hardly necessary to emphasise it here."

Message (6), 20th Oct.

63. "Mr. Kadri seems to have administered the Wadhwán State so ably and successfully that during the comparatively short period of his tenure, he has succeeded in infusing among the quiet and peaceful subjects of Wadhwán an altogether new spirit, which is wonderful to relate. It might seem incredible but is indeed a fact that all the Hindu shops at Wadhwán have remained closed for well over 20 days, as the result of the new spirit created among the people by Mr. Kadri's administration. It has been stated that Mr. Kadri, ever solicitous for maintaining peace and good will among the various classes of the population, issued on the 24th ultimo an order prohibiting all Hindu processions except under specific conditions and upon a license to be granted by himself on the recommendation of the Police Superintendent—an equally able and zealous co-religionist of the Administrator. Representations are said to have been made to Mr. Kadri by leading and respectable Hindu citizens of the place; but representations were unavailing as they were bound to be. While, thus, the doctrine of efficiency, put into practice by Mr. Kadri, proved successful in preventing the processions, the aggrieved people were not less slow thereafter in imitating the excellent example and proved their efficiency by closing down all the Hindu shops in the town. It is over 20 days as we said since this happened; the other side has shown no disposition to settle up the matter, while the affected people are said to be going from pillar to post for the redress of their grievances. Attempts to get a hearing from the Political Agent did not succeed, that omnipotent authority having perhaps deemed the complaint as one beneath contempt."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 16th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (16), 16th Oct.; *Surya Prakásh* (33), 13th Oct.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (57), 17th Oct.; *Political Bhomiyo* (71), 19th Oct.

64. In a letter dealing with the fracas that took place at Wadhwán some time ago between the Hindus and the Muhammadans culminating in a general strike, a Wadhwán correspondent of the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that before the Hindus passed by the mosque in procession they had not the slightest desire to create any disturbance, or else they would not have, at first, quietly walked away even after their *Thákarji* (idol) had been polluted and they had been stoned by some Muhammadans. He admits that custom required that there should be no music in the vicinity of the mosque when prayers were being offered in it, but denies that there was any long-standing custom at Wadhwán disallowing all sorts of music near the mosque during all hours of the day. In view of the present political situation when the Hindus and Muhammadans have united in making a demand for *swarájya* the correspondent wishes that the strike may end soon. [The Gujarati paper *Dnyán Prakásh* cannot understand what must have led a capable and popular officer of the type of Khan Bahadur Kadri, Administrator, Wadhwán State, to issue orders putting restrictions on the playing of music in public streets which are calculated to injure the feelings of the Hindu subjects of Wadhwán and which have led to the strike among the *Mahajan* of that place. Should the time-honoured religious processions and festivities of the Hindus, inquires the paper, which are generally accompanied by music, be completely stopped? It observes that the Muhammadans are bound, equally with the Hindus, to respect the religious feelings of the latter and, therefore, some middle course should be devised which might give satisfaction to both the communities. The *Surya Prakásh*, on the other hand, strongly deprecates the action of the Wadhwán *Mahajan* in going on strike, which it attributes to their notions about imaginary grievances, and greatly praises the patience and forbearance exercised by Khan Bahadur Kadri in maintaining peace in the city. Why should the Hindus, inquires the paper, disgrace themselves by insisting upon playing music near the mosques when even the British Government in India respect the religious susceptibilities of their Indian subjects and allow the Muhammadans to perform sacred rites near their tombs whenever they are situated within the precincts of Government buildings? The *Akhbár-e-Islám* ascribes the opposition of the Hindus at Wadhwán against the recent orders issued by the Administrator, restricting the playing of music in streets, and the protest raised by the Wadhwán Hindus in a meeting held in Bombay in the same connection, to their intolerance of the idea of a Muhammadan officer ruling over them. It remarks that if in spite of all conciliatory attempts on the part of Khan Bahadur Kadri the Hindus feel such antagonism against him, it believes that in spite of the union of the Congress and the Moslem League the unity between the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities cannot be relied upon as one of a very substantial character. Though wishing that the demands of *Swarájya* and Home Rule may be granted to India, the paper prays to the Almighty that they may not be granted at the expense of the Muhammadans. The *Political Bhomiyo* declares that the *Mahajan* of Wadhwán are an arbitrary set of people and that they have been accustomed frequently to organise strikes. It is inclined to attribute this state of things to the tameness of the other sections of the public and also to weakness on the part of the rulers of Wadhwán. A Wadhwán correspondent sends to the same paper his version of the affairs at Wadhwán, according to which the strike has been engineered by factious people in spite of the patient and conciliatory attitude of the Administrator.]

Administrative reforms in Native States are for purposes of mere show.
Káthiáwár Samáchár (68), 17th Oct.

65. The *Káthiáwár Samáchár* dwells at great length on the defects in the administration of Native States and expresses the opinion that there is no truth in the assertion made to the effect that the subjects of Native States are happier than British subjects. It declares that the reforms effected in some of them are merely a show for being trumpeted abroad, while in reality the Native Chiefs enjoy autocratic powers and use them in a manner that is prejudicial to the interests of the people to such an extent that many of them prefer to sever their connection with Native States and come to settle in British territory. The paper asks the Native Chiefs to introduce legislative and advisory councils in their States and make them really representative of the people they govern, lest their subjects be placed under the necessity of agitating for reforms and giving publicity to their grievances.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 26th October 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

Officers [illegible] weekly Report on Indian Papers
equested to [illegible] the Manager, Government Central
the moment they find that the copies have not
properly addressed to them by name.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 43 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 27th October 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule :

Alleged attempt of the Indian Government to put Mr. Montagu among reactionary surroundings 3

Comments on Lord Sydenham's article on Indian affairs in the *Sunday Times* . . . . 7—9

Comments on Mr. Montagu's statements in Parliament with regard to the release of Mrs. Besant and political reforms in India . . 5 & 6

Comments on the Anglo-Indian agitation in India . . . . . 15 & 16

Comments on the internment of a correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* under the Defence of India Act 14

Hindu-Muhammadan relations 18

Home Rule agitation entirely a Brahmin movement 19

How to end the quarrels between Mahars and the rayats in the Bijápur District 20

It is possible that collisions between Hindus and Muhammadans like the Bakri-Id riots are fomented by Anglo-Indians and others who are hostile to Indian aspirations 17

Necessity of sending an Indian deputation to England 10

The agitation set up by the *Madras Mail* against the Secretary of State for India 4

The non-release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali . . . 11—13

What should be done if Mr. Montagu's visit to India is to prove fruitful . . . . 1 & 2

Excise :

Comments on the Abkari policy of Government 27

The continuance of the Viramgam Customs Line 28

Indians in the Colonies : Comments on the scheme of assisted emigration devised by the Inter-departmental Conference 24

Police : A complaint against the — from Bilgi (Bijápur) 26

Public Services Commission : Comments on the Government of India's letter to the Provincial Governments regarding recommendation of the — in the matter of the Educational Service 25

Sind : Comments on the shooting down of a cow by a European at Karáchi 29

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

War:

Alleged scare in the Sholápur District due to forced recruiting . . 21
Comments on the report of the Controller of Currency with regard to contributions to the Indian — Loan 23
The situation in Russia 22

EDUCATION—

Muhammadans should be employed as teachers in primary schools in Sind to a larger extent than at present 35
Reflections on students' strikes . . . . 33 & 34
The Gujarat Educational Conference at Broach . . . . 30 & 31
Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency 32

RAILWAYS—

Grievances of third class railway passengers 36

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the Hindu strike at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár) . . . . 37 & 38

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

What should be done if Mr. Montagu's visit to India is to prove fruitful.

New Times (7), 22nd Oct.

1. "If Mr. Montagu's intended visit to India is to be fruitful, it is essential that the demand of the politically conscious element in India be satisfied without delay.......... The old argument of 'bureaucratic 'efficiency' is now found to rest on an empty major premise; the bureaucracy have been proved to be inefficient; and we refuse to believe in the old stupid view that Indians are fit only to practise the virtues of what Nietzsche called 'slave-morality.'......... Not to respond quickly to the Nation's demand would be to commit a colossal blunder.......... The policy of coercion was tried; it failed because it came in conflict with the national sentiment which we believe nothing can conquer. The Indian Reform are over-due; and true statesmanship requires that a new policy be tried—the policy of co-operation with the forces and sentiments and activities of our National Life. Such a policy will vindicate again to a people impatient of the conduct of the bureaucracy and the attacks of the Anglo-Indian press, the way, the promises, the ideals, the freedom mission of England; such a policy alone will strengthen the bonds of Civilization and save the Empire in the East."

Kesari (106), 23rd Oct.

2. Since the announcement of Mr. Montagu's visit, the advocates as well as the opponents of *swarájya* are trying in their way to convince Mr. Montagu about their own views, but technically speaking the decision does not rest with the Secretary of State but with the British Ministry and British Parliament. But if the Ministry take up the question it will not be difficult for them to get the assent of Parliament. Mr. Montagu can pilot the Bill for *swarájya* through Parliament, if he is thoroughly convinced of its necessity. There is a party in Southern India which wants special representation but it cannot be classed as an opponent of *swarájya*. There is also a party which is afraid of losing the monopoly hitherto enjoyed by it and which is thus affected by jealousy. It will try in various ways to influence the Secretary of State. Mr. Montagu himself has answered many of the arguments brought forward by the opponents of *swarájya*. We have also to note that Mr. Montagu is coming to India with a spirit to translate what he has spoken for the last seven years into deeds. [The paper proceeds to give a summary of Mr. Montagu's views on Indian questions.] He has not contented himself only with answering the criticisms of Anglo-Indian critics. He has some settled views about the Indian administration and he has advocated them on suitable occasions. He has expressed himself favourably on the following points:—The pay of the Secretary of State to be placed on the British estimates, a thorough change in the constitution of the India Council, responsibility of local and Imperial Executive Councils to public opinion, Provincial autonomy, etc. He is courageous enough to put into practice what he has preached. His mind is prepared but it is for our leaders to make use of the opportunity. Mr. Montagu had said once that very few people demand *swarájya*. The first duty of Home Rulers is to prove this to be baseless and untrue. Signatures are being taken on the *swarájya* petition and everyone should hurry to get a form and sign it instead of waiting to be approached.

Alleged attempt of the Indian Government to put Mr. Montagu among reactionary surroundings.

Young India (14), 24th Oct.

3. "While the Anglo-Indian press is busy manufacturing its agitation to defeat the object of Mr. Montagu's visit to this country, it is significant how in silent and subtle ways Government seem to be assisting that movement. When the Secretary of State visits this country he is to be kept surrounded—not exactly like a *gosha* lady—by a thick veil of bureaucratism. Thus, all those or at any rate most of those who have been deputed to be in charge of Mr. Montagu's visit are out and out bureaucrats. The communiques which have literally flooded our tables during the past few weeks regarding the elaborate procedure to be observed in

connection with the visit make us think that even His Majesty the King-Emperor's visit was not so much burdened with wearisome hints and instructions to be observed in receiving the first among the Secretaries of State to visit this country for purely political reasons. The Indian public who are naturally pleased at the prospect of Mr. Montagu's visit will do well to take timely note of the silent and subtle influence which reactionaryism might exercise on him and thwart the object of his great mission to this country."

The agitation set up by the *Madras Mail* against the Secretary of State for India.

Gujarati (17), 28th Oct., Eng. cols.

*4. "The *Madras Mail* writes as if it were the Madras Government, which has been set at naught by the 'Jew' in the person of the Secretary of State, because it insists on a guarantee from His Majesty's Government in Great Britain and His Excellency the Viceroy that henceforth the authority of the Provincial Governor will be respected and that this country will not be governed by cable from Whitehall, or by private conferences with *Indians of dubious loyalty* and in 'co-operation' with Mrs. Besant. Why does the *Madras Mail* so completely identify its extremist views with those of the Madras Government? His Excellecy the Viceroy expressly stated in his closing speech at the last session of the Supreme Legislative Council that he was in complete harmony with the Secretary of State for India and that the relations of his Government with those of the Provincial Governments were of a cordial character. How is the *Madras Mail* justified in going behind this statement? If it is not justified in doing so, what right does it possess to pose as the spokesman of the injured and slighted Madras Government? We are sorry Lord Pentland who was so very communicative weeks ago has not come forward to support the Viceroy and discourage the mischievous agitation that has been started by the *Madras Mail* just as if it had been specially deputed by the Madras Government to vindicate their honour and prestige. Have not the Government of India any prestige to maintain? Has not the Secretary of State for India any prestige which ought to be respected by Anglo-Indian scribes?"

Comments on Mr. Montagu's statements in Parliament with regard to the release of Mrs. Besant and political reform in India.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 20th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 22nd Oct.

5. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its satisfaction at the replies made by Mr. Montagu in Parliament with regard to the interpellations on the subject of the release of Mrs. Besant which in its opinion make it clear that the initiative in the matter was taken by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford with the best of motives and that the latter has thereby rendered incalculable service to India. While referring to Mr. Montagu's reply with respect to the political reforms that will be introduced in India the paper draws the attention of the Anglo-Indians to the assurance given by him that the interests of all classes and communities would be duly safeguarded and asks them not to make an unnecessary fuss about their own privileges, as Mr. Montagu will not do anything to prejudice their position in India. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regards the reply as a fitting rejoinder to the various allegations made against Mr. Montagu and the attempts made by Anglo-Indians to misrepresent the object of his visit to India. It hopes his convincing statements will set at rest the fears of the Anglo-Indians and induce them to help Mr. Montagu in his mission to India by submitting to him a scheme of constructive reforms.]

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 23rd Oct.; *Indu Prakásh* (40), 20th Oct.

6. The release of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers has terribly upset the Europeans in India. They declare that the step constitutes a deliberate insult to the Provincial Government and is a blow to British prestige which is the foundation of British rule in India and they also predict a considerable increase in the present agitation. The explanation given by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons regarding the release of the internees would satisfy any fair minded person. But there are reactionaries even in the House of Commons. This time the honour of opposing Indian interests was shared by Mr. Joynson Hicks and Colonel Yate between them and strange as it may seem Sir John Rees sided with our Secretary

of State. We wish Mr. Montagu had been more explicit in his disapprobation of the conduct of the Madras Government in reluctantly carrying out the instructions of the Supreme Government as is seen from the Press Note issued by them. Of what practical utility is the so-called Supreme Government if it is unable to check a Provincial Government? On the whole we regard Mr. Montagu's explanation to be satisfactory. He was in an awkward predicament being unable to disavow the policy of his predecessor although he did not approve of it. Was it just and statesmanlike to deprive people of their liberty because they insisted upon demanding an outline of the reforms? We liken such thoughtless and barbarous conduct to the stupidity of a father who beats his son for his own faults. Although India has been clamouring for a declaration of policy for the last two years and more the attitude of the Government of India and the British Government was one of indifference and neglect. It has, however, undergone a change since the advent of Mr. Montagu at the India Office. We do not wish to expatiate upon this subject at greater length and only urge upon our leaders the necessity of being prepared with their schemes and arguments to be placed before Mr. Montagu. [The *Indu Prakásh* also welcomes Mr. Montagu's explanation in the House of Commons.]

Comments on Lord Sydenham's article on Indian affairs in the *Sunday Times.*

Young India (14), 24th Oct.

7. Commenting on Lord Sydenham's recent article in the *Sunday Times* on the Indian political situation, *Young India* writes:—"The article for all it is worth seems to be full of the stock-in-trade of the rabid Tory and Anglo-Indian press, namely silly invective and stock phraseology. Knowing as we do the quandom *ex*-Governor of Bombay, we are not surprised that in the extremity of his mental convulsion, His Lordship has fallen back upon an attack on the Indian caste system! 'India's most pressing need is the abolition of the caste system and here lies a magnificent field of work for real Indian patriots.' That is the diagnosis at which our *ex*-satrap has arrived after mature incubation. Lord Sydenham seems to be oblivious of the fact that 'real Indian patriots' are ruled out of this 'magnificent field of work' by the super-imposition over them of a new caste —the hide-bound caste of bureaucrats. The real Indian patriot desires, in order that he may the more readily enter on his field of work, to do away first of all with this super-imposition, which the century-old, cumbrous machinery of the Government of India has left over the Indian caste system. The real Indian patriot has realised that he cannot bring about the 'abolition of the caste system', so long as it is dominated by an overweening and all powerful caste of bureaucrats, and he is, therefore, working steadily and consistently to abolish the new-fangled caste system of bureaucratic Brahmins. We are glad to have His Lordship's unconscious admission that the 'real Indian patriots exist,' and we have no hesitation in endorsing the fact that they do not exist among the small body of sycophants and flunkeys who pose as leaders and haunt Government Houses, seeking political power for their own ends—a class with which Lord Sydenham is well acquainted. Lord Sydenham may feel shocked at the unconscious admission he has made. But none the less he should feel in his heart of hearts—provided, of course, he has enough political honesty—that that is an indisputable fact. As for the rest of the article, we must frankly confess that it is the worst kind of political hypocrisy to say that 'as soon as the Indian people are fit for self-government, it will instantly be given them." As Mr. Ramsay MacDonald remarks in his article in the September *Contemporary Review*, 'If we were to continue to rule India as we are now doing for a hundred decades, these tales (of unfitness of Indians for self-government) would not diminish but increase with time'."

Mahrátta (5), 28th Oct.

***8.** Addressing Lord Sydenham with reference to his article in the *Sunday Times*, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"You assert, good Sir, that the first interest of the masses is peace and order, 'which the British rule alone can secure'. Without subscribing to the first proposition, we are tempted to ask Your Lordship whether British Rule *alone* can secure that *first interest* to the masses of India. *Cannot the Germans do it?* Surely, pessimistic as Your Lordship may be about our ability to secure peace and order in our country, you cannot have any doubts about the ability of the Germans to do that for us—and for your countrymen! Will you ask whether we desire Germans in the place of your countrymen? Let us tell you frankly, on behalf of the masses, that we want your countrymen to vacate *the place* which they now occupy in our country—but we do not want Germans or any other nation to step in and take that place. And why? Because the *first interest* of the masses of India is not *peace and order at any price*—but progress, steady and unhampered progress. Neither the Englishman nor the German nor any other '—man' with mere 'police' ability and propensity will do for us as master in our home affairs. We must have for master in our home affairs our own countrymen. You and your countrymen think of this land as 'a vale of tears' where they live away from all that they hold in love and reverence. With all most spontaneous and energetic thought and sentiment consecrated to the betterment (and aggrandisement) of your far-off Home across the 'black waters' you and your countrymen ask us—our masses—to be content with the most primitive 'peace and order' menu provided for our benefit! Now, good Sir, this cannot be! We are no longer in our swaddling clothes. Even India moves, Your Lordship. Since your countrymen did succeed in ousting indigenous sovereign rule and substituting English rule in its place—let it be said (according to the wont of some people) that God willed it to be so. But good Sir, if God willed it 'to be so' at one stage of this nation's perennial life, God *wills something else at this hour*. He wills that Sydenhams shall cease to 'lord' it over this nation. He wills that this country in which many races and many religions have met for mutual benefit shall no longer bow its head to Sydenhams of the peace-and-order-at-any-price clan.

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 26th Oct.

9. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* makes adverse comments on the views expressed by Lord Sydenham in the *Sunday Times* on the unfitness of India for self-government and on his allegations that the present political agitation is engineered by an infinitesimally small minority of educated Indians who do not represent the masess. The paper lends its support to the scheme of political reforms prepared by the Joint Committee of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League and repudiates the allegation that the demand is made only by Brahmins and lawyers. It refers to the exclusiveness of the Europeans in India which has gained for them the appellation of "White Brahmins" and the class distinctions observed by Government recently in granting Commissions in the army to Indians belonging to the ruling classes in the country. It reminds Lord Sydenham of the fact that India does not want self-government all at once and that it does not wish to drive away the Europeans out of India. It wishes that Lord Sydenham had submitted a scheme of political reforms instead of trying to do harm to Indian interests by his criticism while professing to be a friend of India. It heaves a sigh of relief at the fact that Lord Sydenham is not the Viceroy of India and hopes that Lord Chelmsford in consultation with Mr. Montagu will take steps to satisfy the aspirations of Indians.

Necessity of sending an Indian deputation to England.

Sandesh (116), 23rd Oct.

10. Referring to Mr. Baptista's telegram from England announcing that the labouring classes there wholly sympathise with the demand of Home Rule for India, the *Sandesh* expresses its regret that adequate measures have not yet been taken for awakening public opinion in the United Kingdom in favour of India's demands and valuable time has been lost in fruitless discussions since the Lucknow Congress. It goes on:—It is true that Mr. Montagu is coming out to India, but that is no reason for narrowing down our activities. Our leaders seem to think that it will suffice if they place their arguments before Mr. Montagu; but that would not suffice. It will be seen from his speeches that however sympathetic he may be for our aspirations, he is not prepared to carry out any radical reform in the administration of the country, for that does not depend on his personal opinions in the matter.

It lies in the hands of Parliament to effect the reforms and therefore its members must first be won over to our side. That would be the best way to help Mr. Montagu and if we fail in our duty in the matter the blame will wholly lie with us. Mr. Baptista has appealed for sending Indian delegates to England and our leaders will be guilty of short-sightedness if they do not respond to his appeal. Want of funds is not the real difficulty in the matter. It is something else. When Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was requested to proceed to England as the member of a deputation, he put forward the plea of the dangers of submarinism, but that plea disappeared as soon as he was appointed member of the India Council! People apparently want to dance attendance on Mr. Montagu when he comes to India instead of going to England to enlighten the British public!

The non-release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

Akhbár-e-Islám (57), 25th Oct.

11. Referring to a Moslem meeting held in Bombay a few days ago to request Government to release Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali from their internment, and expressing its gratification at the action of the Hindus and Parsis present at the meeting in supporting the request of the Muhammadans, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* regrets that the Bombay Moslem leaders did not see their way to attend that meeting. It also disapproves of the inaction of the Anjuman-e-Islám in this connection. It remarks that this body has not failed in the past in dealing with political matters affecting the Muhammadans and that it need no longer make any delay on the present occasion in discharging its duty not only towards the two brothers but towards the community by raising its voice in the matter. The paper observes that Government need not infer from this silence on the part of the Anjuman-e-Islám that the Moslem community is divided on the subject of the release of the brothers.

Kesari (106), 23rd Oct.

12. Mrs. Besant was to have visited Mahomed Ali after her return from Simla where she had been to make an attempt for his release. But as she went to Madras direct there appears to be no hope of the release of the Ali brothers. The Raja of Mahmudabad has testified to the willingness of Mahomed Ali to fight against even the Sultan of Turkey if he invaded India, and yet Government say of such a man that he sympathises with the enemy. Even if the allegation be true he can do no harm to the mighty Government of India. Government however are losing the sympathy of all Indians by persisting in keeping Mahomed Ali in confinement. Any reasonable man will say that the judgment of Government is quite mistaken.

Sind Moslem (11), 6th Oct.; *New Times* (7), 20th Oct.

13. While discussing the question of the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, the *Sind Moslem* exhorts the Muhammadans to refrain from doing anything that might embarass Government. It then addresses the following appeal to Government:—"As regards our Benign Government, we would earnestly request them not to ignore the innumerable meetings that are being held throughout the length and breadth of the country and to apply the soothing balm to the wounded feelings of our co-religionists. Also, the feeling that the statement of the Home Member has begun to create should not be ignored. The idea that is gaining ground among our co-religionists that Government was unmindful of Moslem feeling without agitation, should be immediately removed. In the interest of the British Empire it is absolutely necessary that the leaders of our community should co-operate with the Secretary of State when he comes here in December, and to achieve that object the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali like Mrs. Annie Besant and her two colleagues is incumbent." [The *New Times* writes:—"The Government, it is true, has certain information to go upon, but why not prove the alleged charges in a Court of law? The people believe that the internment of the Ali brothers is due to a misapprehension which can be easily removed if the Government discloses the alleged facts or the real facts of the case. It is perfectly clear that Moslems do not believe that Ali brothers are in any way in league with the enemy.

Besides their sympathy with their co-religionists outside is not inconsistent with their loyalty to the crown. All that can be said for the Ali brothers is that they are nationalists who would not hesitate to fight against Turkey if she invaded India."]

Comments on the internment of a correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* under the Defence of India Act.
Kesari (106), 3rd Oct.

14. Though Hindu and Muhammadan leaders are united, some riots take place occasionally as the feeling of unity has not yet become rooted amongst the masses. But none can argue therefrom that there is no possibility of union of both the communities. In Arra District in Bihár rioting took place on a large scale but the Bengal leaders have raised a fund to compensate the sufferers. But the officials have interned Asesh Kumar Banerjee, correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, on the ground that he sent false reports to Calcutta papers about the riots. Many officials have misused the Defence of India Act in various ways uptill now but no one had yet been wise enough to intern a correspondent under the Act. We thought that the practice of misusing the Act ended with the release of Mrs. Besant, but the Bihar Government has soon disillusioned us. Let us see on how many other grounds the Defence of India Act will be enforced.

Comments on the Anglo-Indian agitation in India.
Gujaráti (17), 21st Oct.; *Rást Goftár* (31), 21st Oct.

15. Commenting upon the Anglo-Indian agitation against the Government of India and Mr. Montagu, the *Gujarati* writes :—The Indians look upon the Anglo-Indians as birds of passage who come to India for self-aggrandisement. It is in the interest of these Anglo-Indians that the administrative authority should be vested in the hands of their fellow-countrymen. They, therefore, support the bureaucratic form of Government with a view to maintaining the influence they enjoy and safeguarding their interests. It is one of the characteristics of the Anglo-Indians that they keep themselves aloof from all social, industrial and political movements organised by Indians. The Anglo-Indian organs, like the *Englishman*, *Statesman*, *Pioneer* and the *Madras Mail*, always oppose Indian aspirations and support all measures that tend to keep the authority in the hands of bureaucratic officials. There would have been some justification for the present agitation of the Anglo-Indians for a voice in the administration if they had taken any interest in the activities of the Indian people. But so far they have done nothing beyond making money, enjoying costly luxuries and keeping the Indians at arm's length. [The *Rást Goftár* writes :—The Anglo-Indians who are making merry at the expense of India have been greatly alarmed by the fear of losing the power and influence they have enjoyed so far. We are constrained to say that these Anglo-Indians have earned for themselves the name of enemies of the country by giving rise to ill feeling during the continuance of the present war. They have just roused themselves from their inactivity and lethargy and they imagine that there is nothing but dark clouds around them. If they are afraid that they are likely to be treated in a manner that would be prejudicial to their interests, why do they not set about preparing their suggestions to be laid before the Viceroy? Why do they carry on a selfish agitation for opposing the political aspirations of the Indian people?]

Shubhodaya (89), 19th Oct.

16. Referring to the Bombay European meeting the *Shubhodaya* says :—The Honourable Mr. Wardlaw Milne proudly said that the European in Indian will not allow his rights to be menaced and his voice to be unheard. Oho! What are your rights, Saheb? The ordinary rights of British citizenship you will get, so long as you are loyal. If you say that you have the right to force from our hands our trade which justly belongs to us, we shall not give you anything, even if you howl, hereafter. No one will listen to you even if you harangue in the Council to have such rights. We need not be in the least afraid that all Europeans will unite and create difficulties in our way. We have created the present situation by our agitation and not by the favour of Europeans. It is quite certain that we shall be victorious in the end if we carry on our agitation in such a way that public opinion will be respected despite the little difficulty created by European resistance. The European Association of Bombay wants to think only of the war. All right! Do. Nobody objects. But you who are engrossed in this idea, why do you make the agitation against Mr. Montagu? Why do you unnecessarily hold meetings in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta? Why are you engaged in this uncalledfor agitation, instead of thinking about the war?

It is possible that collisions between Hindus and Muhammadans like the Bakr-Id riots are fomented by Anglo-Indians and others who are hostile to Indian aspirations.

Akhbár-e-Islám (57), 23rd Oct.

17. Regretting the riots that were reported to have broken out between the Hindus and the Muhammadans at various places in India on the occasion of the last Bakr-Id festival and referring to the apprehensions entertained by the Hindus about similar disturbances taking place on the Dassera festival which synchronised with the Moharram this year, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—Can it be that this lamentable situation has some connection with the visit the Secretary of State for India is going to pay to India for settling a suitable scheme of reforms? Can it not be that the Anglo-Indians who, out of a narrow spirit, anticipate that the new chapter which the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have determined to open (in the annals of India) will be incompatible with their interests, or, the opponents of India, have a hand in these disturbances? We cordially wish that we may be wrong in this conjecture of ours; but this much is certain that the people hostile to this country have taken advantage of the Dassera and Moharram festivals coming off simultaneously this year after an interval of 30 years and that it is they who have unnecessarily excited the religious feelings of the two communities. They have succeeded, to a large extent, in thus creating disturbances and (fomenting) discontent between these two communities and by these means they intend to set Government thinking as to what these communities might not do after the attainment of *swarájya*, since they quarrel among themselves even before obtaining it. Their object is not to create bad blood between community and community, but to bring one or the other of, or both, these two communities into collision with Government. [The paper then goes on to admonish the Hindu and the Muhammadans to be circumspect and concludes with remarking that if the task of introducing reforms in this country receives a check as a result of want of foresight and coolness on the part of the two communities on the occasion of religious festivals the responsibility for it will rest with both of them, but more particularly with the Hindu community.]

Hindu-Muhammadan relations.

Indu Prakásh (40), 23rd Oct.

18. In a rambling article on the Hindu-Muhammadan question, the *Indu Prakásh* says:—Muhammadans came to India when Hindus began to quarrel amongst themselves. While Muhammadans and Marathas were fighting against one another, the *topiwallas* introduced themselves very skilfully in 1612 and the wise English traders established a kingdom soon and proclaimed supremacy over India. It will be a century in 1918 since the event took place. Why should Hindus and Muhammadans quarrel now? What is the use of vain talk? What is the sense of saying "we were deceived by some one", "some one took advantage of our ignorance"? Mighty men came brushing aside the weak. The world follows the principle of the survival of the fittest. Those who are now in the rear should try to come to the front. What cause is there now for Hindu-Muhammadan hatred? [The paper then refers to Hindu-Muhammadan rioting in Northern India and to the settlement of the celebrations of festivals in Bársi and Calcutta by the people themselves.] The Nizam of Hyderabad should come forward to bring about the compromise. But we understand that he has ordered Hindus not to beat any drum in the streets or at home, in short not to celebrate the Dussera festival as usual. Might is right. 75 per cent. of his subjects are Hindus and they will have to give up their festival for the sake of their ruler! Historians say that such an order was not issued even by

Aurangzeb. No one will feel any difficulty in following the example of Calcutta. [The paper then appeals to Hindus and Muhammadans to give up their prejudices and effect a compromise.]

Home Rule agitation entirely a Brahmin movement.

Jâgaruk (102), 19th Oct.

19. A correspondent writes in the *Jâgaruk* :—The present Home Rule agitation is confined to the Brahmins and a few of their non-Brahmin satellites. In attacking the British bureaucracy these people give unbridled license to their tongue and pen and try to undermine as much as they can the love and respect usually felt by the masses for the British *Râj*. They have also the temerity to assert that the masses would prefer a Brahmin bureaucracy to the present one. A reference to the proceedings of the law courts, however, will prove the falsity of this claim. It will then be seen that people put more faith in the impartiality of English officials than in that of the Brahmins. In short the sentiments of the Brahmins and those of the non-Brahmins differ as much from each other as light does from darkness. The recent Besant affair also tells a similar tale. The antecedents of this lady are well-known to all. Consistency is not her strong point. She was never a strong supporter of the Congress. She, however, established her fitness for the Presidentship of the Congress by compelling the Madras Government to intern her. Her devotees suddenly discovered many virtues in her as soon as a period was put to her unbridled license. It was concluded that her activities must needs conduce to the welfare of the country because they are viewed with disapproval by Government. The contagion of teasing Government and of purposely running counter to their wishes is spreading to our Muhammadan brethren also. By electing Mr. Mahomed Ali to be President of the Moslem League they have indirectly admitted that they are completely under the influence of the Brahmins.

How to end the quarrels between Mahars and the rayats in the Bijâpur District.

Karnâtak Vaibhav (82), 23rd Oct.

20. Mr. Venkaji Narso Kulkarni writes to the *Karnâtak Vaibhav* referring to the differences that have arisen in Indi and other talukas in the Bijâpur District between Mahars and rayats. He says, that these quarrels lead to the poisoning of cattle and requests Government not to issue orders under section 13 of the Vatan Act, but to settle the dues of Mahars and rayats themselves and order the village officers to pay Mahars their dues and take their receipts. He refers to the Devasthan lands and says that a general circular should be issued by Government prohibiting the mortgage of Devasthan lands. He also requests Government to send to the *Pujaris* cash allowances below Rs. 5 direct and not through the the village officers as at present.

Alleged scare in the Sholâpur District due to forced recruiting.

Mahrâtta (5), 28th Oct.

*21. The recruiting for the war is going on in some places with inordinate ill-regulated zeal on the part of the recruiting officers. In the Sholâpur District, the result of this zeal has been a panic among the villagers. Sholâpur, Bârsi, Pandharpur, Madha and other towns in the district are now avoided by the villagers. Many markets have been closed and the internal trade of the district is very seriously affected. In many villages, agriculturists go about in solid bands. They take with them axes, lathis and other available means of self-defence. Agricultural operations in the fields are carried out by such bands. Speaker after speaker on the resolution regarding recruiting vagaries [at the Sholâpur District Conference] cited specific instances in which Varkaris (pilgrims) and village-people going to towns to sell their goods or returning home were caught hold of by recruiting officers, and forcibly removed to the depôts. Who is responsible for these acts of oppression? It is the duty of the Local Government to look into the matter and punish the over-zealous officials concerned. Recruiting as it is being carried on at present cannot inspire confidence. Every intending recruit ought to be brought before a committee of popularly elected respectable gentlemen of the village or town to which he belongs. Before such a committee, the intending recruit should declare his wishes in respect of enrolling in the army. If the man declares his willingness to join the army before such a committee, then alone should he be enlisted. This is the right way of doing the recruiting business. Another way would be to entrust the business to local leaders. But to do so would require a liberality of such magnitude on the part of the authorities as, under the present circumstances, we cannot expect them to show."

The situation in Russia.
Rást Goftár (31), 28th Oct., Eng. cols.

***22.** "The situation in Russia is now becoming very grave indeed. In the Gulf of Riga, the German navy is practically having everything its own way. The Russian civilian population are withdrawing from Reval. Petrograd has been declared to be within the war zone and evacuation of that city by the Russian Government is imminent. Although the situation on the Western front is favourable and the British and French Armies are steadily driving the Germans before them there has been no relaxation of the pressure on the eastern front and it does not seem that any considerable number of German troops have been transferred from the east to the west. The fall of Petrograd would be a heavy blow to the Allies, but we do not see what help can be given to Russia by the Allies on the west."

Comments on the report of the Controller of Currency with regard to contributions to the Indian War Loan.
Bombay Samáchár (60), 23rd Oct.

23. The *Bombay Samáchár* takes an appreciative note of the report issued by the Controller of Currency with respect to contributions to the War Loan. It extolls the action taken by the Controller in affording all possible facilities to the small investors but is of opinion that the Controller has erred in believing that the contributions made by the Presidency Banks and other banks conducted by Europeans are by Europeans alone. As it is of opinion that these banks are largely financed by Indians it suggests that their contributions should be shown separately as the joint contribution of Europeans and Indians. On making calculations of its own it finds that the total contribution of Indians to the War Loan far exceeds that of the Europeans in India.

Comments on the scheme of assisted emigration devised by the Inter-departmental Conference.
Indian Social Reformer (3), 28th Oct.; *Gujaráti* (17), 28th Oct., Eng. cols.

***24.** "The Inter-Depatmental Conference recently held in London has devised a system of what is called 'assisted emigration' to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji, all Crown Colonies, to be substituted in the place of the indentured system.......... The scheme reads well on paper, and shows that the members of the Conference have done their best to prevent the gross evils associated with the indenture system. How will it work?......... We are very doubtful of the utility or the effectiveness of the safeguards provided in the scheme, so far as the Indian emigrant is concerned. Moreover, his position for the first six months at any rate will not be materially different from that of the labourer whose indenture runs to five years. The Conference have not considered the psychological effect of this six months' probation, as they call it, on the labourer. Six months in jail are as effective as five years in it to make a man feel that he is an outcast from society. All schemes of this kind, in our opinion, sin against the dignity of labour........ The Indian labourer must be a colonist and be treated as such from the moment he sets foot in the Colony. The six months' probation, and the three years' qualification under registered employers, must be set aside.......... With each such group of colonists, should go a priest, a school-master and other village functionaries of their own choice. If these Colonies want Indian labour, they must be prepared to make the labourers perfectly at home from the moment of their arrival in them. The Government of every such Colony must be subordinate to the Government of India, it must have direct steamer communication with India, and should be brought in every possible way into the closest contact with the mother-country. If the scheme is improved in these respects, we are sure Indian public opinion will welcome it." [The *Gujaráti* writes:—"The proposals of the Inter-departmental Conference which met in London some months ago under the presidentship of Lord Islington to consider the question of indentured labour emigration from India to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji, have been published...... The proposals appear good on paper, as usual, but one is not sure how the system of probation and recruitment will work in practice. India will not certainly grudge assistance 'in developing the natural resources of the Crown Colonies to the benefit of the Empire, but her people ought to be excused if they entertain serious doubts as to the beneficent character of schemes so benevolently devised for supplying labourers to the Colonies."]

Comments on the Government of India's letter to Provincial Governments regarding recommendations of the Public Services Commission in the matter of the Educational Service.
Mahrátta (5), 28th Oct.; *Indian Social Reformer* (3), 28th Oct

*25. The Government of India have done well to embody in their note to Local Governments the popular view of the future Indian Educational administration. 'The main bulk of the Educational work in this country should be discharged by Indians serving on Indian rates of pay and the guidance and control of education should be very largely in their hands.' This presentation of the popular view does not err on the side of exaggeration. It is an understatement. We desire that the control and guidance of our education should be *entirely* in our hands. Further, we desire that rates of pay shall not be distinguished as 'Indian' and 'European', but shall be based purely and simply on considerations of the work allotted to particular posts, and the qualifications required in the men filling the posts. We are not averse to the idea of attracting 'the best possible material, European as well as Indian, into educational employ', but we cannot have patience with any scheme which exaggerates the virtue of 'European training' and undervalues that of "the knowledge of Indian minds and habits' and the natural sympathy with 'Native' aspirations, which are as a general rule to be found only in a true-born son of this country. The Government of India must be congratulated on having indicated in their note to Local Governments that, in their opinion, the proportion of Indians and Europeans in class 1 should be immediately fixed at half and half. This is a distinct improvement on the proposals of the Commission, though it does not go very far. We do not propose to go into other matters dealt with in the note. The Local Governments are invited to send their views and suggestions by the 30th of the next month, and before the whole cycle of routine references and counter-references, etc., is completed, we shall have most probably more pressing questions demanding our attention than the partial removal of a real grievance in one particular department of the administration." [The *Indian Social Reformer* approves on the whole of the letter of the Government of India.]

A complaint against the police from Bilgi (Bijápur).
Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 23rd Oct., Eng. cols.

26. "We learn from a reliable source that the Police in the town of Bilgi showed some unusual activity on the occasion of a meeting held there a few days ago to form a Petha Congress Committee and to get signatures on the Gandhi Petition to be submitted to the Secretary of State for India.......... A Petha Congress Committee was formed and a respectable citizen of that place accepted its presidentship......... Our correspondent writes that at night of the same day some respectable persons including the President of the Committee were sent for by the Sub-Inspector of Police and questions pertinent and impertinent were put to them and that people came to him and asked him if there was any offence in signing the petition and two or three persons even requested him to omit their names from the Committee.......... We are surprised to see that a responsible officer like the Sub-Inspector of Police should interfere in this manner in the peaceful and constitutional work carried on by the people.......... We frankly tell the Police that this sort of activity is not in keeping with the present policy of the Government of which they are the servants. The days of such petty threats are over and our police friends should learn that the present policy of the Government is not to discourage such lawful movements."

Comments on the Abkari policy of Government.
Dnyán Prakásh (37), 24th Oct.

27. Government make a pretence of consulting the public while settling their Abkari policy but nothing is so much opposed to public opinion as their Abkari policy. The Abkari Committees are a farce. If Government really want to check the vice of drinking, they should establish Committees with a non-official majority everywhere and new shops should not be allowed to be opened without their consent. They should widen the powers of the Committees and revenue officers should not be allowed to override them and the final decision should vest with the Committees as with the Licensing Board of Calcutta. The views of local Governments on the proposals of Sir Herbert Roberts are published and most of the suggestions have been rejected. If the Committees are to remain only advisory, nothing will be gained by any change in their constitution. The Bombay Government is not willing to reduce the official majority on the Committees. There are regulations in most of the Provinces about the opening of new shops but the Abkari officials are not bound to obey them. In some cases in Bombay the Abkari committees have not met for four years. No local Government is willing to hold the decision of the Committees as final. The opinions recorded show how much the local Governments oppose the movement of total abstinence.

The continuance of the Viramgam Customs Line.
Indian Loyalist (23), 25th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 24th Oct.

28. While remarking that those suffering inconvenience from the levy of the customs duty at Viramgam will be disappointed to learn that the levy of that impost will not cease till after about three months more, the *Indian Loyalist* regrets that the delay should be due to the insistence on the part of the maritime states of Káthiáwár to levy, on foreign goods entering their harbours, an import duty of 3½ instead of 7½ per cent. as suggested by the Government of India. It declares that the duty of 7½ per cent. cannot be said to be calculated to injure the commercial interests of these states when the import duty that is being levied on foreign goods in British Indian territories ranges between 7½ and 10 per cent. It observes that allowing these states to impose a lesser duty, though beneficial to themselves, is likely to injure the commercial system of the the whole country. The paper hopes that, regard being had to the fact that the raising of the import duty to 7½ per cent. is a temporary measure necessitated by the war, the Native States will not hesitate to accept the suggestion made by the Indian Government. [The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the interval that has elapsed since the time His Excellency the Viceroy made a declaration with regard to the early abolition of the customs duty at Viramgam, without that abolition having actually taken place as yet, has again created anxiety among the people of Káthiáwár. It hopes that Government will soon take steps to relieve them from that anxiety.]

Comments on the shooting down of a cow by a European at Karáchi.
Hitechhu (66), 14th Oct.

29. The *Hitechhu* publishes a communication from an anonymous correspondent in which the writer, after adversely commenting upon the present system of indiscriminately allowing the members of the ruling community to possess arms and after dwelling upon the irony of fate involved in the fact that the Indian aristocrats and magnates cannot possess arms while their watchmen and chauffeurs belonging to the above class can do so, refers to the recent incident at Karáchi in which one Mr. Buckland shot down a cow that had trespassed into the compound of his bungalow on the 3rd instant. He regrets the slaughter, in this manner, of an animal believed to be very sacred by the Hindus, and dilating on its utility which has led the Hindus to hold it in high reverence, inquires who can tolerate such wanton slaughter of it as the one above referred to. The correspondent then alludes to the meeting that took place in the city to express regret at and to protest against the said act of slaughter and, approving the resolution that was carried at the meeting, requesting Government to deprive Mr. Buckland of his privilege and to disentitle him from possessing arms during his stay in this country, hopes that the just Government will deal with this matter in a way calculated to pacify the feelings of the Hindus which have been wounded by the act in question.

EDUCATION.

The Gujarát Educational Conference at Broach.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 21st Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 23rd and 24th Oct.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 22nd Oct.

30. The *Gujaráti Punch* takes appreciative note of the presidential address delivered by Mr. M. K. Gandhi at the recent sessions of the Gujarat Educational Conference and, while referring to the defects in the present system of education as noted by Mr. Gandhi writes :—Mr. Gandhi has awakened us to the defects in our educational system. Mr. Gandhi is trying to remedy these defects in the seminary he has established near Ahmedabad. We do not think Government will open any schools on Mr. Gandhi's model, nor are they likely to make any alteration in the present mode of imparting education through the medium of English. The difficulties encountered in getting books written by Indians sanctioned for use as text books in schools lead us to fear that Government will not adopt Mr. Gandhi's system of teaching history and other subjects from the Indian point of view. The people must take it into their hands to remove the defects and this can best be done by opening national schools and colleges. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of opinion that the defects pointed out by Mr. Gandhi deserve careful consideration at the hands of all those who are interested in education. It endorses the suggestion made by Mr. Gandhi that a special curriculum should be framed for girls and opines that the Educational Conference would do well to give a practical shape to its deliberations by undertaking to start a certain number of schools every year. The *Sánj Vartamán* endorses Mr. Gandhi's views about making vernaculars the medium of instruction and suggests that the English language should be assigned a subordinate place in the scheme of education as it cannot become the national language of the Indian people.]

Gujaráti (17), 25th Oct., Eng. cols.

31. "Mr. Gandhi is wholly in favour of teaching boys through their vernacular. There cannot be the slightest doubt that a good deal of time and energy is wasted over the study of the English language which might just as well be usefully spent upon the rapid acquisition of sound knowledge through the medium of one's mother-tongue. From the published summary of Mr. Gandhi's address it is not clear how he proposed to get over the tremendous difficulty of supplying students with a wide range of books in vernacular in the various branches of knowledge comprised in the curriculum prescribed by the University for examinations in Arts, Law, Medicine, Science, Engineering and Agriculture, and of securing professors to lecture through the medium of Gujarati, Marathi, Canarese, Sindhi and Urdu. The administrative difficulties which are already great even under the present system of examinations would be enormously greater, even if Mr. Gandhi's proposal were practicable in other respects."

Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 26th Oct.

32. Commenting upon the Press note issued by the Government of Bombay in August last embodying their decision against allowing Urdu to continue to be the medium of instruction for Muhammadan children in primary schools, the *Political Bhomiyo* finds fault with Government for arriving at such a decision, which, it opines, will retard the general progress of Moslem education. It is surprised to note that Government have come to the conclusion that the experiment of teaching Urdu has failed when after the introduction of that new system the number of students attending Urdu schools has, on the whole, increased, when no one has raised any complaint against that system and when it has been actually supported by the Bombay Muhammadan Educational Conference. Does it redound to the credit of Government, inquires the paper, to create disaffection among the whole Moslem community by disregarding the voice of its leaders and the large bulk of its members? It also declares that instruction in Urdu was not properly given with the object that the new Urdu standards may prove unsuccessful and that Government may not be involved in additional expenditure on that score in the future. The paper wishes that Government may appoint a commission thoroughly to probe the matter and ascertain the wishes of the Moslems. It maintains that the question of the teaching of Urdu is essentially one affecting the Moslem community individually and, accordingly, the task of arriving at a conclusion in the matter should not be left in the hands of alien officers. The paper also appeals to the Moslem leaders to approach Government in a deputation to represent their grievances in this connection.

Reflection on students' strikes.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29) 24th Oct., Eng. cols.

33. It is impossible, under the circumstances, to extend any sympathy for the students of the Sind College in their very extraordinary and misguided step; and a little straight talking on the subject would be for their own interest. We do not think the right of appointing their own principal and professors—which is what the Sind College students claim in effect—could for a moment be conceded to students in any well-regulated educational institution.......... Strikes of students threaten a blow at the root of all educational progress and disciple; and strikes, on grounds such as this, would make the work of education simply impossible.......... At the same time, there have been cases in which these outbursts of unrest have not been without justification. Indian students have been, at times, provoked to disaffection, by a policy of undue restrictions, suspicion and unsympathetic treatment generally. These are legitimate, or at least natural, grounds of discontent; and care must be taken to see that these are removed, whenever they exist. Very soon, it appears to us, this question of the right attitude of the educational authorities towards students, and of the students towards them, will become the most important of Indian problems. The awakening and unrest among the Indian students, their desire towards a more complete self-realisation and self-respect, have already become a most significant feature of the national awakening. In this there is immense possibility for both evil and good."

Subodh Patrika (43), 21st Oct.

34. Referring to the students' strike and the consequent closure of schools and colleges at Nagpur, the *Subodh Patrika* writes:—"The parents and guardians of the students contend that the boys should be subject to their control out of school hours inasmuch as they are more solicitous for the welfare of the boys than Government can be. In our opinion the authorities should yield a little in this matter. There would be no breach of discipline if students attend meetings with the consent of their guardians. Why should the educational authorities saddle themselves with a task which the guardians are prepared to undertake themselves?"

Muhammadans should be employed as teachers in primary schools in Sind to a larger extent than at present.

Sind Moslem (11), 6th Oct.

35. In the course of an article in which it dwells on the backwardness of Sind Muhammadans and shows how Hindu Deputy Inspectors and their Assistants try to keep down Muhammadan teachers in the Educational Department in Sind, the *Sind Moslem* writes:—"In all departments the plea advanced against Musalmans is that no qualified Musalmans are available. That plea cannot be put forward in the case of vernacular schools. We can get any number of Musalmans for vernacular schools. Many Musalmans who in spite of their poverty have managed to pass Vernacular Final Examination are rejected. They are obliged to become either cultivators or coolies. They stand as examples of the uselessness of sending children to school, and so the people's ardour for education is considerably damped. The question is that since Musalmans are available why should they not get three-fourths of the posts, Musalmans forming three fourths of the population of Sind. Similarly the proportion of Musalman masters selected for the Training College should

be three-fourths, not one-half as it is now. We appeal with all the earnestness that we can command to the good sense and kind feelings of the Commissioner and Educational Inspector in Sind to help our backward community which is struggling hard against great poverty and other unusual handicaps."

RAILWAYS.

Grievances of third class railway passengers.
O Anglo-Lusitano (44), 20th Oct., Eng. cols.

36. "We are indeed very glad to note that the lot of third class passengers is being discussed in the papers......... Packed up like sardines, these unfortunate beings are subjected to the most fearful torments for the lack of the common amenities of life. What with sleepless days and nights passed in a sitting posture for absolute want of accommodation, the scarcity of requisites for the relief of nature's wants, a most criminal disregard for the most ordinary laws of sanitation on the part of the railway authorities, the terrible sufferings of the dumb millions on whose support many a Company waxes wealthy may be better imagined than described. A hue and cry is rightly raised about cruelty to animals, but what about the exquisite agonies patiently undergone from day to day by several thousands of human beings? The time has come for radical reforms, and, now that the ball has been set a-rolling, we do trust and pray that the eyes of Government will be opened and the most stringent measures will be immediately adopted to alleviate the fearful lot of the third class passenger."

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the Hindu strike at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár).
Young India (14), 24th Oct.

37. "The representation of the leading citizens of Wadhwán to the Political Agent has proved unavailing. That high functionary, to meet whom the chosen representatives of the people of Wadhwán had to run first to Rájkot and thence to Verával, told them, when they met 'His Honor' after great difficulty, that he had no time to receive a deputation on the subject of the deadlock. The people thereafter resorted to the other remedy open to them, *i.e.*, of petitioning 'His Honor'. A private telegram from Verával says that 'His Honor' read the petition hurriedly and laconically informed the petitioners that he would not interfere in the subject-matter of the representation unless the strike of shop-keepeers was closed. As if it was not enough, the Political Agent is said to have very gratuitously expressed his love and admiration for the Administrator's zilla work.......... The reply of the Political Agent might remind people in Bombay of what happened in connection with the postal strike. But then it is nonsense to suppose that citizens are the humble, obedient servants of autocratic officials. At any rate in this case, there was not the least justification for the indifference with which he treated the representation.......... Whether Mr. Kadri had done excellent zilla work for 20 years or not, did not arise from the petition. In the face of the grave and categorical allegations made against the Administrator, we had expected that the Political Agent would lay aside for a moment the austerity of the District Collector, which we believe, he was, not long ago, and consider the matter in the light of an arbitrator between conflicting interests. In view of what has happened, we can only advise the people of Wadhwán to approach His Excellency Lord Willingdon, who is in the last resort responsible for their contentment and good government. We wonder, however, whether Mr. Maconochie is still labouring under the impression that the Administrator is the *Maharaja* and he the *Maharaja's* Private Secretary."

Praja Bandhu (28), 21st Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 26th Oct.; *Political Bhomiyo* (71), 26th Oct.

38. In an article on the general strike at Wadhwán the *Praja Bandhu* refers to the rules recently issued by the Administrator of the State placing certain restrictions upon the playing of music in and near the public streets, and regrets that the Musalman Administrator should have considered it wise to pass such a stringent law in a peaceful State like Wadhwán. The paper observes that the passing of this law should be regarded as regrettable if it has any connection with the remark contained in the last Wadhwán State Administration Report about the unreasonable obstinacy of the Hindu *máhájan* of Wadhwán. The paper expresses the hope that Mr. Kadri, being an experienced official, will withdraw the stringent rules above referred to and will restore tranquility among the Wadhwán people. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* requests the Government of Bombay that, regard being had to the wishes of the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy for the creation of a calm atmosphere in the country in view of the approaching visit of the former, they should promptly take steps calculated to spread quiet in Wadhwán. It declares that the public entertain the apprehension that the present condition of things at that place is due to the sinister machinations of the opponents of Indian progress who cannot brook that cordial relations should spring up between India and the British Government and the British public. The *Political Bhomiyo* remarks that the Wadhwán *máhájan* has organised the present strike without any reasonable cause whatever. It advises the *máhájan* not to accentuate unnecessarily the differences between the rulers and the ruled. From its editor's long experience in the past of similar strikes in Káthiáwár the paper believes that some self-interested intriguers must be at the bottom of the present Wadhwán strike and observes that Government as well as the authorities at Wadhwán should, in the interests of justice, firmly deal with the situation that has arisen there.]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 2nd November 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 44 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 3rd November 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule:

- Alleged attempt by Christian Missionaries to convert a Brahmin family to Christianity by means of starvation 23
- Alleged genesis of the anti-Home Rule para in the Sind Muhammadan Association's address to His Excellency the Viceroy . . 25
- An appeal to non-Brahmins 17
- Comments on the Anglo-Indian agitation in India . . . . . 5 & 6
- Comments on the Government attitude towards the question of the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali 12
- Comments on the Bakr Id riots in Arrah District (United Provinces) . 20
- Comments on the Ram Lila contretemps in Delhi 21
- Comments on the establishment of the Indo-British Association in London under the presidency of Lord Sydenham . . . . 1—4
- Communal representation will go against the progress of Nationalism in the country 15
- Hindu-Muhammadan relations 18
- Muhammadans should assist the Hindu backward classes in securing independent electorates 16
- Native States and the government of British India . . . . 13 & 14
- Plea for State fostering and regulation of the indigenous systems of medicines 24
- Reflections suggested by the Bakr Id riots in Bihár 19
- Rumours that Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas is going to be prosecuted for sedition 22
- Suggested change in Mr. Montagu's Indian programme . . . 10 & 11
- The debate in the House of Lords on the political situation in India . 7—9

Excise: The delay in the abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgaum . 32

Muharram:

- Hindu-Muhammadan *entente* at Poona during the — 36
- Muharram in Bombay 37

Public service: Government should not deprive shet sanadis of their lands 35

Public Service Commission: Comments on the Government of India's letter to the Provincial Governments regarding recommendation of the — in the matter of the Educational Service . . . . 33 & 34

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Viceroy:

His Excellency the Viceroy's Durbar at Quetta 26
Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Sind Muhammadan Association 27
Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in answer to the Karáchi (Sind) Municipality 28

War:

Comments on the Premier's reference to the War services of India in his speech in moving the vote of thanks to the Army, etc. . . 29
Comments on the retreat of the Italian Army 30
Officials do not allow actual facts about the — to be published in Indian newspapers 31

LEGISLATION—

Rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill 38

EDUCATION—

Comments on the closing of several colleges and schools in the Central Provinces . . . . 39 & 40
Government should arrive at a compromise with the guardians of students in connection with their attendance at public meetings 42
Strikes are being forced on students 41
The problem of Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency . . . . 43 & 44

MUNICIPALITIES—

Lárkána:

Alleged shortcomings of the — Municipality, Sind 46
Justification of the imposition of house-tax at — (Sind) 45

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the general strike of Hindu merchants at Wadhwán (Káthiáwar) . . . . 47—49

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the establishment of the Indo-British Association in London under the presidency of Lord Sydenham.

Gujaráti (17), 4th Nov., Eng. cols.

*1. "Those who wish to shut their eyes to the ulterior effects of the Anglo-Indian agitation in India and England, the debate in the two houses of Parliament and the activity of the Indo-British Association that was started on 30th October in London under the presidency of Lord Sydenham are, of course, at liberty to do so. They are, in our opinion, putting the country on a wrong track. Only a week ago we observed that the affairs of the world are not a little influenced by passion and prejudice and even misrepresentations and falsehoods that are allowed to go unchallenged, and although we hold that the Anglo-Indian agitation is hollow and unsubstantial, we are not prepared to say that those who have engineered that agitation have not succeeded in the object they had, *viz.*, to rouse the Tory reactionaries into activity, to weaken Mr. Montagu's credit and prestige and even to frighten him so as to put serious obstacles in the path of Indian reform. .... Facts are more stern and inexorable than mere enthusiasm or prejudice, and it is impossible to ignore the far-reaching consequences of the anti-reform agitation that has been started in England and India. It is a pity that there is no effective machinery of our own in or outside Parliament to counteract the harm that has been done by the opponents of Indian reform. Lord Sydenham has now assumed the role of an uncompromising enemy of educated Indians. In the course of his speech in the House of Lords, reviewing the Besant case, he gave expression to the hope that 'the reforms would not take the form of concessions to a *noisy party aiming at establishing an oligarchy in India which would take the utmost advantage of Britain's present difficulties*'. It is impossible to conceive a more audacious falsehood and libel than are involved in this statement, and it is deplorable that there was not one *ex*-Governor or *ex*-Viceroy in the Upper house to expose effectively the atrocious character of this wicked and cowardly attack. It is gratifying to note that Lord Curzon protested against the attacks made against Mr. Montagu and maintained that he was quite justified in going to India when the Viceroy and the whole of his colleagues had invited the Secretary of State to visit India."

Message (6), 3rd Nov.; **Indian Social Reformer* (3), 4th Nov.

2. "The Anglo-Indian reactionaries in London have not yet spent themselves. We have heard of one more faint echo, whose magnitude Reuter has benevolently tried to magnify—the echo of retired bureaucratic fossils meeting at Cannon Street Hotel. Lord Sydenham was, of course, in the chair—and none else could be. His Lordship having hopelessly broken down as an unattached member of the late Government in England, is trying hard to keep his head above the waves; but it seems to us that this fight against the elements is merely one of seconds, and his Lordship must needs be compelled to give in. For the present, however, he is bleating for succour that does not come. After the crushing manner in which he was snubbed by a pronounced reactionary of his own sect, we mean Lord Curzon, it is remarkable that he has had the effrontery to revive his old cry that the release of Mrs. Besant was one of the greatest mistakes ever made in India. Assuming that it was, we think the British Government is making the greatest mistake in letting alone political lunatics of Lord Sydenham's type to do mischief as they like." [Commenting on the creation of the Indo-British Association, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The creation of this organisation in England places Indians, who have not completely identified themselves with political parties in this country, in a false and difficult position. Mrs. Besant's release was beginning to make the situation easier for such people, but this Sydenham-Hewett combination imposes on them an obligation not within their views."]

Indu Prakásh (40), 29th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 2nd Nov.

3. Since the release of Mrs. Besant the activities of Lord Sydenham have become varied and numerous. We had a taste of his Lordship's sympathy for us when he was in India. The release of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers and the prospect of reforms in India have made him most uneasy. He warned his hearers in the House of Lords not to yield to the clamour of a handful of men who would not fail to take advantage of Britain's difficulties. This is a gross perversion of facts. Lord Sydenham knows full well that not India but other units of the Empire took advantage of Britain's difficulties. But his vision is jaundiced and he trotted out the worn-out argument that a mere handful of men wanted to monopolise power in India and that they alone were clamouring for it. Such arguments have been successfully met so many times that it is not necessary to flog a dead horse now. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Lord Sydenham warned his hearers to avoid creating the impression that Government carried out the reforms in deference to the agitation of a few self-seeking persons. This warning is always uttered whenever there is a demand for reforms. On the other hand, if there is no agitation reforms are opposed on the ground that there is no demand for them.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 3rd Nov.; *Hindusthán* (21), 2nd Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 3rd Nov.

4. Commenting upon the proceedings of a meeting of Anglo-Indians recently held in London and the formation of an Indo-British Association with the object of protecting British and Indian interests in India, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that, whatever be his professions the actions and movements of Lord Sydenham, who presided at the abovesaid meeting, reveal what sort of real sympathy he cherishes for India and the Indians. It observes that in describing the present situation in India as serious His Lordship has exaggerated matters only to strengthen the crusade which the Anglo-Indians have started against the Indian political reform movement. If the object of the new Association is to 'protect loyal Indians', the paper inquires, how is it that its promoters have suddenly waked up now after His Majesty's Government has actually declared the policy of granting *swarájya* to India? It maintains that the arguments advanced in meetings recently held by European Associations in India as well as the pleas urged by Lord Sydenham himself are not in keeping with the alleged aims and objects of the Indo-British Association and consequently that Association will never win the confidence of the Indian public. [The *Hindusthán* cannot understand on what authority the Anglo-Indians in London have come forward to protect the rights of the Indians when no Indians, individually or collectively, have sought for any such help in that direction. It maintains that it is necessary for India to protest against this impertinence on their part by holding meetings in repudiation of this sort of intervention by the Anglo-Indians. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* ridicules the aims and objects of the new Indo-British Association and describes the meeting which brought it into being as a collection of fossilised Anglo-Indians who have failed to produce any effect upon the minds of the British public in spite of their crying themselves hoarse.]

Comments on the Anglo-Indian agitation in India.

Indu Prakásh (40), 29th Oct.

5. Europeans in India must be keenly feeling their prospective loss of power. That, however, is inevitable. England has repeatedly declared that India was held as a sacred trust by her which she was going to return to its owners when the proper time arrived. The time for redeeming this promise is now at hand if the utterances of responsible statesmen and the charters of sovereigns have any value. People will certainly lose all confidence in British justice if the present opportunity is not taken to fulfil the pledges. All parties including the extremists are agreed that India must remain an integral part of the British Empire and no one dreams of subverting the present rule. Anglo-Indians need not entertain any fears about their future. There is one more consideration which ought to weigh with these people. At present as all power is centred in their hands, every conceivable calamity such as plague, famine, etc., is laid at their door. If they were to share their responsibilities with Indians a considerable part of the public criticism for such misfortunes will necessarily be diverted to the latter.

Kesari (106), 30th Oct.

6. The *Kesari* says that the Anglo-Indians are burning with anger all the more just as the day of Mr. Montagu's visit to India is approaching nearer. It further adds:—The sum and substance of the Anglo-Indian agitation is that Indians should not be granted *swarájya* and that if it is at all given Anglo-Indians should be given special representation in the local bodies as well as in the Legislative Council. The handful of Anglo-Indians are already over-represented and their lamentations are without cause and selfish. The tactics of these actors who have set up a false cry are known to the British ministry and it is to be noted that Lord Sydenham had to withdraw his motion in the House of Lords.

The debate in the House of Lords on the political situation in India.
Message (6), 30th Oct.

7. Commenting on the debate in the House of Lords on the political situation in India, the *Message* remarks:—"After the fairly complete statement made by Mr. Montagu, in the House of Commons only the other week, Lord Sydenham would have been better advised if he had imposed on himself a kind of self-denying ordinance. But then, as sure as anything, it would have deprived him and the narrow brotherhood to which he belongs, of the mischievous pleasure of hauling the Radical Secretary of State over the coals. That that was their objective, it does not require great foresight to understand. They want to create as many difficulties in the way of Mr. Montagu as possible and show to him before he leaves the English shores the magnitude of the opposition which they are ready to engineer the moment he and the Cabinet to which he belongs intend doing justice to the Indian people. That this is their whole game, there can be hardly any doubt. The game might have succeeded at one time; but now it is all up and we are bound to see better progress made in the direction of Indians obtaining a tolerably full amount of justice at the hands of the British democracy.......... The hasty withdrawal of the motion leads us to think that the forces of reaction were taken aback by the dramatic disclosure of the tragic fact of Lord Chelmsford's courageous admission that the responsibility for releasing Mrs. Besant and her colleagues was his and his Government's. .... We hope that after their disgraceful failure, the Sydenhamites will learn to keep their peace at least for a decent period of time to come."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 31st Oct., Eng. cols.

8. "Lord Sydenham's notice of motion produced one good. It led to the Viceroy unequivocally declaring that, in the matter of Mrs. Besant, he acted 'on his own responsibility'. Even after Mr. Montagu's reply, the opponents of Indian progress pretended to believe that Mr. Montagu was at the bottom of it. After the Viceroy's message, it would be impossible to further persist in laying the blame on Mr. Montagu's devoted head. There remains nothing now except to hope that this mischievous agitation against the Secretary of State will be dropped. 'The task before those in India was difficult and intricate in the extreme, and success would largely depend on the effort of British and Indian people working in harmony. Our task at home was to do nothing to disturb that harmony.' Lord Sydenham and his friends have long been engaged in doing this work of disturbing the harmony. We hope their recent experiences in Parliament would teach them to give it up as profitless and mischievous."

Hindusthán (21), 29th Oct.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 29th Oct.

9. The *Hindusthán*, while commenting upon the debate in the House of Lords on the question of Mrs. Besant's release, remarks that the termination of the debate showed that Lord Sydenham and his Anglo-Indian friends in India had to suffer the humiliation of a discomfiture in their attempts to thwart Mr. Montagu and to throw impediments in the way of India's political progress. It expresses satisfaction at the explanation given by Lord Islington to the effect that Lord Chelmsford had taken upon himself the responsibility of releasing Mrs. Besant and hopes

that the Anglo-Indians will now give up their antagonism to Indian aspirations and join hands with them in suggesting constructive schemes for their mutual welfare and advancement. [The *Sánj Vartamán* asks the Anglo-Indians to take their defeat in good part and put an end to their agitation. It asks Lord Chelmsford to give the Anglo-Indians a warning to stop their harmful activities. It also asks the Anglo-Indians to work in co-operation with the Indians for India's uplift.]

Suggested change in Mr. Montagu's Indian programme.

Young India (14), 31st Oct.

10. "We hope it is a mere accident that those who were responsible for drawing up the programme of Mr. Montagu's Indian tour have so arranged that while the leaders from all parts of India will be meeting in Conference at Calcutta, Mr. Montagu will be visiting Bombay. It is needless to say that during the Christmas week the city will be bereft of all its leaders as also of the more important sections of the community. Even the European community will be mostly away from the city to spend the holidays abroad. It is, therefore, difficult to understand what those who are responsible for this grand arrangement intend Mr. Montagu should do in a forlorn city like Bombay. If his object is to acquaint himself at first hand with the views and opinions of the Indian leaders, we cannot think of a better and more suitable opportunity than the meeting of the Congress and the Moslem League. The elite of Indian thought will all be assembled in Calcutta and Mr. Montagu will surely find Calcutta more attractive to him than the deserted city of Bombay. .... He is coming here with a pre-conceived purpose and when that purpose can be better satisfied by his going to Calcutta, may we enquire to whose admirable judgment and wisdom we owe the present plan of placing him under a veritable political 'quarantine' during that busy week? We are glad that the Home Rule League has protested against this plan, and trust that it will lead to a suitable modification in the tour programme."

Gujaráti (17), 28th Oct.

11. Unfortunately Mr. Montagu's programme has been so arranged that the popular leaders of the Bombay Presidency will not be able to take any part in the deliberations of the Congress and the Moslem League if they want to have an interview with Mr. Montagu in Bombay. They will thus be debarred from knowing the views of those bodies and will forfeit their right to nominate their representatives on the deputations that will wait upon Mr. Montagu. Under the circumstances, it will be very desirable on the part of Mr. Montagu to visit Calcutta first and be present at the sessions of the Congress and the Moslem League and then come over to Bombay. We hope, therefore, the Government of India will be pleased to change Mr. Montagu's programme.

Comments on the Government attitude towards the question of the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

New Times (7), 27th Oct.

12. Commenting upon the Honourable Mr. Syed Reza Ali's letter to the *Pioneer* on the subject of the internment of Messrs. Mahomed Ali, and Shaukat Ali, the *New Times* remarks:—"The conduct of the Government has given a rude shock to the people. The promise—or what almost amounted to a promise—of release has been suddenly changed into a strange 'charge'!...... The Moslem brothers have not the powerful friends Mrs. Besant has; but surely we had believed that British justice was no respector of persons. Sympathy with the Muslims of Turkey has naturally been felt by their co-religionists all over the world; the Muslims regard themselves as members of one World-Brotherhood in Islam; but *religious sympathy* does not mean *political co-operation* with Turkey; and to intern men on account of their religious sympathy with members of an 'enemy' nation would be to exhibit a political rage unworthy of the traditions and ideals of the English nation....... The only honest course open to the Government is either to prove the serious charges it has made or to make good its earlier promise to release them. The people refuse to believe that the two Muslim leaders expressed and promoted political sympathy with the king's enemies; they regard the conduct of the Government as unfair, therefore it is that Mr. Mahomed Ali is elected as President of the next Moslem League session; therefore it is that the Congress-League elected him as one of the persons who are to present to Mr. Montagu an Address on behalf of the people; therefore it is that the people have from the platform and through the Press demanded, again and again, the release of these Muslim leaders."

Native States and the government of British India.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 27th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 30th Oct.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 28th Oct.

13. The *Sánj Vartamán* falls foul of the suggestion made by the Dewan of the Mysore State in his speech before the Representative Assembly of the State, to the effect that the Native States should be given the right of sending representatives to the Imperial Legislative Council, on the ground that such representatives will side with the officials and oppose the popular members of the Council. It refers to the backwardness of many of the Native States and suggests that they might be given a separate deliberative Council which might be authorised to send its recommendations to the Imperial Council for consideration. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of opinion that this controversial question should be discussed at a Conference of representatives of British Indian subjects, Anglo-Indians and subjects of Native States so that there might be some unanimity of opinion in the matter of the position of Native States in the Indian policy. The *Shri Venkateshwar* is of opinion that the Native States must be prepared to give a voice to their subjects in the administration of their States before they can claim any representation in the Imperial Legislative Council.]

Kesari (106), 30th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 30th Oct.

14. Commenting upon Sir M. Visvesvarayya's speech advocating the claim of the Native States to have their representatives in the Legislative Councils with voting power only when questions pertaining to the Native States are raised, the *Kesari* observes:—So long as the British officials had a clear majority in the Legislative Councils the Chiefs did not care. Why should they then be afraid if Indians had the majority? It is not very desirable that Sir M. Visvesvarayya should prefer his claim and have a share as soon there was a possibility of getting a few rights of *swarájya*. Until it is proved that the future scheme of *swarájya* would be more harmful to the subjects of the Native States than the present autocratic Government, it is not reasonable to press for the admission of representatives of the Native States into the Council. It would be an absurdity to have a representative from every Native State just as from every caste! It is regrettable that such a clever Dewan as Sir M. Visvesvarayya should not realise the impracticable nature of his suggestion. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—There should be a federation of British Provinces first and then there should be a further federation of the Native States and British Provinces. This second federation should have the power to levy customs duty and arrange for the defence of the country. At present the Native States do not contribute much for the defence of the country and they have no voice in the levy of customs duty. Both these things are not reasonable. But this arrangement would protect the interests of Native States; what of the subjects of Native States? If the British Government were not here, a rebellion would have corrected matters in a Native State when there was too much of tyranny. But now under the British Sovereignty the subjects of the Native States have to suffer many a time anything and everything. We suggest, therefore, that only such Native States as have introduced democratic Government in their territories should be admitted into the federation.]

Communal representation will go against the progress of Nationalism in the country.

Message (6), 3rd Nov.

15. "Just as we have been approaching the gates of national unity, after long drawn-out battles and fierce struggles, the ranks of Indian Nationalism seem to be threatened by an internal and external reaction. Thus the Pseudo-non-Brahmin Movement which, truth to say, has been deliberately encouraged for ulterior reasons by some persons in high position, is not merely the result of a disintegrating tendency, which has been for two centuries the bane of Indian society and political life, but is undoubtedly the work of some selfish people, whose love of India and Indians is all sham and hypocrisy. It is a pity that Indians, who are supposed to be educated and at one time

stood in the forefront of the national struggle should have succumbed to the temptations to which weak humanity is liable and taken up an ill-advised attitude towards the National goal.......... We are on principle opposed to the perpetuation of the fissiparous and disintegrating tendencies in the community which the so-called communal representation and separate electorates will tend merely to exaggerate and prolong."

Muhammadans should assist the Hindu backward classes in securing independent electorates.
Jágaruk (102), 26th Oct.

16. We do not understand how our self-appointed Brahmin leaders could arrogate to themselves the right of allotting one-third of the seats on the Legislative Councils to Muhammadans in the proposed scheme of reforms. What right had these men to enter into this agreement with the Muhammadans without consulting the leaders of the backward classes who form an enormous majority of the population? We do not of course grudge the Muhammadans a few more seats. But if they wish that the agreement entered into with them by the Brahmin leaders should be binding on all Hindus they should endeavour to secure independent electorates for the backward and the untouchable classes. Otherwise the arrangement arrived at by unauthorised persons is likely to fall through. Unfortunately, however, the leaders of the Muhammadans are apathetic in this respect. They are at present trying to bring about the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali by the same methods as those adopted by the Home Rulers for the release of Mrs. Besant.

An appeal to non-Brahmins.
Sandesh (116), 28th Oct.

17. The terms Brahmins and non-Brahmins are very much in evidence of late. When the *Swarájya* movement gained considerable strength, people who thought that their own interests were jeopardized, first gave undue prominence to the differences between the two classes. Those who argue that the interests of the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins differ from each other have no true conception of *Swarájya*. The demand for separate electorates by the different communities is evidently a sign of their awakening. Anyone, however, who has the welfare of his country at heart, will be grieved to find that the whole attitude of these people is characterised by bitter hostility towards the Brahmins. The assertion that the Brahmins are bent upon the destruction of all other communities is most ungenerous, short-sighted and suicidal. We, therefore, earnestly appeal to our non-Brahmin brethren not to create needless difficulties in the path of our leaders when their labours are about to be fructified. We likewise appeal to all to support whole-heartedly the petition to be presented to Mr. Montagu and to remember that we are all sons of mother Ind and are, therefore, interdependent. Will you not all unfurl the banner of unity and place your demands before Mr. Montagu with one voice?

Hindu-Muhammadan relations.
Kesari (106), 30th Oct.

18. Referring to the Dussera and Muharram celebrations the *Kesari* says that the festivals were celebrated without any hitch whatsoever in places where the whole thing was left to the good sense of the two communities and where the officials did not interfere. [It then proceeds to give an account of the strike of Hindu shopkeepers at Delhi on account of the prohibition of Ramlila procession. It then remarks:—] What did the haughty officials of Delhi gain thereby? We are always reminded of Mr. Montagu's remarks "Oh India! If the word Prestige were not in the English Dictionary, how happy would you have been" when we witness the acts of officials who rely upon their bludgeons.

Reflections suggested by the Bakr Id riots in Bihár.
Islámic Mail (141), 29th Oct., Urdu edition.

19. The *Islámic Mail* publishes an account of the riots which took place in some districts of Bihár and remarks that these were perpetrated with a view to prevent the Musalmans from fulfilling their religious obligations. It inquires if any further proof of the deceitfulness and selfishness of the Hindus is necessary, and also asks how the Moslems would fare when the former are masters of the situation. It opines that the reason why the Hindus are anxious to become friends with the Musalmans is that they cannot attain their object, *viz.*, Home Rule, without the assistance of the

latter. It admits that the country's progress and contentment depend on union between the two communities, but doubts the usefulness of an imaginary friendship when racial antipathy and religious prejudice are still rampant. It refers to the advice of Maulana Abdul Bari to the effect that the Musalmans should keep aloof from the agitation for Home Rule, and should formulate proposals for the benefit of their own community if they are at all desirous of preserving their religious and communal existence. It concludes by suggesting that the rulers or the Christians, the Muhammadans in whom the right to rule inheres, and the natives of the soil or the Hindus should each be entitled to a third of all appointments and seats on representative bodies, or at least the same proportion of Government appointments be placed at the Musalmans' disposal as the Hindus have agreed to allow to their representatives in the Legislative Councils and that in those provinces where the Muhammadans preponderate their share should be proportionately increased. The paper invites the leaders of the Muhammadans to ponder over these proposals before they submit any scheme to the Honourable Mr. Montagu.

Comments on the Bakr Id riots in Arrah District (Behár).
Mahrátta (5), 4th Nov.

*20. " One account of how Arrah became a scene of disturbances lays the blame of the sad happenings on the shoulders of an overzealous official. We are told that at Shahabad a compromise was arrived at between the Hindus and Muhammadans, according to which there was to be no cow-sacrifice, the Hindus undertaking, among other things, to provide a certain number of goats instead. The official seems to have disliked this settlement. He got a cow sacrificed in his presence, some Muhammadans, of course, being of the official's view and not having adequate respect for the settlement arrived at by the sober majority of their community. This account may be somewhat exaggerated. But seeing how officials in other places and on other occasions have thought fit to treat contemptuously compromises arrived at between the Hindus and Muhammadans, we might well believe that the account before us is substantially true.......... After the actual mishappenings those whose interest it is to make capital out of such incidents in order to obstruct the progress of the country have been very busy. Reports of all sorts of unconscionable misdeeds on the part of Hindu rioters have been spread broadcast. It has been said that that the Hindus have been guilty of outrages on women and children. Such reports have done some mischief. But we are sure that such mischief will not be long lasting. Responsible Muhammadan gentlemen have gone to the disturbed area and after personal enquiries are assuring their excited brothers that ' not a single case of such outrage has occurred.'......... The Behar disturbances seem to be the result, in a way, of the highhandedness of tactless officials. *The leaders of the people count for nothing in the eye of self-sufficient officers, armed with powers under this, that, or the other Code.* This attitude of the officials is most reprehensible. It is this attitude which not infrequently creates muddles where there need be none. We do hope that the Behar Government in dealing with the situation created by the Bakr Id disturbances will constantly consult the honoured leaders of the province and not foist on the disturbed area any measure that in the opinion of such leaders is likely to widen instead of covering up the breach which has unfortunately occured in the relations between the two premier communities."

Comments on the Ram Lila contretemps in Delhi.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 30th Oct., Eng. cols.

21. "It is a matter of common knowledge that the Deputy Commissioner and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi are bureaucrats and reactionaries of the most pronounced type. So long as they had a free hand, they suppressed all demonstrations of even a constitutional character with the utmost vigour.......... The announcement of the Secretary of State for India made on the 20th August last, followed by the speeches of His Excellency the Viceroy, the gentle rebuke administered to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the rescission by certain Provincial Governments of certain orders they had passed, had naturally a restraining influence on the Delhi Administration, and latterly public meetings have been held there without hindrance. The Dusserah, Ram Lila and the Mohurram appear to have afforded an opportunity to the

Delhi authorities to reassert themselves......... Of course the authorities will seek to justify their action on the ground that it was necessary for the preservation of the public peace, but what explanation will be forthcoming in regard to the notice that was served on a number of prominent Hindu and Muhammadan citizens of Delhi to appear before the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi, who informed them that in future a license should be obtained under the Police Act for holding public meetings? No public meeting to which any exception can be taken has been held in Delhi, and this order is an outrage which should be resented by every constitutional means."

Rumours that Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas is going to be prosecuted for sedition.
Mahratta (5), 4th Nov.

***22.** "We do not know what credence to give to the Bombay rumours that Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas is going to be prosecuted for sedition under 124 A. Mr. Jamnadas combines political zeal with industrial ability, and a man of wealth and influence, and a devoted Home Ruler, his position in this Presidency is distinctly an eyesore to certain people in official and unofficial ranks. But it is hard to believe that in the circumstances as they stand at present, such a leader as Mr. Jamnadas will be hauled up before the Court under 124 A. The Bureaucracy are not noted for their sobriety and far-sightedness of the right kind, and it may just be that they are going to make another wrong move. We can only hope that the rumours will turn out false."

Alleged attempt by Christian missionaries to convert a Brahmin family to Christianity by means of starvation.
Message (6), 3rd Nov.

23. "Some of the Muhammadans in centuries long past by tried to convert people to their religion by the sword. Some Modern Christian misssionaries, being of course more 'civilised', have improved upon the method and are apparently using starvation instead of the sword to achieve their end. The *Sandesh* publishes a heart-rending tale of a Brahmin family, which seems to have been peremptorily asked to embrace Chiristianity, on pain of certain economic death. The family, we are told, lived in a Missionary Boarding School where the head of the family served as a teacher on a very meagre pay. He was being paid regularly for his work for some months, but recently his due pay was not for certain unknown reasons given to him......... In such a situation the teacher was asked to renounce his religion before a certain day, on pain of certain unpleasant things happening to him and his family. To make the situation worse, the family had no easy access to friends or even men of their community, egress and ingress to the building being controlled by the authorities of the mission. Somehow or other the teacher, however, found a way to get out and report the matter to Mr. G. B. Vaidya of the Hindu Missionary Society, who took up the matter in his hand, gave support to the family and averted the attempted conversion by starvation."

Plea for State fostering and regulation of the indigenous systems of medicine.
Islâmic Mail (4), 21st Oct., Eng. edition.

24. Commenting upon the discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council on the Honourable Mr. Patel's Bill to amend the Bombay Medical Practitioners' Act, the *Islâmic Mail* remarks:—It is quite natural that Indian politicians and Home Rulers should want to promote their home system of medicine in preference to the foreign systems. To say that the Indian system is nonsense is to betray gross ignorance and lack of judgment. It has been perfected by the practice of centuries, popular with the people and suited to Indian conditions. It is wrong to suppose that it is still empirical. Those who see the bacteriological laboratory attached to the Tibbia College at Delhi or the surgical theatre and anatomical class in Hakim Shifa-il-Mulk's Takmilu Tibbi Institution at Lucknow will be surprised at the radical improvement in the Unani system. There are many such colleges in India, Unani as well as Ayurvedic. The medicines, too, are undergoing a reformed process of dispensing, and certain Hakims get all their medicines prepared on modern lines in Europe and America. Many extracts and tabloids have also been prepared. Even many doctors trained in the Western system prefer to use Indian medicines. The Indians are yet averse to the Western system, and it will take a long time before it can make headway among the masses. It is, therefore, highly impolitic and unwise to throw overboard the Indian system altogether. It is necessary to check the growth of quacks among the Hakims no less than among the doctors. His Excellency the Governor's proposal strikes us as the best solution of the problem. There ought to be two Councils, one for the doctors and the other for Vaids and Hakims. The latter should register all certificated Vaids and Hakims who have passed some recognised institutions. Some provision should also be made in the rules for those distinguished physicians who have not attended any school, but received instruction from their fathers or other relations. We hope Government will take some action to solve the problem before a fresh attempt is made to bring the matter before the legislature.

Alleged genesis of the anti-Home Rule para in the Sind Muhammadan Association's address to His Excellency the Viceroy.

New Times (7), 30th Oct.

25. "A Musalman" writes as follows to the *New Times* on the subject of the address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Sind Muhammadan Association:—"I wonder if the Viceroy is aware of the history of the division among the Muhammadans of Sind on the question of the inclusion of the para against Home Rule. I wonder if he knows that the Commissioner in Sind, Mr. Lawrence, gave two long extensions to the anti-Home Rule section for the submission of their para against Home Rule, or that both the Karáchi and Hyderabad branches of the Association voted against the insertion of the para against Home Rule and stuck to that opinion to the end, or that officials who are members of the Association took a very active part in the prolonged struggles to insert an anti-Home Rule para in the Address, or that the Vazir of Khairpur (an Indian State in Sind), who is a Deputy Collector in Sind, has not only taken an active part in the prolonged struggles on the side of the anti-Home Rulers but was appointed President of the Sind Muhammadan Association at the meeting where the anti-Home Rule para of the address was passed, that the meeting was held in the Khairpur State Bungalow, that most of the members of the Association attending the meeting were invited by him to be his guests, or that several other officials are not only members but have been elected members of the Managing Committtee of the Association, which, on the occasion of the last meeting of the Bombay Council, was admitted by Government to be a political body, or that the Secretary of the Association had before 1st September 1917 forwarded to the Commissioner the Address as originally drafted and containing no clause against Home Rule, but subsequently the Commissioner in Sind accepted the famous 'para' against Home Rule (to be substituted for the para in the original Address dealing with the question of Reforms) even before this famous para had been sanctioned by the general meeting of the Association, or that suddenly and very curiously the number of the members of the Association rose from about 30 to about 280 within the week preceding the special meeting of the Association, which was held not in Karáchi, the place of the Head Office, as usual but in Sukkur against the wishes of the Head Office at Karáchi and the Hyderabad branch, or that a public meeting of the Muhammadans of Hyderabad held on the day previous to the date of the Sukkur meeting condemned the impending Sukkur meeting as illegal and against rules and dissociated itself from the proceedings of the meeting, or that many leading and other Muhammadans of Karáchi and Hyderabad abstained from attending the Sukkur meeting .... or that several Muhammadan leaders of Karáchi and Hyderabad have refrained from joining in the Address which must have been presented to-day to the Viceroy on behalf of the Sind Muhammadan Association."

His Excellency the Viceroy's Durbar at Quetta.

Indu Prakásh (40), 27th Oct.

26. His Excellency Lord Chelmsford held a Durbar at Quetta and impressed upon the tribesmen the necessity of maintaining peace and warned them that failure to do so would involve intervention on the part of Government. It is absolutely necessary that quiet should prevail at the present time in countries bordering on India and Government is showing its foresight in taking up the matter for the safety of India. Perhaps the

purpose of the Durbar at Quetta was to ensure the tranquillity of the tribal territory which is the most vulnerable point in our boundary line.

27. Referring to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's reply to the address recently presented to him by the Sind Muhammadan Association, the *Bambay Samáchár* observes that the reply proves him to be a true friend and well-wisher of the entire Moslem community. It remarks that it will be to the interests of the community to follow His Excellency's advice as to the way in which they should prepare their case for presentation to the Secretary of State for India during his forthcoming visit to this country. The paper lays special stress upon that portion of His Excellency's reply wherein he declared that the object underlying Mr. Montagu's visit was the desire to hear, in conjunction with the Viceroy, 'all opinions honestly held on the subject of Indian political reform,' and it exhorts the Muhammadans to express their opinion fearlessly and honestly without becoming a tool in the hands of others. It draws their attention to the unique circumstances that have arisen and reminds them that such opportunities do not recur often.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Sind Muhammadan Association.
Bombay Samáchár (60), 2nd Nov.

28. "It is really difficult to refrain from commenting on the somewhat platitudinous utterance of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford in reply to the address of the Karáchi municipality. In the light of the notoriously undeserved treatment of local self-government by the Sind executive, we cannot understand how any personage of high authority could calmly advise his auditors, 'Circumspice, prospice,' meaning 'look ahead but at the same time look around you'. Before tendering this advice to the Karáchi municipality had His Excellency kindly taken the pains to enquire into the progress of Municipal Government under the benevolent despotism of a practically uncontrolled executive, we feel quite sure His Excellency would have realised the irony that rendered that advice inappropriate to be repeated at the capital of Sind. If in enumerating the two duties of a municipality, His Excellency had kindly reminded the executive of their one duty, *i.e.* of abstaining from too much and too frequent interference, the public not only in Sind but throughout India would have been really grateful to him."

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Karáchi (Sind) municipality.
Message (6), 3rd Nov.

29. Quoting the words uttered by Mr. Lloyd George in connection with India, while moving the resolution in Parliament for thanking the Navy, Army, etc., for their work in the present war, to the effect that the memory of the powerful aid which India readily accorded in the hour of trouble would not be forgotten when the affairs of India came up for examination and action after the close of the war, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—These words of Mr. Lloyd George will not fail to fill the heart of every Indian with joy. When the Anglo-Indian merchants and Eurasians of India try to belittle the services rendered by India during the war, it is gratifying to note that no less responsible a British statesman than Mr. Lloyd George has not only duly appreciated those services but has given definite hopes of political privileges to India. Indians build upon such hopes and the assurance given by the Premier shows that that these hopes are not ill-founded. [The *Jam-e-Jámshed* observes that the words of Mr. Lloyd George are worth being studied by the Anglo-Indian community. It maintains that these sentiments of the Prime Minister will spread joy among the Indians. What more does India want, inquires the paper, than the resolve which responsible British Ministers have made of rendering justice to India in appreciation of her services during the war? It hopes that after the words of the Premier above referred to the selfish cry of the Anglo-Indians against Indian aspirations will cease. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regards the words of Mr. Lloyd George about India as a precious asset for this country. In them it finds a final and effective rejoinder to what

Comments on the Premier's reference to the War services of India in his speech in moving the vote of thanks to the Army, etc.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 31st Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 1st Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 1st Nov.

it calls the hubbub raised in Parliament a few days ago by Anglo-Indian pigmies in connection with Indian affairs.]

Comments on the retreat of the Italian army.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 31st Oct. and 3rd Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 29th, 30th and 31st Oct.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 30th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (21), 30th Oct.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (57), 3rd Nov.

30. Commenting upon the present situation of Italy in the war, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that, though the enemy has placed that country in a difficult position by his recent onrush upon her and though the Italian Cabinet has had to resign, he has not succeeded in his aim of dealing such an effective blow upon the Italian army as would render it unable to defend its own country. It does not consider it likely that the enemy will succeed in accomplishing his object of severing Italy from the Allies and compelling her to conclude a separate peace, inasmuch as the Italian army, though it had to withdraw before the enemy's attack, has not been put out of action. The paper does not believe that the present manœuvre of Germany will prove to be of any greater use than helping him to revive the drooping spirits of Austria and the *morale* of the German people. [In the subsequent issue the paper commends the resolution arrived at by the Allies to send reinforcements to the help of Italy and hopes that this resolve on their part will encourage her to fight the enemy with greater firmness. It does not believe that Germany will succeed, before America more effectively intervenes in the war, in disabling Italy on the present occasion as she succeeded in the case of Belgium, Montenegro, Servia and Roumania for want of timely help to them from the Allies. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, considers the Italian situation to be disappointing. It refers to the doubts entertained by many about the military prowess of Italy before she actually entered into the war and declares that it is on the strength of such opinion about Italy that the enemy has made his present attack upon her. The paper wishes that instead of being dispirited the Italians may yet make a better stand against the enemy. In its next issue the paper regrets that Russia and Italy have failed even to keep the enemy engaged on their respective fronts at present when the allied British and French Armies are in a condition to deal an effective and crushing blow upon the enemy on the Western front. While sharing in the hope entertained by the Italian newspapers about their army being able to stem the onrush of the enemy in their own country, the paper does not regard such an assurance to be of any value. In its next issue the paper fails to understand why Italy fared in the way she did on the present occasion in spite of her possessing an overwhelmingly large army. It is inclined to attribute the result to treachery in the Italian camp or to the unpreparedness of the Italian army inspite of its consciousness of the danger it had to encounter. The *Sánj Vartamán* observes:—For Italy the situation has become grave indeed. We trust that the Allies will give timely help to Italy and will save her from the plight which overtook Roumania. We hope that the Italians will employ all their resources to cope with their present grave situation. The *Hindusthán* remarks that, regard being had to the strategy of the German commanders during the first three years of the war, the present difficult situation of Italy does not cause any surprise. It, however, does not believe that the enemy will succeed, by his present operations, in compelling Italy to conclude a separate peace. German victory, observes the paper, on any one front does not mean conclusion of the war; nor, it adds, should the prolongation of the war be taken necessarily to imply the steady augmentation of the enemy's difficulties. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers the Italian situation to be very critical. It believes that the enemy will very easily enter Italy unless the latter makes a very strong and united stand against him.]

Officials do not allow actual facts about the war to be published in Indian newspapers.

Gujaráti (17), 28th Oct.

31. In an article discussing at length the proposed changes in the Indian administration, the *Gujaráti* declares that in this country the question of political reforms takes precedence over any other question including the war. The reason for this is given as follows:—Even though winning this war is a matter of paramount importance, and the good of India is involved in winning the war, the circumstances here are such that the public cannot discuss the war, and if they do discuss it they are stopped from doing so. The officials believe that if the actual facts were placed before the people there would be a panic, and therefore optimistic articles on the war are preferred by the authorities. The people on the other hand say that if the war is going on all right, if political reforms are discussed in England and if such discussion does not interfere with the successful prosecution of the war, what objection is there to the same thing being allowed here?

The delay in the abolition of the Customs Line at Viramgaum.

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 2nd Nov.

32. Commenting upon the reference made by the Honourable Sir William Meyer to the Customs Line at Viramgaum in reply to the representation of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes :—It is now the Bombay Government who are responsible for the delay in removing the Customs Line at Viramgaum. We hope His Excellency Lord Willingdon's Government will see their way to removing the hardships of the people at Viramgaum at an early date. We fail to understand why the Bombay Government should delay the carrying out of the promise made by the Government of India months ago. Perhaps they are busily engaged in arriving at a settlement with Native States in the matter. We hope there will be no further delay in settling the matter.

Comments on the Government of India's letter to the Provincial Governments regarding recommendation of the Public Service Commission in the matter of the Educational Service.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 30th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (21), 24th Oct.

33. Commenting upon the letter of the Government of India to Provincial Governments regarding the recommendations of the Public Services Commission in the matter of the Educational Service, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes :—The recommendations of the Commission in the matter of fixing the proportion of the European element in the Educational Service evidently go against the pledges given by the Queen's Proclamation. It is undesirable to recruit Europeans for the Educational Service when competent Indians can be easily had. How can Indians be considered incompetent for being Professors or Inspectors when some of them can hold the Educational Portfolio as Executive Members of the Provincial and Imperial Governments? It is strange that the Commission should make such recommendations when the anomalies of the service were clearly exposed before them. In our opinion the reluctance of the professors to take to administrative duties is greatly due to the faulty machinery of the administrative system and not to the incompetence of the professors to take up such posts. The Commission which sat in the year 1886 had recommended that European professors should be recruited only when competent Indians cannot be had, and it is a pity that there should be only three Indians in the Imperial Service after the lapse of thirty years. It is both impolitic and inadvisable from an economic point of view to get men from Europe when competent Indians can be secured in India to take up the posts in the Department. [The *Hindusthán* writes in a similar strain and emphasises the need of paying more attention to primary education with a view of uplifting the illiterate masses.]

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 31st Oct.

34. The *Dnyán Prakásh* congratulates the Government of India on its calling for opinions from the local Government on the recommendations of the Public Services Commission regarding the Indian Educational Service and requests Government to take similar action regarding other recommendations of the Commission. It disputes the statement of the Government of India that mediocre men will come in if recruiting for the Educational Service is confined to India and says that except experts in some branches all should be Indians in the Educational Service. It also questions the propriety of the Government of India proposing a reduction of the initial pay of Europeans in the service to Rs. 300 and proposing a special allowance of Rs. 200. In its opinion there should be no difference of pay when similar work is turned out, and it declares that it is necessary to enter a protest against the proposal of the grant of a special allowance.

Government should not deprive shet sanadis of their lands.

Shubhodaya (89), 26th Oct.

35. The *Shubhodaya* discusses the shet sanadi question at length and says:—If Government do not want the services of Walikars and Talvars, let them dispense with them but we cannot agree that Government can take away their lands from them. Shet sanadis did not come into existence with the British Government. They were also to be found in ancient *régimes*. Properly speaking, their inams are not service Inam but Jat Inams granted in consideration of their services. They have been true to their salt. What more injustice can there be than that Government should think of taking away their bread from them? Government have dispensed with the services of Desais and Deshpandes but they continue their vatans to them. What objection is there to describe Government's view as "small-minded" if they consider the poor shet sanadi inams to be eye-sores? Government want to take away the lands of these shet sanadis and grant them to Haran Shikaris and other barbarous people. But why have they not thought of the fact that they are creating another class of Haran Shikaris by doing so? The question of ownership of shet sanadi lands has been raised by the High Court in a Murgod (District Belgaum) case. A poor Walikar woman is fighting against Government for her rights. Government have appointed a Special Deputy Collector to study the question and present the Government view. Are not Government trying to kill a sparrow with a howitser? Walikars are an ignorant class and they have not preserved their papers with them. They have full confidence in Government. In the particular case the plaintiff is a woman. Government should find out papers for her also and produce them from their records. Shet sanadis should assist the plaintiff in every way as their rights depend upon the decision of this case.

Hindu-Muhammadan *entente* at Poona during the Muharram.

Sandesh (116), 1st Nov.; **Kesari* (106), 6th Nov.

36. The Poona special correspondent of the *Sandesh* writes:—The Tabut procession in Poona was of an unprecedented character this year, the usual quarrel over the right of precedence between the Darga Tabut and Banekar's Tabut having disappeared. Lokamanya Tilak was invited to take part in the procession by Messrs. Jadhav, Mule and others and Sheikh Amin, Hamjekhan Bimtan, Apabhai and others. He with Messrs. Khadilkar, Kavade, Babasaheb Vidwans and Shankarraoji Joshi joined the procession at the spot where generally the fight takes place and as soon as he joined the centre of the procession, the Honourable Mr. Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer, Gulam Dastagir Khan *walad* Hamjekhan and other prominent Muhammadan leaders advanced to shake hands with the Hindus and resounding cheers were raised and flowers showered. Lokamanya and the Muhammadan leaders were garlanded and cries of 'Hindu-Musalman ki jai', 'Ram-Rahim ki jai', were raised at intervals by the processionists. Poona was indeed fortunate to witness the happenings of that fortunate day. As the Honourable Mr. Jaffer remarked on that occasion, will the whole of India be fortunate enough to experience similar happenings? [The *Kesari* gives a list of places (Poona, Wái (district Sátára), Sátára, Mathura (United Provinces), Saharanpur, Láhore, Multán and Bhágalpur) where Hindus and Muhammadans celebrated the Muharram festival cordially. It says that the celebration of the festival was stopped only at places like Delhi and Wadhwán where the officials needlessly meddled and interfered and thereby spread discontent. Referring to the Poona procession it says that Lokamanya Tilak and others joined the procession at the invitation of the Honourable Mr. Ebrahim Haroon and others. It also states that Muhammadans had constructed their Tabut *pandals* in such a way as to allow passage to the procession of Balaji's chariot during the Navratra holidays.]

Muharram in Bombay.

Muslim Herald (143), 2nd Nov.

37. Describing the celebration of the last Muharram in Bombay the *Muslim Herald* remarks that with the abolition of foolish customs which used to mar its observance in past years the public attention has been directed towards more sensible objects, and states that the people hold *mujlisses* (meetings of condolence) in larger numbers and attend them in great force.

LEGISLATION.

Rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Medical Registration Act Amendment Bill.
Subodh Patrika (43), 28th Oct.

38. The indigenous system of Ayurvadic medicine is no quackery and Government's attitude thereanent is most short-sighted. They appointed two medical men who had never studied the Ayurvedic medicine and who were avowedly opposed to it to be additional members of the Legislative Council when Mr. Patel's Bill came up for consideration. Does not this step mean an indirect attempt on the part of Government to put down the advocates of Ayurvedic Medicine? If Government really wanted the question to be thoroughly sifted should they not have appointed as well men well-versed in the indigenous system? In view of the provisions of the medical Registeration Act, no medical man will in future be tempted to study the Ayurvedic system of medicine, which is sure to result in an irreparable injury to that system.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the closing of several colleges and schools in the Central Provinces.
Mahratta (5), 4th Nov.

***39.** Commenting on the closing of several schools in the Central Provinces, the *Mahratta* writes:—"There are three parties in this students' affair: Government, the elders of students and the students. And, in our firm opinion, Government are the worst offenders, the elders stand next and the students last, if they are to be held culpable at all....... Every fresh instance of the flouting of clearly expressed popular will by self-opinionated officialdom strengthens the cause of Home Rule. The Students' Circulars, oppressive as they are, have been in a way very 'valuable'. They have served as 'Home Rule Circulars'. They have taught the people that the authorities, as they are now constituted, have strong temptations to put a thousand obstacles in the way of the proper growth of the younger generation. And this is a very valuable lesson indeed. The younger generations are the makers of the Nation of the morrow. And as such must be carefully tended. Any system of Government, therefore, which make it the *interest* of the administrators to keep the youth of the country *dwarfed* stands, for this very reason, thoroughly condemned. The Central Provinces authorities, as the reply recently given to the memorial of the Graduates' Association makes it clear, will not for some time to come think of 'making terms' with the guardians of students. But we cannot believe that they will remain unyielding for long. If, as we have insisted now and again, students and guardians of other places affected by the Circular support by appropriate action the Central Provinces students and guardians, the Circular must go, or at any rate, its operation must be greatly modified. The Students' Association, Nagpur, appeal to people all over the country to hold meetings and to protest against 'the perverse and cruel attitude' of the Central Provinces educational authorities. We hope that the appeal will not be fruitless. We hold that the Students' Circular question has become an All-India question of great importance and that the Congress and the League must take it up. Mr. Montagu must also be approached with an appeal for doing justice to the students and guardians."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 4th Nov.

***40.** "The Government of the Central Provinces have closed two colleges and three high schools in Nagpur. The Chief Commissioner has issued a Press Communique lamenting the necessity for this drastic measure and blaming the parents and guardians of the students for forcing it on him. Apart from the merits of the case, we ask ourselves if such a thing as the summary closing of five educational institutions, involving the careers of, perhaps, more than a thousand young men, would have been tolerated in any other civilised country. We certainly do not approve of students going on strike. Nor at the same time can we admire the action of a Government which calmly decides to take a year out of the lives of over a thousand young men, granting that the fault was all on the side of the young men. We can not help thinking that the Chief Commissioner would have resigned his office rather than do this thing if the students had stood in such a relation to him as would have kept him awake of nights to think of the blight which would fall on their young lives in consequences of this high-handed action of his Government. We refuse to discuss the question of the right or wrong of the strikes. We maintain that a Government which can bear to see a thousand of the young men waste a year of their lives, without being able to persuade them of its concern for their well-being, has failed to prove its capacity to control the destinies of the population entrusted to its care. It is quite evident to us that this action of Sir Benjamin Robertson's Government clearly establishes the urgent need of giving a fresh chance to the Central Provinces under another administrator."

Strikes are being forced on students.
Subodh Patrika (43), 28th Oct., Eng. cols.

41. "One of the most anxious things in the present troubles is the way in which disaffection is being forced on the student classes of the country. This disaffection is taking the form of wholesale strikes, and they are now being reported from places so far apart as Karáchi, Nágpur and Pálghát. In every one of these cases, we are convinced, it is the school or college authorities that are at fault. Instead of sympathising with the students in the strange situation they are in, they have sought rigorously to enforce absurd regulations set on foot by the Government regarding non-attendance at political meetings. These regulations are absurd and impracticable, and it was the duty of the school and collegiate authorities to represent their views on the matter in the strongest possible terms to the Local Governments, and in the interval to deal with the boys with tact and moderation. We regret to note that it is in a missionary college in Nágpur that these regulations were most strictly enforced. There was a time when missionaries stood out boldly for the political rights of Indians, and at least one missionary spoke the truth that was in him during the Ilbert Bill agitation. It pains us greatly, especially as we of the Prarthana Samaj are most sincere friends of Christian missionaries, to observe the indifference with which the ministers of the Christian religion in this country treat even our most acute political grievances, and, as if indifference were not enough, some of them actively assist in the perpetuation of un-Christian political and social ideals. We have been expecting some prominent missionary engaged in educational work to speak out his mind freely on this question of the maltreatment of the tender minds of the students by autocratic regulations copied from Germany and Austro-Hungary; but we have waited in vain. Instead we have to endure the spectacle of a Principal of a Scottish Missionary college rusticating a student for asserting what is but an elementary right in a European country, barring of course the two mentioned above."

Government should arrive at a compromise with the guardians of students in connection with their attendance at public meetings.
Kesari (106), 30th Oct.

42. Whatever students do, society as well as Government should treat them sympathetically just like parents, for after all "they are boys". The treatment of students is a very delicate matter and a man requires a good deal of practical wisdom to correct the faults of students without injuring their virtues. We have to say with great regret that Government do not follow this policy towards students. The above ideas are suggested by the enforcement of the Risley circular in some of the provinces at present. The country is more peaceful now than it was when the circular was first issued and we fail to understand why only students should be prohibited from attending Home Rule meetings. Government are behaving in an extraordinary manner by chasing students with a bludgeon in the name of discipline. Some schools and colleges in the Central Provinces have been closed and some more may follow suit. We do not wish to discuss in detail the merits of the question. The crux of the question lies in the prohibition of students from attending meetings. Government should now treat with the parents and guardians and settle the whole question. Our advice to the students is that they should distinguish between the essential and non-essential things and that they should not strike wholesale and that they should assist their parents and guardians in other ways in fighting out the question constitutionally. It is the birthright of

the students to go quietly to public meetings and obtain education in public questions. If Government wickedly attempt to prohibit them, the question may have to be decided by the adoption of passive resistance. But this resistance should as far as possible be first made by parents. Matters would have assumed a different shape if there had been independent arrangements for the education of the students in the country. Students should wait for a few a years and obtain education as far as possible in the existing schools. They should be diplomatic. Parents should adopt passive resistance individually as they may think proper. . Why should the police attend public meetings to watch students if they do not watch students going to *tamashas* and liquorshops? Why should the teachers be converted into policemen for this purpose? Are Government under the delusion that students do not hear of politics in other ways? Government are deceiving themselves if they imagine that the students do not read newspapers. Even students who are penned in boarding houses are not more backward than other students in politics. Have Government considered how many of the students who were found to be political offenders during the last ten years belonged to Government institutions? To think of prohibiting students from receiving political education by barring them from attending meetings is as ridiculous as trying to sweep the ocean back with a broom. If we are to suppose that it is the honest opinion of Government that the mental calm of student is ruffled by attendance at public meetings why should high officials go to public institutions and obtrude themselves and advise them against the common political agitation? Is popular politics the only politics? Is not pro-Government politics politics? Government should withdraw the circular, leave the control of students to their parents or at least form some compromise with them. Otherwise the nation will have to take up the question just as it did the internment of Mrs. Besant. The Calcutta Congress ought to take up the question, condemn the Risley circular and inform Government in time what the nation thinks of it.

The problem of Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency.
Islámic Mail (4), 21st Oct., Eng. edition.

43. Continuing its discussion on the question of Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency, the *Islámic Mail* writes:—"We do not for a moment entertain the base calumny, as some mischief-makers are imputing, that the underlying object of Government's action is to deprive the Muhammadan boys of an opportunity of receiving instruction in the tenets of their religion. So far as we know, Government are inspired by a very sympathetic and well-meaning desire to remove the burden of double learning which handicaps Muhammadan boys.......... There can be no gainsaying the fact that many of us recognise the disadvantages of Urdu teaching where the mother-tongue of the the boys is not Urdu.......... But that does not dispense with the absolute necessity of Urdu teaching. For as Sir Fazulbhoy then (in 1910) said 'the Muhammadan parents are anxious that their children should learn Urdu and it is I think necessary for the regeneration of the nation'. But it is not only Muhammadans who consider Urdu as essential for their national development; their claims were acknowledged and advocated by Government themselves, as a consideration of the early history of the introduction of Urdu would show. In 1871 the Government of India issued a resolution upon the condition of Muslim Education. In their report the Educational Commission made numerous recommendations exclusively for the benefit of the Muhammadans, of which those adopted by the Government of India are embodied in their resolution published in the *Gazette of India* of July 1885. They were forwarded to all local Governments for their guidance so that they are the law of the land by which Muhammadan education is to be governed in every province. The principles therein laid down cannot be changed without the sanction of the Imperial Council similarly promulgated in the *Government Gazette*.......... This gives a precise idea as to the introduction of Urdu as a medium of instruction for Muhammadan boys. It shows that at one time Government recognised it to be the 'language of the Mussalmans' and afforded facilities for its instruction in public schools. It is also a noteworthy fact that almost all the Provincial Governments are paying special attention to the teaching of Urdu and making increasing efforts for its development. In Upper India where the separatist tendencies of the Hindus have succeeded in establishing Hindi or Gurumukhi (as in the Punjáb) as the vernacular, Urdu still holds its own and *is taking the place of* English in secondary schools. Indeed, there were proposals before the Government of the United Provinces to abolish the teaching of English in all secondary schools and substitute the teaching of Urdu instead. Much stress is laid upon the address presented by the Anjuman-i-Islam, District Kolába, to the Governor in which it was said that 'the curriculum of studies in our Urdu schools is not fully in accord with our requirements. Our medium of religious instruction is Urdu and our social functions are performed mostly in Urdu.' We are afraid it strengthens the cause of Urdu rather than weakening it. Our contention is that the small success of the Government experiment in regard to Urdu is due to the oft repeated complaint of the inefficiency of the teaching staff and the worthlessness of the curriculum of studies in Urdu schools. Our columns bear testimony to this fact and we have often said that it is better to abolish Urdu altogether than teach it in the present form."

Political Bhomiyo (71), 2nd Nov., Eng. cols.

44. "The Press note says that there is no genuine demand on behalf of the Muhammadans for Urdu education in this presidency. It may be asked what is the test of the genuineness of a popular demand? The most constitutional and genuine test is popular agitation and popular representation. With regard to popular agitation, the press note itself admits in paragraph 7 that Government had to change their attitude and revise their opinion about Urdu owing to popular Muhammadan pressure. The agitation would have assumed larger proportions but for the conciliatory attitude of Lord Sydenham and the wise policy of Sir Claude Hill which subsided it. There was no need for its continuance when Government were acting in co-operation with Muhammadan wishes and aspirations. It is bound to revive when Government appear to thwart the popular will and adopt a reactionary policy. Government have been deliberating over the question for the last three and a half years, and what is the result? They have thrown overboard the recommendations of the Muhammadan committee, they have ignored the resolution of the Conference, they have disbelieved the opinions of representative men in the Council, indeed they have defied Moslem public opinion. No self-respecting people can put up with such a treatment. The press note further adds insult to injury by declaring that—'from the reports of officers who have personally sounded local Muhammadan opinion it appears that there is actually a strong feeling against the adoption of Urdu standards'. So that the opinions of their own subordinate officers are after all preferred to those of the responsible Moslem representatives and to the authoritative expression of the community. What farce it is to talk of consulting the community."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Justification of the imposition of house-tax at Lárkána, Sind.

Al-Haq (132), 27th Oct., Eng. cols.

45. "Local papers of Lárkána, which are now making a childish protest against the house-tax, used to cry only a short time ago that they wanted a High School, a regular drainage system, and various other improvements in the town of Lárkána. The funds of the Municipality were, however, quite inadequate. The high school alone required an initial expenditure of about 48 thousand for building and equipment, the old building of the A.-V. School being quite unfit for the purpose. The drainage system was something exceedingly important, but it also required a lot of money. Those who have undergone the bitter experience of heavy rains, have keenly felt the necessity of a regular drainage system in the town. Besides, the building of the Vernacular School which was in a bad condition required to be re-built. Another Vernacular school started in Lahori also required a building of its own. All these things could not be done without a substantial sum of money. The credit balance of the Municipality was insufficient, and the problem was how to raise funds to meet the anticipated expenditure.......... When the

proposal regarding house-tax was first made known to the residents of the town, all the Musalmans unanimously agreed and asked Serai Shah Mahomed Lahori to intimate their acquiescence to Government. Soon after that, some of the rich Hindus raised an alarm against the tax, and boldly gave out that they would be required to pay more than what other people of ordinary circumstances would pay. As they could not do anything individually, they made it a sacred resolution to spread rumours that even the poorest people would be taxed at very high rates, and in case they failed to make punctual payments, their houses would be sold and they would thus be left homeless. They did not stop here. Two or three Musalmans, who had business connections with them, were threatened that their Hundies would be dishonoured, and their credit jeopardized, if they did not join the Hindus to make a combined protest against house-tax. This obliged those few Musalmans to take the side of Hindus. Similar other steps were also taken by them to win over the Muhammadans to their side. It is a pity that while our readers are trying to make a union between the Hindus and Musalmans, the Hindus are trying to their utmost limit to prejudice the interests of the Musalmans in every possible way they can. The Municipality wants funds to carry out various schemes contemplated, for which the town-people of Lárkána had besieged the ears of the municipal authorities with their repeated request, and it is obvious that any tax, other than house-tax, would fall mostly on the poor Musalmans. Hindus possess valuable houses, and the house-tax will be mostly paid by them. How can they possibly tolerate this? Their earnest desire is that the whole town should be theirs and let poor Musalmans build their houses in the air and be sacrificed to the interests of Hindus. In the interest of Muhammadans themselves we have on several occasions written on this problem advising them to refrain from protesting against the proposed house-tax, and, we hope the Muhammadans will realize the benefits thereof and support the municipal authorities in carrying out the measure with success."

Alleged shortcomings of the Larkana Municipality, Sind.
New Times (7), 31st Oct.

46. "A citizen of Lárkána" writes to the *New Times*:—"Like the remnant of the Long Parliament, the remnant of the Larkana Municipality, until it is reconstituted, will appropriately be described as the 'Rump Municipality of Lárkána'. This Municipality since the resignation of the famous Five, has been performing extraordinary acts in a most irresponsible manner. It has decided by an unconstitutional procedure to impose the house-tax in Lárkána in the teeth of popular opposition regardless of all consequences and against reason and decency and sense of justice and proportion (Hyderababad and Shikárpur bigger and richer towns not being subjected to any house-tax). The Municipality is so constituted and managed at present that it will not be surprising for the public to learn that it has decided to impose a table-tax, cot-tax, lamp-tax, dog-tax, cat-tax, or a mouse-tax on the people of Lárkána. The Municipality managed by a Board, presided over by a despotic bureaucrat, devoid of all regard for public opinion and consisting of members who being the nominees of the Prrsident are under his thumb and being outsiders are ignorant of the needs of the town and out of sympathy with the townsfolk, is capabale of doing anything absurd and unreasonable. If proof were wanting of this capability of the Municipality it is supplied by the following facts. [Here follows a list of the alleged misdeeds of the Municipality:—] For these reasons the people are living in a state of great exasperation. Is this local self-government, or sham?"

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the general strike of Hindu merchants at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár).
Young India (14), 31st Oct.

47. "Although it is more than a month, the strained relations between the Administrator of Wadhwán and the Hindu community continue unabated. On the contrary, it seems from the copy of a telegram addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy that Mr. Kadri is pursuing a method of administration which was in high favour in the declining days of the Mogul Empire. After all, Mr. Kadri must know that such a method

might intimidate poor, helpless people, but it cannot certainly break their spirit. It might have been supposed, therefore, that a man who holds a very delicate and responsible office would take to more tactful methods and win back the confidence of the people. Mr. Kadri seems to be following just the contrary course and has already taken some drastic measures, which, we think, are hardly yet parallelled. He has practically dismissed some of the old officers of the State absolutely without any rhyme or reason and compelled them to quit the State without any notice whatsoever. In one case at any rate, the officer is a 'native' of the State and to force him to leave his native land within less than six hours is an act of despotism for which we have no precedent yet in British India. The incident appears all the more extraordinary, considering that at present the ultimate responsibility for the good administration of the State vests in the Local Government. .... Considering that the present deadlock has been the source of great suffering and annoyance to the poor population, we trust the Local Government will lose no further time in causing a full and independent inquiry to be made into its causes and terminate the unhappy situation that has already lasted now long enough."

Message (6), 30th Oct.

48. "The way in which the situation has been met, does not redound to the credit of the Agent to the Governor and amounts to a severe reflection on the competency of the Administrator of the State to be in continued charge of the destinies of 40,000 people. The responsibility of His Excellency the Governor, under circumstances like those which have arisen at Wadhwán, is great, and in the peculiar condition of the State being deprived of its legitimate ruler, that responsibility becomes all the more delicate. Now that the local authorities have by their tactless acts of omission and commission aggravated the seriousness of the situation, it is becoming His Excellency should graciously intervene to bring about a happy settlement of the dispute. It would also be of great advantage if His Excellency seriously considers whether in the light of the full circumstances, Khan Bahadur Kadri should not be asked to relinquish his post as Administrator. Whatever else he may be fit for, it seems to us that that office is the last which he should be allowed to hold for any length of time."

Hindusthán (21), 27th Oct.

49. Referring to the Wadhwán strike, the *Hindusthán* remarks that the reason why the strike which commenced on the 27th of September last has not yet come to a close is that the Wadhwán State as such has nothing to lose from such a general strike. It observes that such strikes do not produce any effect upon British officials who have been entrusted with the affairs of Native States because the party that has to suffer from these strikes are the people. It declares that differences have arisen between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Wadhwán since Khan Bahadur Kadri was appointed Administrator of that State. The paper maintains that he has wounded the feelings of the Hindus by issuing the present rules requiring the taking out of licenses for playing music in streets and thereby interfering with the long established usages of the Hindus, instead of having recourse to conciliatory methods. It remarks that as long as the bulk of the people of this country are ignorant, statesmanship requires that religious beliefs of any section of the public, whether reasonable or otherwise, should not be wounded. The paper hopes that if His Excellency Lord Willingdon were to depute a trusted officer to Wadhwán to inquire into the situation, it would reveal to him whether the local authorities or the people are at fault. While not favouring intervention on the part of British authorities in the affairs of the Native States, the paper regards it to be the duty of these authorities to listen to the complaints of the people of these States when their administration is committed to the hands of British officials.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 9th November 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 45 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 10th November 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule :

Alleged shortcomings of the bureaucracy in India 1
Alleged sowing of disunion among Indians by interested Government officials 6
Comments on the anti-Musalman riots in Arrah District (Behár) . . 9
Comments on the speeches delivered at the Anglo-Indian meeting in London 5
Complaint about the programme of Mr. Montagu's tour in India . 2
Hindu-Muhammadan *entente* 8
It is the policy of Anglo-Indians to make a mere figurehead of Mr. Montagu when he is in India 3
Passive resistance must be resorted to if Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali's case is not considered by Mr. Montagu . . . 7
Suggestion for the formation of a National Volunteer Corps for each district 11
The Champaran enquiry and Mr. Gandhi 10
What representations of "backward" classes against the Congress-Moslem League scheme, which are engineered by Anglo-Indians, mean? 4
Chiefs' Conference at Delhi : Comments on the — . . . . . 12 & 13
Complaint against the Konkan steamer service 18
Gujarat Political Conference : Comments on Mr. Gandhi's presidential address at the Political Conference at Godhra 16
Public Service : Comments on the dismissal of certain officers in the Excise Department (Bombay) 17
Sind : Comments on the address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by the — Muhammadan Association 19
War : Comments on the critical situation in Italy . . . . . 14 & 15

EDUCATION—

Necessity of raising the pay of untrained teachers 21
Students' strikes in the Central Provinces 20

H 348—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

RAILWAYS—

Suggestion to Government to issue *communiqués* explaining the necessity for dismantling the Hyderabad-Badin Railway Line in Sind, etc. . 22

NATIVE STATES—

Anti-Hindu riots at Vanthali (under Junágadh) 24
Comments on the general strike at Wadhwán 23

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Alleged shortcomings of the bureaucracy in India.

New Times (7), 2nd Nov. and 6th Nov.

1. "The Indian bureaucracy has neither been benevolent nor efficient and national evolution demands a Government controlled by the Indian people. The long story of reaction, retrogression, repression and political persecution in India is writ in the History of our Nation and will show to the democracies of the world how severe can be the swinging of the bureaucratic whip not alone in Russia but also in the Indian Empire. Indeed the inevitable result of a bureaucratic system is, as pointed out by an American thinker, 'a centralised government with a dictator'. But democracy has been the death of dictatorship all over the world, and will take its irresistible course in India also. This is why the National movement is growing; this is why the Nation-wide aspiration for self-government will be realised; this is why we of the People's Party are going to win." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"The Indian bureaucrat has been more anxious to play the rôle of a police official than of a Friend of the People; he has been afraid to be on the side of the forces which are at work to make democracy safe for the world; he has been insolent in his conduct, autocratic in his methods, and reactionary in his policy; he has repeatedly raised the spectre of violence and sedition; he has not been tired of telling the world that India is not a Nation, that the Indian people lack political genius and must not be trusted with self-government. And he has not hesitated to secure for the pains of his office a fat salary, a comfortable pension and several titles and all sorts of allowances; he is a member of a Heaven-born caste and draws a salary which no other people on the face of the earth will pay to any of its administrators. The verdict of the Civilized World on the bureaucracy has been given: its machinery is ante-diluvian: its system is out of date. The verdict will not change."]

Complaint about the programme of Mr. Montagu's tour in India.

Gujaráti (17), 11th Nov., Eng. cols.

*2. "We can well appreciate the desire of the Home Government that Mr. Montagu should not make any political speeches during his stay in this country, though even this restriction is hardly in keeping with the practice of responsible ministers of the Cabinet or with the traditions of British politics.......... But it is impossible for the Indian public to understand why Local Governments have refused invitations to Indian social functions extended to Mr. Montagu.......... It has been repeatedly dinned into our ears that British politicians leave aside political controversies in their social relations, and it is difficult to conceive why the people of India should be prevented from offering him their hospitality. Mr. Montagu comes to India as the official representative of His Majesty's Government and of the British democracy, and are an Oriental people with their traditional hospitality to be told that he is prevented by the Home Government from attending an Indian social gathering held in his honour? Anything more graceless and churlish we Indians cannot conceive.......... We do hope that Lord Chelmsford's Government will not create an occasion for a bitter but legitimate complaint throughout the whole country that Mr. Montagu was not allowed to come into close contact with the people of India, thus defeating the object of his mission by preventing him from knowing their real thoughts and feelings. His Excellency Lord Willingdon well knows the mind of the people under his rule and may fairly be expected to remove all grounds for misunderstanding and meet the natural desire of the Indian public to offer a cordial reception and extend their hospitality to Mr. Montagu."

It is the policy of Anglo-Indians to make a mere figurehead of Mr. Montagu when he is in India.

Young India (14), 7th Nov.

3. "We are anxious to impress upon Mr. Montagu as well as our readers that a systematic, and it seems to us, a deliberate attempt is being made by the bureaucracy and their adherents to belittle, as much as they can, the prestige and influence of the Secretary of State as an accredited representative of His Magesty's Government and to show him to the people of this country as a virtual nonentity in British and Indian politics before the inspiring presence of the mighty little tin-gods that inhabit the hill-tops. The statement made by the Viceroy that Mr. Montagu is not going to supersede the Government of India even tem-

porarily and that his movements in this country will be carefully governed and regulated by the bureaucratic machine, with the Viceroy himself at the head of it, and Lord Curzon's well-concealed hypocrisy about Mr. Montagu going out to India on 'conditions', lead us to think that it is part of an attempt to convince the Indian public that the Secretary of State is a mere figurehead in the Government of India, installed at the India Office to interpret to Parliament the views, wishes and inclinations of the infallible bureaucratic machine in India. This view is, of course, nonsense of a dangerous type. As against this, we have the authoritative and perfectly genuine declaration of no less a politician than Lord Morley himself. The latter on one occasion described the Indian Viceroy as an 'agent of the Secretary of State', which is perfectly true.......... And it is preposterous that because the agent has been treated with some amount of indulgence, he should put forward a claim to equal voice with the principal in determining his relations with his charge.......... It is very necessary that the public at large should realise the exact situation of Mr. Montagu during his visit to this country. It is to be bureaucracy-ridden throughout and carried out in the ways that best suit bureaucratic convenience. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that the public should be wide awake to the dangers of the situation and exert all their influence to counteract the unhealthy pressure of the reactionaries on a well meaning and liberal politician. The time is short at our disposal and energetic action against the bureaucratic and Anglo-Indian reaction is very urgently called for."

What representations of "backward" classes against the Congress-League scheme, which are engineered by Anglo-Indians, mean?

Mahrátta (5), 11th Nov.

*4. "We give elsewhere an extract from the *Bengalee* dealing with the proceedings of a meeting of the Namashudras. This meeting is a vivid instance of how our 'lower' classes are being worked up by Anglo-Indians. The principal resolution adopted at this meeting speaks of the interests of the Namashudras and other backward communities as contradictory to those of the few advanced castes and prays that any great advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible government as contemplated in some of the Post-War Reform schemes should be disallowed by the authorities. It is idle to argue with those who would not see, as also with those who cannot see. But to any person who can see and is willing to use his sight, the Anglo-Indian statement of the case of the backward classes will appear in its true colours.......... These laws cannot surely go counter to the interests of the backward classes! Invested with the local and national franchise, educated and supplied with a thousand and one opportunities for making the most of their abilities, the backward classes in Home Rule India will certainly not curse the day of the grant of Home Rule to their country. No labourers in England desire German rule in their country, because the capitalists and landlords in England oppress them from day to day. They know that a German capitalist and landlord would, for all his professions, be a regular nuisance in England; for he will pocket English wealth and transmit it to his German Home there to fatten German industry, German agriculture, German everything. Anglo-Indians are in India what such Germans would be in England under German rule. There are ignorant Namashudras and others who understand this not. But facts do not change, because some cannot see them. And even these some will not be allowed to remain in ignorance for long. We are working apace and each home in the land will receive the necessary light in due course."

Comments on the speeches delivered at the Anglo-Indian meeting in London.

Kesari (106), 6th Nov.

5. Commenting upon the foundation of the Indo-British Association in London and the speeches delivered on that occasion the *Kesari* writes:—The poor Anglo-Indians since they came over to India have been ever looking after our interests. But they are not fully successful in their attempt; that is all. The East India Company came here for our benefit; if it had not been here, with whom could we have traded? Our products would have rotted in India! The Company acquired territories in India for our benefit; otherwise the French and the Portuguese would have acquired them! The Company annexed Native States for our benefit. Had it not done so, Indians would have had to pass their days under the tyrannical rule of Indian Chiefs! English

merchants took away repeatedly the mineral wealth of India for our welfare, as otherwise it would have rotted where it lay. Dairy produce is decreasing in India and prices have gone up and we cannot get as much nutritious food as we want as we did formerly; it is for our benefit alone as the rise in prices is a western sign of civilisation! Our arms were taken away for our benefit; otherwise thieves and dacoits would have used the very arms against us or we would have fought amongst ourselves! We are not given commissions for our benefit because we would have suffered if we had joined the forces as there would have been no one to look after our fields! We are not given high civil posts for our welfare as otherwise we would have been obliged to perform responsible and troublesome work. To sum up, Anglo-Indian officials and merchants have looked after our interests alone and have indeed displayed a sense of equality with regard to us. We do not thank them because we are ungrateful! [The paper then turns to the speakers.] Lord Sydenham dwelt mainly on the release of Mrs. Besent. People in India know full well that this saheb likes to put people into prison and not to release them. The Government of India thought of releasing Mr. Tilak one or two years before the expiry of his sentence. But Lord Sydenham opposed the idea and also induced some Chiefs and parasites to raise a cry that riots would take place if Mr. Tilak were released. It would be better if Lord Sydenham lives long enough to see that the days of 'martial law' are gone by in India. If mere repression can make a *régime* successful in these days, why should the Secretary of State have thought of visiting India? If Lord Sydenham is to secure for us our national status, why should not a butcher advertise that he is going to start a Pinjrapole for cows? Really educated men will be always few, whatever be their caste. Uneducated men are not to be given *swarájya* because they have no education and educated men are not to be given *swarájya* because they are few. India is not so dull headed as not to realise that this only means that *swarájya* is not to be given to us anyhow. Sir John Hewett said that only 25,000 people know English in the United Provinces. The real struggle is for power; the question is not about the language. English education would be welcome but no one need think of not demanding and not giving power because we do not know English. Sir Francis Younghusband wants a mixed *swarájya* of black and white. Who denies it? Considering their population, is the power of the whites in any way inadequate? Would it be reduced by the adoption of the Congress-League Scheme? Lord Harris said that Mrs. Besant was evil personified. We need not inform the readers of the *Kesari* that Lord Harris was as troublesome as a bear, as his name signifies, during his *régime*. What is the use of speaking in a polite tone with a boor? This concert of all the Anglo-Indian nobles against *swarájya* will not prevent what fates have decreed.

Alleged sowing of disunion among Indians by interested Government officials.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 6th Nov.

6. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the order issued by Mr. Thorne, I.C.S., administrator of the Calicut Estate, prohibiting the use of certain roads in Calicut to members of lower castes and characterises the order as unjust and against the very spirit of British rule. It insinuates that efforts are being made by responsible officers of Government to sow disunion among the people of India with a view to proving their incompetence for self-government. It is of opinion that some of the unpleasant incidents that occurred during the recent Muharram and Dussera holidays were due to the enforcement of very stringent rules by the officers of Government.

Passive resistance must be resorted to if Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali's case is not considered by Mr. Montagu.

Mahrátta (5), 11th Nov.

*7. "We have been given to understand that it will not be possible for Mr. Montagu to receive deputations, addresses or memorials on any subject other than that of the Post-War Reforms, his stay in India being limited. But this is one of those directions which need not be, for they are not meant to be, literally interpreted. If we insist adequately, we are certain to be allowed to put before Mr. Montagu not only the Ali Brothers' case but also that of the hundreds of political internees and prisoners of all descriptions, whom we desire to be released and restored to us. The question of the students' circulars may also be allowed. But supposing for a moment that even the Ali Brothers' case is rejected and we are called upon to speak on nothing but the Reforms,—what shall we do? What shall we do? *Satyagraha* would, in our opinion, be a justifiable method of meeting such a situation. But the *Agraha* (Insistence) will be reasonable, only if a substantial majority, if not all, of the leaders in the Congress-League Camp (or at any rate such a majority in the camp of the League alone) make up their minds to employ this method. *Satyagraha* would require of us that we should respectfully excuse ourselves from touching the subject of Reforms before Mr. Montagu, until the Ali Brothers are restored to us."

Hindu-Muhammadan *entente*.

Message (6), 10th Nov.; *Sandesh* (116), 6th Nov.

8. "It is not at all surprising that cordial relations should continue between Hindus and Muhammdans. Regrettable as the disturbances at Arrah are, the position of things is eminently satisfactory and during the last Dussera-Muharram festivities, we have received fresh proofs of the *entente* between the two communities. A Lahore report refers to the very cordial manner in which the Muhammadans treated the Hindus during the Bharat Milak procession.......... It was an unique sight, says the same report, to see the Muhammadans garlanding their Hindu brethren and showering flowers over them as the procession passed through the streets. It is not only in Lahore that these cordial demonstrations have taken place. At Poona, for instance, it is hardly known outside, Mr. Tilak accompanied the Muharram procession, and it was the occasion of happy demonstrations. The Poona Muhammadans, both educated and uneducated, vied with one another to do honour to the great National leader. The Hindus fully reciprocated the good feelings and showed by their conduct how the so-called differences between the communities were either a great myth or the work of calculating forces of reaction in their midst." [The *Sandesh* writes:—The unity of the Hindus and the Muhammadans at Delhi was such as to be the envy of the gods. Unfortunately both of them could not benefit by this unity owing to the obstinacy of the authorities. The atmosphere of Poona is an excellent nursery for wholesome nationalistic ideas. The unique plant of Hindu and Muhammadan unity planted at Poona by Lokamanya Tilak will surely yield excellent fruit.]

Comments on the anti-Musalman riots in Arrah District (Behar).

Akhbár-e-Islám (57), 6th, 7th and 8th Nov.

9. Referring to the piteous accounts of the Arrah and Shahabad riots appearing in the Moslem newspapers of Upper India and to the stir the disturbances have created in those journals, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that, in view of this earnest of the cordiality of the Hindus towards the Muhammadans, the latter should bless their own participation in the Home Rule League propaganda. It further observes that the fact that the Muhammadans are reported, in connection with those riots, to have been helpless before the Hindus, demonstrates how far the union of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League will prove beneficial to the Muhammadans and how far the League will, after this union, be able to protect Moslem interests. [In the issue dated the 7th November the paper deprecates the acts of violence committed by the Hindus during the above-mentioned riots against the Muhammadans who have been chiefly instrumental in securing a large measure of success for the *swarájya* movement by bringing about union between the Moslem League and the Congress. It refers to the Hindu-Muhammadan disturbances that have recently taken place in various parts of India and remarks that the present actions on the part of the Hindus lead one to believe that they have, as it were, resolved to drive out of India by force every Muhammadan after they have obtained *swarájya*. In the next issue the paper remarks that cow-slaughter by way of sacrifice has been enjoined upon the Muhammadans by Islam, in celebration of the Bakri-Id festival, and it raises the question if it is proper for the Hindus to allow themselves to be excited at cow-slaughter under these circumstances to such a pitch as to commit murders, particularly if the animal is slaughtered by the Muhammadans in their own houses or compounds. It maintains that the intervention of the Hindus in this matter amounts to an interference with the religious freedom which is vouchsafed by British rule to the entire Indian community.]

The Champaran enquiry and Mr. Gandhi.
Kesari (106), 6th Nov.

10. **Mr. Gandhi has done a great national work by releasing the rayats of Champaran from the grip of indigo planters, shortly after his return from South Africa. It cannot be said that nobody knew before of the tyranny of planters over the rayats in Bihar. But the tyranny was put an end to only when a real passive resister like Mr. Gandhi came forward. This fact contains a valuable lesson for all of us. We cannot say, however, that the matter has quite ended because Mr. Irwine representing the planters says that the recommendations of the Committee will not be accepted by them. The Bihar Government, however, has ordered that the recommendations be enforced. Mr. Gandhi is returning to Champaran to see that the Government orders are duly enforced. Now Mr. Gandhi will be there to enforce Government orders and the planters will oppose them! It illustrates how Anglo-Indians care for Government orders when their selfish interests are affected.**

Suggestion for the formation of a National Volunteer Corps for each district.
Kesari (106), 6th Nov.

11. The *Kesari* supports the suggestion of Mr. Damodar Vinayak Deshmukh, Secretary of the Bombay National Volunteer Corps, Bombay, that a Corps of volunteers should be raised in every District and taluka place in Maháráshtra on the model of the Bombay Corps. It further says that those who do not want to take part in political agitation can join the non-political division of the Corps and perform public service.

Comments on the Chiefs' Conference at Delhi.
Gujaráti (17), 4th Nov.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 8th Nov.

12. The *Gujaráti* discusses at great length the position of Native States in the Indian polity and while giving the history of the Chiefs' Conference which met at Delhi last week, remarks that the Indian Chiefs should not be allowed to have any voice in the government of British India since their territories are governed according to the whims and fancies of the Indian Chiefs without the latter being responsible to the people governed and since their revenues are collected and disbursed without the least consideration being given to the interests of the subjects. It is, however, prepared to consider a scheme whereby the subjects of Native States may be allowed to co-operate with those of British India for the better governance of the country provided the Indian Chiefs are willing to adopt the system of government followed in British India; but on no account does it favour the suggestion of the Dewan of Mysore for the representation of Native States on the Imperial Legislative Council. Under the circumstance it looks forward to the Chiefs' Conference as likely to throw some light on the position Indian Chiefs will enjoy in the Indian polity. [The *Bombay Samáchár* is of opinion that the advice given by His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to the Indian Chiefs to wait a little longer for the realisation of their ideal of a Council of Princes is meant as a hint to them first to give an effective voice to their subjects in the government of their States. The paper hopes that the States will act according to this advice.]

Message (6), 8th Nov.

13. "We have found it solemnly reiterated that the Native States represent one-third of the Indian Empire and one-fourth of its population; and one of our morning contemporaries has pompously argued that 'they can therefore claim to be the exponents of a considerable proportion of Indian thought and influence.' We cannot help thinking that it is fortuitous logic. The mere fact that the Native States form territorially a large portion of the Indian Empire, does not so easily permit the inference to be drawn that they constitute the exponents of Indian thought and influence. This is not only to confuse the issues but actually misstate facts. It is not even accurate to say that these States *really* constitute the exponents of at least 'Native Indian thought and influence'. For, in many cases, there is a vast divergence of feelings and views between the States and their populations. Notwithstanding the outward symbols of apparent unity many of the members of the Conference that was opened by the Viceroy on Monday are perpetually at loggerheads with thei own subjects, who are

often helpless against the arbitary doings of their Rulers and administrators. Our contemporary, which has virtually pleaded for an interfusion between the Native States as represented by their Rulers and Chiefs and the Government of India, has deliberately lost sight of the fact that it is impossible and impracticable. In the first place, we are afraid, many of the rulers of important States do not countenance the idea, and those who countenance it are merely people of little or no consequence. The reactionaries led by the *Pioneer* and the *Times*, must no doubt be looking forward to a time when these States can be interposed to act as a drag on Indian political life. But the public will not mistake their mischievous object for a generous recognition of the magnificent services voluntarily rendered by the States during the war. Of course, we have nothing to say against a conference which, as the Viceroy stated last October and again reiterated on Monday, is convened in order to counsel him on the various questions affecting *his* relations with the States and of the several States themselves.......... The moment they want to leave this object behind and take up a new position of suggesting that these States should be incorporated in the administrative machinery of India as a Second Chamber with sundry others thrown in, they will have to face not only very strong feelings of suspicion from the States, but a serious opposition from the people of British India."

Comments on the critical situation in Italy.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 7th and 10th Nov.; *Rást Goftár* (31), 4th Nov.; *Prája Mitra and Pársi* (29), 10th Nov.

14. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses confidence that German strategy and intrigues will fail to crush Italy owing to the timely help that England and France are determined upon rendering to their ally. [In a subsequent issue the paper takes a careful review of the Italian situation and comes to the conclusion that treachery on the part of some of the Italians themselves is responsible for the critical position into which the country has been drawn and hopes that the Italians will now rouse themselves and unite to vindicate their national honour and to make good the loss they have suffered. The *Rást Goftár* is of opinion that Germany has undertaken the invasion of Italy with a view to securing an early peace that would enable her to get back her lost Colonies. It also feels confident that the timely help of England, France and America will go a great way in bringing out Italy victorious from the struggle which at present has assumed a glooming aspect. The *Praja Mítra and Pársi*, on the other hand, expresses a fear that the news of Russia being prepared to enter into a separate peace with Germany will have a demoralising effect on a certain section of the Italian people and that there is a great likelihood of their anxiously coming forward to seek peace.]

Rást Goftár (31), 11th Nov., Eng. cols.

***15.** "From the brief particulars that have appeared it is evident that the Germans and Austrians not only displayed superior strategy but attacked in such strength that the Italians were outnumbered by ten to one. Whole regiments were completely wiped out while large masses of Italians were captured. The loss suffered by death and capture is not yet published, but it must have been enormous, and the army of the Central Powers is reported to be occupying a position from which it can easily debouch into the plains. It is impossible to exaggerate the gravity of the situation. If the Germans and Austrians overrun Italy we shudder to think of the fate of that unhappy country. Belgium, Poland and Roumania have suffered nothing compared to what may be in store for Italy, because it must be remembered that if Italy had not seceded from the Triple Alliance she would have been to-day fighting on the side of the Central European Powers instead of against them.......... To the German frightfulness will be added a vengefulness of which perhaps the world never has had any parallel. This is the fate that now threatens Italy and the Allies are right in doing all they can to help her.......... It is only when the armies of the Central Powers are driven beyond the passes and the line originally held by the Italians restored that the Italian position can be considered safe. This will not by any means be an easy task.......... The experience gained during the war is that the German High Command never fails to push an advantage to the utmost, and the advance of the German and Austrian troops through the plains of Italy will not be delayed an instant and the line behind will be strongly held. Every hour is now full of fate for Italy, and the utmost that can be done to extricate her from her great peril should be done at once. The moral and political effect of the invasion or fall of Italy would be appalling and it is impossible to prefigure it. With the seaboard of Italy in the possession of Germany and Austria the Mediterranean would become fifty times more dangerous than at present. The Allies realise this fully and that is why their statesmen and military commanders are putting their heads together, and devising means to avert this great danger. We can only hope that Italy will be extricated from her pressing peril and all will yet go well with the cause of the Allies."

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's presidential address at the Political Conference at Godhra.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 3rd Nov.; *Hindusthán* (21), 6th Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 6th Nov.

16. The *Sánj Vartamán* quotes with approval the views expressed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi on the growing poverty of India at the first sessions of the Gujarát Political Conference, which was recently held at Godhra, and endorses his opinion that truth should be the basis of all political movements and that municipal government is the key to self-government which is the only remedy for India's poverty. [The *Hindusthán* considers it a pity that India should not at present possess the moral and spiritual qualities which are necessary, in the opinion of Mr. Gandhi, for securing *Swarájya*. It expresses the hope that people will ponder over Mr. Gandhi's advice and try to acquire the qualities which will fit them for *Swarájya*. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* asks the people who advocate the immediate grant of *Swarájya* to India to give a careful consideration to Mr. Gandhi's speech and exhorts the Indian people to carefully follow the steps pointed out by him with a view to reaching the goal of *Swarájya*.]

Comments on the dismissal of certain officers in the Excise Department (Bombay.)

Hindusthán (21), 9th Nov.

17. Dwelling upon the necessity of keeping Government departments free from the vice of corruption and particularly those departments which come in close touch with the public, the *Hindusthán* refers to the fact of a number of Excise Inspectors having been dismissed and of other officers tendering their resignation, as published in the last *Bombay Government Gazette*, and emphasises the necessity of publishing the reasons which have led Government to dismiss these officers. It believes that Government would be setting a bad example if they would rest content with dismissing them and opines that such a course would detract from the prestige of the Excise Department. The paper wishes Government to prosecute those against whom they have got strong proofs, for the purpose of setting an example to other officers belonging to the Department. It also wishes that some honourable member of the local Legislative Council would, by means of an interpellation, require Government to publish reasons for dismissing the Excise officers and also the reasons for showing leniency by not instituting criminal proceedings against them. The paper congratulates the head of the Abkári Department on the bold step he has taken on the present occasion by bringing the delinquents to book but characterises the leniency he has shown towards them as mercy misplaced.

Complaints against the Konkan steamer service.

Satyashodhak (117), 4th Nov.

18. Owing to the vagaries of the Konkan steamer service passengers are being put to great inconvenience. A steamer from Bombay had recently to halt for a pretty long time at Janjira owing to stress of weather. Had its departure from that port for Ratnágiri been communicated to the latter place by telegram arrangements could easily have been made to send out barges to take down the Ratnágiri passengers from the steamer. But nothing of the kind was done and the passengers had to remain on the steamer and land at the next port after undergoing great privations. It is the duty of the Customs authorities to take notice of this negligence on the part of the ship's officers. Similar complaints are being heard from Bankot. Although the steamer can conveniently touch

that port it is taken to Hareshwar thus compelling the passengers from Bankot and the adjacent places such as Wesvi, Mhapral, etc. to proceed to Hareshwar in barges, which is very dangerous. Recently two barges proceeding to Hareshwar, one from Wesvi and the other from Mhapral, foundered causing the death of five persons. We invite the attention of the steamship company to these grievances of the people and request them to remedy them at an early date.

Comments on the address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Sind Muhammadan Association.
Phœnix (8), 31st Oct.

19. Commenting upon the address presented to His Excellency the Viceroy by the Sind Muhammadan Association, the *Phœnix* remarks:—"To anyone acquainted with the leading Muhammadans of Sind the absence of the signatures of men like the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri, Messrs. Ghulamali G. Chagla, Yusifalli Allibhoy, Ghoolam Hoosain Kassim and Mir Ayub Khan must have been a great surprise. But it is an open secret that the leading Muhammadans of Karáchi and the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri from Hyderabad declined to sign the address or be a party to it as the para dealing with the Home Rule League was introduced therein not only without their consent but in spite of their protest. The address of an Association of a local body ought not to deal with politics. On this ground the War League omitted from their address all mention of politics though at one time they entertained the idea of doing so. It is no use reiterating here the influences which were at work in getting this para inserted in the address and the way in which the association held its meeting at which the inclusion of this para was agreed and brushed aside all objections and protests. The whole episode is a painful one and does not in our opinion redound to the credit of the Muhammadan community. A perusal of the names of the signatories of the address shows that many signatories are obscure persons......... The allegations in the address that the Muhammadans in this province are sufficiently educated and that they have not got their due share of appointments as yet are also according to us not correct. There is not a sufficient number of educated Muhammadans in Sind who can come up to the standard of Hindu servants of Government. As regards their employment the present Commissioner in Sind has been doing his best to appoint as many Muhammadans in the Government service as he can. Some of them quite young in age and service are being appointed to high post of Mukhtiarkars and Deputy Collectors over the heads of old and experienced Hindus. It is rumoured that almost all the Daftardars to the Collectors of the various districts in Sind will be Muhammadans so that more lower appointments may also in future go to Muhammadans. We think that in this regard the grievance of the Association is not a genuine one at least so far as the present *régime* in Sind is concerned."

EDUCATION.

Students' strikes in the Central Provinces.
Kesari (106), 6th Nov.

20. Sir Benjamin Robertson is known for his cool-headedness and spirit of compromise. But it appears that he is guided by some bureaucratic official in his attitude towards students. He rejected the application of the Nagpur Graduates' Association. His ire was not satisfied by the rejection and he has issued a press note on the subject and made some charges against Indian leaders. A responsible officer like Sir Benjamin should not speak in such an irresponsible manner. It is not true that the circular prohibiting students from attending meetings is an old one. Needless changes that would excite indignation have been made in its new edition. No evidence has been given of the breach of discipline amongst students to justify the re-issue of the circular after a lapse of eight years. New strict and unpractical restrictions have been imposed on students. The third oppressive point is that parents are being forced to sign a declaration approving of the circular. It is the height of high-handedness to drive out students from schools because their parents declined to sign the declarations! Teachers were asked to watch the students; students were fined for attending non-political meetings; and partiality was shown in imposing the fines. All this contributed to make the situation worse. Till things came to this pass, did the students go on a strike? Did anybody encourage them? Students were driven out of High Schools. Did not the College students sign a declaration as soon as they were assured by the Principal that he would allow them to attend meetings? Did not the Principal refuse to keep his word? Any number of Sir Benjamin's Press notes would be of no use. He should not allow himself to be solely guided by his subordinates, and it would be better if he settled the question after a consultation with public leaders. Students who have been held by school authorities to be undisciplined are working enthusiastically, unselfishly and in an orderly manner to save the city from a flood caused by the breach of the dam of Ambazari Tank. People can judge for themselves how far the cry of want of discipline raised is true.

Necessity of raising the pay of untrained teachers.
Kesari (106), 6th Nov.

21. Referring to Government's reply to the interpellations of the Honourable Mr. Upasani regarding untrained teachers, the *Kesari* says:—There is no need of criticising these figures. Even the lowest Hamal in a mill is paid more. Government cannot do without untrained teachers and they should not disregard their welfare. Is it not unjust to fix their maximum pay at Rs. 11? Mr. Montagu while Under Secretary had promised that the minimum pay of untrained teachers would be Rs. 12 and that a Provident Fund would be started for them. It is now five years since the speech was made. Mr. Montagu is now Secretary of State and he is coming over to India soon. Will the Local Government introduce these desirable reforms before his arrival? Or we shall have to remind Mr. Montagu of his words and show to him, by a practical instance, how much his words are regarded by the local officials.

RAILWAYS.

Suggestion to Government to issue *communiques* explaining the necessity for dismantling the Hyderabad-Badin Railway Line in Sind, etc.
Sind Observer (12), 26th Oct.; *Sind Journal* (10), 11th Oct.

22. "Our Hyderabad correspondent informs us that in consequence of the dismantling of the Hyderabad-Badin Line, all kinds of silly rumours are circulating among the ignorant population, and it is therefore necessary to issue a sort of *communique* mentioning authoritatively the reasons which have necessitated Government dislocating the traffic at such short notice. It is also in the air that another section of the N.-W. Railway line in Sind, namely, Kotri-Dadu-Ruk, is also marked down for dismantlement, if needed. Before this actually occurs, would it not be better to prepare the people likely to be affected by the uprooting of this line, so that they may have sufficient time, unlike the case of the Hyderabad-Badin Railway, to decide on some make-shift to meet the transport difficulty." [The *Sind Journal* writes:—"The dismantling of the broad gauge line from Hyderabad to Badin has at last been decided upon and it would commence from the 1st proximo. The military requirements in Mesopotamia are said to be the cause of this dismantling.......... We trust that every step would be taken to remove any signs of panic, if they manifest themselves among the illiterate masses. Further it is imperatively necessary that the land revenue assessment which had been enhanced at the revisional settlement in view, among other factors, of the growing prosperity of the Tando Division would be reduced in proportion to the fall in the price of grain which would surely be affected by the closing of the Badin line. The former facilities of traffic and communication have been almost ruined since the opening of the line which is about to be closed."]

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the general strike at Wadhwán.
Gujaráti Punch (19), 4th Nov.; *Káthiáwár Times* (26), 4th Nov.; *Surya Prakásh* (33), 3rd Nov.

23. The *Gujaráti Punch* regrets that the usual liberal and conciliatory policy of Lord Willingdon has not been employed to bring to a satisfactory solution the question of the present Wadhwán strike. It is inclined to attribute the strike not to any differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans of Wadhwán but to the action of the Administrator in issuing rules which placed restrictions upon the playing of music in public streets. The paper does not approve of the attitude of Mr. Kadri in insisting upon the strike being first discontinued before he would cancel the rule regarding licenses. It then goes on thus:—We would state with regret that, regard being had to the existing hardships of the Hindu population of Wadhwán, Khan Bahadur Kadri ought to have acted on the present occasion with great foresight. In view of his refusal to cancel the rule above referred to and of the disappointment caused to the people of Wadhwán by the reply of the Political Agent it behoves Lord Willingdon now to intervene in the matter and to soothe the injured feelings of the Hindus. [The *Káthiáwár Times* publishes the purport of a letter addressed to it by a Wadhwán correspondent, wherein the writer, after referring to the strike, declares that the relations between the Hindus and Muhammadans at Wadhwán were and are friendly and that the present difficulties are simply due to the local Muhammadan officers. The correspondent prays to Government to come to the help of the Hindus, who have already suffered much, and render them justice. He also remarks that the religious feelings of the Hindus have been further wounded deeply by the pollution and mutilation, by some unknown person, of the idol of Hanumán which stood in Bapubhá's garden in Wadhwán. The *Surya Prakásh* in defending the administration observes that the system of licenses for playing music in public streets is in vogue in British territory and other Native States and inquires why the Hindus of Wadhwán should have regarded the rule enjoining such a course as a grievance and gone on strike. It describes Khan Bahadur Kadri as an impartial officer free from any racial feelings. The paper then publishes a letter from a correspondent in which the latter dwells upon Khan Bahadur Kadri's impartial attitude both towards the Hindus and Muhammadans and in support refers to the orders recently issued by him, directing a change in the usual route of *Tábut* processions for the sake of preserving the public peace. He further declares that the present strike is a sham one inasmuch as the merchants take away goods from the shops to their houses and carry on their business there.]

Anti-Hindu riots at Vanthali (under Junágadh).

Káthiáwár Times (26), 4th Nov.

24. The *Káthiáwár Times* publishes a letter from a Hindu correspondent in which the writer refers to the disturbances alleged to have been created by the Muhammadans at Vanthali (under Junágadh) on the 27th and 28th of October last in connection with the Muharram processions. He describes the various acts of violence perpetrated by the assailants and declares that the Hindus were so terrified that they locked themselves up in their houses. According to the correspondent, the Hindus pray that the Administrator of Junágadh and other authorities will, for the sake of their future safety, take strong and effective measures, and he also requests the Vakils and other well-to-do Hindus and Jains to render all possible help to the poor Hindu population of Vanthali.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 13th November 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 46 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 17th November 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule :

- Alleged participation by Mr. Justice Kajiji in the political affairs of the Muhammadan community 13
- Arrival of Mr. Montagu . . . . 4—6
- Comments on Mrs. Besant's communication to the Press about the non-release of Ali Brothers 10
- Comments on Sir Valentine Chirol's letter to the London *Times* regarding Indian political reforms 3
- Comments on the Anglo-Indian agitation in Sind . . . 11
- Comment on the Bakr Id riots in Arrah District (Bihár) . . . 14
- Comments on the continued internment of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali . . . . 8 & 9
- How Muhammadans would fare if Home Rule were given to India . 12
- There is no check in India on the reckless expenditure of public money 2
- Treatment of political prisoners in Indian jails 1
- What Mr. Montagu should do while in India 7

Chiefs' Conference at Delhi : Comments on the — 15

Excise :

- Complaint about the high price of salt at Ratnágiri 24
- Complaint about the high price of salt in the Surat District . . 23

Judicial matters : Was the Advocate-General, Bombay, right in undertaking the defence of Surajmal in the case Surajmal *versus* Horniman? 21

Police : Comments on alleged insult offered by Mr. Hayter, District Superintendent of Police, Hyderabad, to the Honourable R. B. Tekchand Udhavdas 20

Revenue matters : Complaint against the system of acknowledging payment of land assessment on slips of paper 22

Viceroy : Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to Sind . . 16

War:

- Comments on the anarchy in Russia 18
- Comments on the situation in Italy 17
- Criticism of the training given in Poona to the I. D. F. 19

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Primary Education Bill before the Bombay Legislative Council 25

EDUCATION—

Complaint about the stringent application of the Students' Circular in the Bombay Presidency 28
Primary education in Bombay City 27
Problem of Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency 26
The Central Provinces Government and students . . . . . . 29 & 30

MUNICIPALITIES—

Ahmedabad: Complaint against the — Municipality 34
Bombay: Storage of Cinema films in — . . . . 31—33

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the general strike at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár) 35

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Treatment of political prisoners in Indian jails.
Young India (14), 14th Nov.; * *Sunday Tatler* (13), 18th Nov.

1. "The treatment of political prisoners in India has always been a subject of serious complaint against Government, and has exposed it to unfavourable comparisons. We are not concerned here with the legitimacy or otherwise of punishing people who entertain political beliefs contravening the limits set down by men in power and authority. But what we are concerned for is the needless harshness and severity with which punishment has been meted out in most of the cases. It is, therefore, of peculiar interest to us in this country that even the Irish bureaucracy has since the Ashe incident, learnt to discriminate more clearly between ordinary criminals and political prisoners. In Ireland at any rate, this discrimination has not been altogether without precedent. Mr. Swift MacNeill, M. P., has quoted the precedent set by Lord Spencer, when, as Viceroy of Ireland, the latter had to deal with the case of Mr. T. M. Harrington, M. P.......... What we want here is that the same generous treatment should be accorded to Indian political prisoners in the future, and that following a later precedent of the British Government, a general amnesty should be granted to the political prisoners already incarcerated. The demand has been made in more than one responsible quarter and it is difficult to think that it will not meet with a sympathetic and generous response from Government. [Commenting on the above article the *Sunday Tatler* writes:—"We are seldom in agreement with the views of that contemporary, but in this instance, we are in a position to endorse and say that the complaint made is, in the main, true though not in every detail. In India all classes of prisoners are treated alike—whether they are old jail lords (birds ?) guilty of the most heinous crimes or persons convicted of offences involving no moral turpitude and undergoing only simple imprisonment or political prisoners, with the only difference that the latter are not locked up in the cells during the day and are allowed books (one book at a time to read) and some writing materials by way of paper and pencil. As for bedding and diet, it is a matter left to the discretion of the Medical Officer and not of the jail authorities. Unless you are ill and in the infirmary, you cannot expect any change in the diet or bedding. However, there is a good deal of room for improvement in this direction as the idea of keeping those who are not guilty of any heinous crimes and undergoing only simple imprisonment along with other criminals is against all civilized notions and ideas. This is a matter that must arrest the sympathy of the Inspector-General of Prisons whose attention has already been drawn to it, and it is in keeping with the advance of civilization that some reforms should be effected in this direction. His Excellency Lord Willingdon has already viewed the position of prisoners in jails with sympathy, and it is hoped that something will be done in this line."]

There is no check in India on the reckless expenditure of public money.
Sind Observer (12), 6th Nov.

2. "In England they have a Committee of Public Accounts whose business it is to scrutinise every item of public expenditure and has power to call before it any minister or official to question him about any payment which in the opinion of the Committee needs elucidation. In this way extravagance is kept under control—to a certain extent. In India there is no such check and public money is being paid out recklessly. Under the Indian method there is no one to question the payment of preferential rates to a contractor for work which others are prepared to do at lower rates. A case in point is the stevedoring charges paid to a certain firm at Keamari. Why this firm should receive a larger sum for what others are willing to take on at a smaller cost to the State we fail to understand. Perhaps General Fowler is not aware of the arrangement."

Comments on Sir Valentine Chirol's letter to the London *Times* regarding Indian political reforms.
Dnyán Prakásh (37), 14th Nov.

3. The long stay of Sir Valentine Chirol at the Government Houses in India, be it for a private purpose, seems to have given him a true idea of Indian public opinion. But it would be for the most part a mistake to imagine that Sir Valentine subscribes to the *Swarájya* or any other comprehensive scheme. Sir Valentine has indeed protested against the local Anglo-Indian agitation to drive out Mr. Montagu from his office and the *Times* also supports him. He, however, does not say that powers should be given to Indians but that responsibility should be thrown upon their shoulders. We are afraid that the scheme of reforms drawn up by Sir Valentine resembles that of Lord Islington and Mr. L. Curtis who want to throw responsibility on Indians without investing them with any real power. It is a device to make a flank movement against the Congress-League scheme rather than boldly lead a frontal attack against it. But this attempt to give as little power to Indians as possible will not be successful just as the attempt of Anglo-Indians to maintain the dominance of their caste will not.

Arrival of Mr. Montagu.
Young India (14), 14th Nov.

4. "Mr. Montagu and party landed in Bombay on Friday afternoon. Notwithstanding the great veil of secrecy which was put on the arrival, the news leaked out somehow and hours before the landing many enthusiastic people had repaired to the Apollo Bunder, only to be turned back after patiently waiting for hours together to have a look at Mr. Montagu. The police were inspired with so much zeal and devotion that they would not allow anybody outside the 'chosen' of the gods even to get within sight of the landing. To add to the disappointment of the curious, Mr. Montagu was driven straightway to the Yacht Club, which was comprised within the 'danger zone' defined by authority of the police Commissioner. The reason, it appears to us, is not far to seek. If no barriers had been raised against the public and if the police had not opened a fusillade on them, we feel quite sure that Mr. Montagu would have been accorded a most sincere, genuine and hearty welcome, even in the absence of a rehearsal beforehand. To many Anglo-Indians such an idea is positively abhorrent and it is thought that in order to preserve their own *izzat* they took the precaution of making the Secretary of State a great object of curiosity that may be exhibited only on occasions, lest familiarity should detract—from the charm of the object or the community, we shall leave the readers to conjecture for themselves."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 10th and 16th Nov.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 11th Nov.; *Rást Goftár* (31), 11th Nov.

5. The *Sánj Vartamán* regrets that no opportunity was given to the people of Bombay to accord a welcome to Mr. Montagu on his landing or to show their joy at his coming to India, owing to the extreme secrecy observed in the matter of his landing and movements in Bombay. It is sorry to see that the officials should have come to the conclusion that any public welcome given to Mr. Montagu would lower the position of the Viceroy. It hopes that Mr. Montagu will give careful consideration to the schemes of reform that will be placed before him and urge Parliament to introduce political reforms in India on the lines suggested by the Joint Committee of the Congress and the Moslem League. [In a subsequent issue the paper expresses dissatisfaction at the very formal manner in which deputations are received by the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. It wishes Mr. Montagu had been given an opportunity to come into closer contact with the people and to know their views. The *Shri Venkateshwar* welcomes Mr. Montagu and wishes him success in his mission. The *Rást Goftár* endorses the resolution passed at a public meeting held at Madras requesting the Prime Minister to remove the restrictions placed on Mr. Montagu in the matter of expressing his opinions or making speeches and exhorts people in other cities to make similar representations with a view to allowing Mr. Montagu to have some freedom during his stay in India.]

Satyashodhak (117), 11th Nov.

6. People naturally do not understand why they were denied the opportunity of welcoming the Secretary of State at Bombay and why so much secrecy was observed in the matter of his arrival and departure. This does not augur well for the mission of Mr. Montagu who has come to ascertain personally the aspirations of the people. His public arrival would certainly have given very great satisfaction to the people. What can possibly be the object of the authorities in making such a mystery of this affair? We trust there will be no repetition of this secrecy when Mr. Montagu arrives in Bombay in December next with the Viceroy.

What Mr. Montagu should do while in India.
New Times (7), 10th Nov.

7. In welcoming Mr. Montagu to India, the *New Times* remarks:—"Mr. Montagu will get a real insight into the Indian political situation if he comes in contact with Indian India. The India of the villages, the India of the masses who get only one meal a day and who cannot, and in fact do not, make their both ends meet, will convince him more than any association of the much maligned educated Indians that what India needs at the present critical period in her history is the amelioration of her political status in the British Empire and in the scale of nations. The official incubus and the extremely formal atmosphere with which he has been invested, partly due to the clamour of Anglo-Indians for overcautious action, may, to a certain extent, prevent the realisation of the actual state of things by the Secretary of State. But it is our duty to say that Mr. Montagu has opportunities to come in contact, even under official reserve, with genuine Indian opinion."

Comments on the continued internment of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 12th Nov., Eng. cols.

8. "After the revelations made by Mrs. Besant the agitation for the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, if it is not to cease altogether, must at least become much more temperate. For, in view of the facts, it is impossible to assail their internment as a mere act of repression. It is a war-measure, however unnecessary and over-cautious, and now must be accepted as such.......... Mr. Mahomed Ali is a true Moslem and a God-fearing man, as he claims to be. His religious zeal and sincerity do him honour. But could he not express an assurance of loyalty to the King-Emperor, without gratuitously importing his religious sentiments? He knew that the guarantee was being demanded from him, in view of his alleged sympathy with Turkey. Turkey is as much an enemy of the Empire as Germany.......... Nor does the Turkey of to-day deserve the sympathy which under the influence of religion the Indian Muhammadans may be led to extend to it. The Turks have shown scant respect and consideration for the sentiments of the Indian Moslems. And the present-day Turkey to all intents and purposes is not an Islamic power, but a vassal of Germany."

New Times (7), 13th New.

9. "Mr. Montagu replying to Commander Wedgwood said the two Moslem leaders 'were interned because they openly sympathised with His Majesty's enemies'. Can Government prove that the Ali brothers expressed any political sympathy with Muslim Turkey? Why not ask, then, these Muslim leaders to face the charges and take the consequences? Drowning men will catch at barbed wire, and the Government in its last extremity has framed a charge, 28 months after the internment order was issued—a charge, which, it is honestly believed, is without a rational foundation! We are afraid Mr. Montagu and the Indian Government have simply swallowed the pill supplied by the C. I. D. This is not the first time that the authorities have missed the facts and their true meaning. Cases of grotesque misrepresentation can easily be recalled by all who have passed through the painful period of the political persecution launched against the National Movement only a few years ago......... It is not difficult for a Government which suffers from insular prejudice, and a Secretary who depends on the versions and views of the 'man on the spot' to be misled; and it will be the height of stupidity to ask any Indian who knows the situation to confess the creed of official infallibility!"

Comments on Mrs. Besant's communication to the Press about the non-release of Ali brothers.
Sandesh (116), 11th and 15th Nov.

10. After dwelling upon Mrs. Besant's services to India in the matter of awakening public opinion in the country and the "great wave of gratitude which moves the hearts of Indians" in thinking about her, the *Sandesh* refers to her communication to the Press after her visit to Simla in connection with the case of the Ali brothers, and says:—Mrs. Besant says that the last remedy now is to petition for the release of the Ali brothers. She emphatically says that the motive of Govern-

ment in interning them is honest. But no Indian has ever thought of questioning the motive of Government. Mrs. Besant also was interned with an honest motive and for proper reasons as Government thought. Should our leaders consider any question with the eye of Government or with that of the public? If the point of view of Government is to be adopted, there remains no need of any political agitation. It would be but natural to connect this change in the views and conduct of Mrs. Besant with the word she is said to have passed at the time of her release. The change in the policy of *New India* and the way in which she spoke to the Nágpur students point in the same direction. We do not think it would do any good to suppress the opinions that are being freely expressed among the reading public about her. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the presidential speech of Mrs. Besant would be a disappointing one. We are sure she would not pull us back as Sir S. P. Sinha did. She may be feeling the sense of responsibility rather too strongly but we do not think that she will not be as plain-spoken as she was formerly. [An anonymous correspondent writes to the *Sandesh*:—Mrs. Besant has gone back to her old self. Her suggestion of an appeal to the Privy Council for the release of Ali brothers is ridiculous. It is our misfortune that she is to be our President this year.]

Comments on the Anglo-Indian agitation in Sind.

New Times (7), 9th Nov.

11. "The Sind Branch of the European Association met on the 25th October to support the protest of the Parent Society at Calcutta. This is what we expected; but what we did not expect was that the Anglo-Indian agitators would be so insane as to indulge in the studied contempt of Indian aspirations, the superman's self-consciousness, the supercilious self-righteousness which characterised the various speeches made on the occasion.......... But no Prussian pugnacity, no bullying 'Potsdamnation' can silence the National agitation in Sind. The Sind Public refuse to be bullied, refuse to be overawed by overweening jingoism. And in the Day of Readjusment which is nigh the Anglo-Indian extremists of Sind will regret that they lost a splendid opportunity, of proving to the people of this Province the sincerity of their professed devotion to the great Ideals for which England and India fight to-day in the Army of Freedom......... It is a strange spectacle this, to find a community of capitalists scrambling in India for India's gold, rolling in luxury, and telling a people, the majority of whom are in poverty and several in actual destitution:—'You have suffered no anxieties as we have in the war which has seemed far distant to you and your leaders'! To be serious, to speak in this disparaging way to a people who though poor have fought and bled for the Empire in all these anxious years of the world-war, is a damnable thing; it is a blasphemy, a sin against the holy spirit of our Race."

How Muhammadans would fare if Home Rule were given to India.

Islámic Mail (4), 11th Nov.

12. "Our friends in the Home Rule camp serve no useful purpose by belittling and even ridiculing the opposition which is growing in the country against their movement. They may deride the European community and pooh-pooh the Mussalmans of Bihar, but that will not stop the wave of opposition to their movement which is slowly sweeping over Moslem India. A corner of the veil has been lifted and the Mussalmans have got only a glimpse of Home Rule in its true perspective, but that glimpse has been enough to sober their wild enthusiasm and in spite of what Messrs. Mazharul Haq and Wazir Hasan may say Muhammadans will have nothing to do with it.......... In India, the surface education has not changed the psychology and nature of the people. The racial prejudices and religious differences are as keen today as they were in the darkest days of the Brahmanical rule. The hatred of the Muhammadans forms part of their creed and a Moslem is still regarded as a *malech* (unclean). Your friends who allure you by their fraternising spirit and preach lofty ideals of equality and religious tolerance would not eat of the food touched by you. The most liberal minded and educated of them would not allow you to mention the word beef in their presence much less to allow cowkilling, etc. And even if they did, if the westernised Brahmin allowed the sacrifice of the goddess cow (we hope they would not consider this a libel upon their religious feeling, would the mass of the people educated or uneducated allow a thing which they regard as a sacrilege?......... The blood-curdling incidents in Bihár, at Arrah and other places, have a moral which cannot be lost upon any sensible man. They show as plainly as anything can, that in a community, call it a congeries of nations if you will, where religion plays such an important part as to overshadow every other sense, no political cohesion is possible on the basis which is set up by Home Rule. We do not think it necessary to dwell upon the painful and unfortunate episode of this display of Hindu savagery. We do not wish to excite the feelings of our co-religionists by a description of the horrors perpetrated by the Hindus of both the types, educated and uneducated, in a moment of religious excitement. They stand condemned all round.......... We have to think and consider our own attitude towards Home Rule in the light of them. The Hindu leaders are very kind and may be well intentioned. But the Arrah incidents have laid bare the fact that where religious feeling is concerned they have no control over the masses one way or the other. They may hold out glowing prospects and brilliant promises to us, but the people with whom we will have to live would not care a jot for them when their religious feeling is excited. When such dreadful things as happened in Arrah are possible now when the British troops are there to protect us and the British officers to do justice to our plaints, what would happen when the power is vested in the hands of the Hindus? .... We have just said the grant of one-third seats in the Legislative Councils is in our opinion no concession. What we want is our adequate share of the public services, for it is the men in the service who govern the country and influence the progress of the country and community for good and bad. A Mamlatdar or Deputy Collector wields more power for good or for evil than even a member of the Imperial Council, and the most cogent reason why our community has not progressed rapidly is the total absence of the Moslem element from the public services. Wherever they hold their share their progress in political and social matters is markedly observable as in the United Provinces and the Punjáb....... The Hindus want every thing for themselves and would not tolerate any encroachment upon their monopoly. If they are inspired with a genuine feeling of good will and sympathy they should give at least one proof of it. Let them show that they are desirous of co-operating with us and we will not be slow in extending the hand of friendship and working for the common good of the country; but so long as it is not so we are bound to regard Home Rule as another name for Hindu Rule.

Alleged participation by Mr. Justice Kajiji in the political affairs of the Muhammadan Community.

Islámic Mail (141), 5th Nov., Urdu edition.

13. A Committee has been formed to arrange for a deputation to be presented to Mr. Montagu on behalf of the Anjuman-e-Islam (of Bombay). Mr. Kajiji is the president of the said Committee. We remember that the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri recently objected to the meeting held under the chairmanship of the Vazir of Khairpur in Sind, at which opposition was offered to the Home Rule scheme. Mr. Bhurgri's contention that Government servants should not take part in political affairs is legitimate. We wonder how Mr. Kajiji has consented to participate in this affair relating to discussions about Home Rule and the political needs of the Musalmans. It would have been proper if no servant of Government had taken part in it, so that the critics would not have been in a position to say that the Muhammadan representatives did not support (the demand for) Home Rule owing to the influence of Government. Kazi Kabiruddin and Mr. Jinnah are also members of this Committee. How have they allowed a Judge of the High Court to take part in their deliberations?

Comments on the Bakr Id riots in Arrah District (Behar).

Akhbár-e-Islám (57), 13th and 15th Oct.

14. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* publishes a letter from one A. K. Shaikh in which the writer, without considering it necessary to draw a harrowing picture of the helpless condition of the Muhammadans of the Arrah and Shahabad districts as a result of the Hindu-Moslem riots that took place on the last Bakr Id festival, appeals to the well-to-do Muhammadans of Bombay to take measures for alleviating the distress of the Moslems of those districts. He suggests that, in view of Committees having been appointed in different parts

of India to collect funds for affording relief to the afflicted Muhammadans, a similar Committee of rich and influential Moslems should be appointed in Bombay to collect money for the above-mentioned purpose. [In a subsequent issue of the paper appears another letter from one 'Amir' in the course of which the correspondent, after referring to the Arrah riots, declares that the Hindus maltreated the Muhammadans during these riots because of their superior numbers, and significantly remarks that these riots are an indication of the unity which is alleged to exist between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. He wonders as to what would happen after the attainment of *swarájya* when unfair advantage is thus taken by the Hindus over the Muhammadans, even before its attainment, on account of the latter being in a minority. The writer considers it to be the duty of the Bombay Muhammadans to assemble in public meetings to express their contempt for the Hindus who have perpetrated violence upon the Muhammadans and also to start funds for the relief of the latter. He further maintains that Mr. Montagu should be convinced as to how far India is fit for *swarájya* by allowing him to visit the districts above referred to and listen to the evidence of those who have been rendered helpless and destitute as a result of the riots.]

Comments on the Chiefs' Conference at Delhi.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 14th Nov.

15. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while approving of the suggestion made by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner at the Chiefs' Conference recently held at Delhi for the organisation of a well-constituted Chamber of Indian Chiefs, refers to the backwardness of many of the Native States and the absence in them of any agency by which the people can have any voice in their own administration. It, therefore, asks the Native States to raise their subjects to the level of British Indian subjects before aspiring to have a Chamber of their own or having their representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council as suggested in certain quarters. It is of opinion that the affairs of Native States and those of British India should, as far as possible, be kept apart from each other and doubts whether the Indian Chiefs would like any interference in their affairs by the Imperial Legislative Council.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's visit to Sind.

New Times (7), 8th Nov.

16. "Indeed Lord Chelmsford gave indications, on more than one occasion, during his brief stay in our midst of his sincere desire to look at problems from the people's point of view to help the development of local self-Government. We are glad of these indications concerning a change in the spirit of his administration; every expression of sympathy by him with the aspirations and ideals of the people comes to us with a glad assurance that India well may expect some real Reforms in the immediate future. The bureaucracy in Sind continue to drive the system in the old unpopular, anti-popular way. It is time for officials—Europeans and Indians in the Province—to awake to the new situation; it is time for them to read the face of New Sind's Destiny; Sind is now awake and if the sounds of old mirth have died even in small quiet villages, a new sound of Freedom is on the lips of our village-folk, our citizens, our shop-keepers, our women, even the little boys who whistle in the streets. It is time for all to listen to the trumpet—call of the Time-Spirit."

Comments on the situation in Italy.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 12th Nov.; *Hindusthán* (21), 12th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 14th Nov.; *Baroda Vartamán* (58), 12th Nov.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 17th Nov.

17. Dwelling on the situation in the war, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that though it has become grave as a result of the present Italian crisis, there is no reason for arriving at any hasty conclusion. It believes that the Franco-British reinforcements that have been sent to the help of Italy, though they will not enable the latter forthwith to drive out the enemy from her territories, will at least enable her to make a stand against him. [The *Hindusthán* is inclined to endorse the view held by some that the present crisis in Italy is partly due to the enemy being able to withdraw his troops from the Russian front and partly to the disaffection created in the Italian army by German spies. It remarks that the despatch of the British and French reinforcements to Italy will knock the bottom out of the story circulated by the enemy that the Allies had left Italy unaided in the war. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* observes that, in view of the declaration of America to the effect that she has entered into war only with Germany, it remains to be seen whether it will send any help to Italy which is being invaded by Austria. It remarks that America can ostensibly maintain her neutrality towards Austria and yet indirectly help Italy by sending large reinforcements to the Western Front so as to enable more British and French troops to be withdrawn from that front for the help of Italy. The *Baroda Vartamán* observes that though on account of the Austro-German dash into her territories Italy has suffered a heavy loss from a military point of view she is likely to gain politically inasmuch as the attack has made the Italians more united than before. It remarks thot the enemy must be dreaming at present of frightening France by weakening Italy and of pleasing his Turkish ally by making naval movements on the African coast with the help of the Austrian fleet if he could possibly deal a smashing blow to Italy at the present juncture. In view of the Allied reinforcements to Italy the paper, however, maintains that there is no reason for apprehension so far as the Italian situation is concerned. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the Franco-British reinforcements sent to the succour of Italy on the present occasion and commends this change in the Allies' military policy of leaving each of the Allied nations to defend its own boundaries. Regard being had to the almost certain necessity of Britain and America having steadily to supply reinforcements to the various fronts in the future, the paper urges the authorities not to lose time in utilising the man power of India and raising large armies in this country.]

Comments on the anarchy in Russia.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 13th Nov.; *Hindusthán* (21), 16th Nov.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 16th Nov.

18. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the ascendancy obtained by the Socialists and Maximalists over M. Kerensky and the confusion into which they have thrown Russia owing to the success of German intrigues and declares that in spite of Russia going out of the fight the Allies will be able to muster sufficient strength to defeat the enemy in the ensuing spring. It believes the confusion in Russia will have very little effect on the ultimate success of the Allies beyond depriving Russia of the benefits it would have derived by a firm adherence to the Allied cause. [The *Hindusthán* also expresses confidence that England will be able to stand the strain thrown upon her by the confusion in Russia. The *Shri Venkateshwar* expresses hope that M. Kerensky will be able to rally the country to his side and restore order.]

Criticism of the training given in Poona to the I. D. F.

Sind Observer (12), 6th Nov.

19. "The Calcutta I. D. F. contingent which went to Poona for training have returned and are full of the fatuity of the system which sent them several hundred miles by railway to a distant military station where they learnt nothing new. The contingent spent three weeks at Poona and the course of instruction contained nothing more than they could have done in Calcutta. Thanks to the military arrangements the men were provided with insufficient and unpalatable food. They had to wash down windows and swab floors, but all this useful work could have been performed at Calcutta. We can understand how the 35 lakhs which the I. D. F. is costing is being spent. It seems there still exist persons in authority who do not yet realise that we are at war."

Comments on alleged insult offered by Mr. Hayter, District Superintendent of Police, Hyderabad, to the Honourable R. B. Tekchand Udhavdas.

Sind Journal (10), 8th Nov.

20. "The reprehensible conduct of Mr. Hayter, District Superintendent of Police, Hyderabad, towards the Honourable R. B. Tekchand Udhavdas, the foremost lawyer of Sind, on the occasion of the recent fire that broke out here has aroused considerable feeling in the town. That a man of the position, attainments, and age of Diwan Tekchand should be so light-heartedly insulted by a Police official who is in no respect fit to hold a candle to him, raises the question whether we can expect to be well treated by the average European official in India until we get self-government when the officials will realize that they are the servants and not the masters of the people. Mr. Hayter, who does not enjoy the reputation for sobriety, has on this occasion overstepped the limits of all decorum. The Honourable R. B. Tekchand was on account of his being Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Management, Hyderabad, as much interested in watching the operations for bringing the fire under control as was Mr. Hayter himself, but the latter would not tolerate his presence on the spot and asked him in a most insulting manner to go away. That things should come to such a sorry pass would be keenly regretted by all well-wishers of the British Government. It is understood that Diwan Tekchand had written to the Collector and Chairman of the Committee of Management, Hyderabad, about this affair and that an apology has been made to the aggrieved gentleman by Mr. Hayter on the intervention of Mr. Gibson. We, however, trust that Diwan Tekchand would rest satisfied with nothing short of a public apology by Mr. Hayter who has insulted the whole city, so to say, in the person of the Honourable the Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Management, and who must be made to realize that Indians have as much self-respect as Europeans."

Was the Advocate-General, Bombay, right in undertaking the defence of Surajmal in the case Surajmal *versus* Horniman.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 18th Nov., Eng. cols.

***21.** Commenting upon the various High Court judgments in the case of Surajmal *versus* Horniman, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"We should like to raise the question whether it was right for the Honourable the Advocate-General, a public servant and the leader of the Bar, to have accepted a brief to defend a lawyer and an officer of the Court, against whom most ugly allegations had been made, and really left 'unanswered' in spite of Mr. Justice Macleod's interpretation? Does not public interest require that there be a clear line of demarcation between cases which the Advocate-General can take up without any harm to public interests and cases which he cannot and ought not to take up? Here is a palpable conflict between legal etiquette and public morality. The conflict is by no means impossible of solution. If the discretion of individual Advocate-Generals cannot be safely trusted, it becomes the duty of the Government to interfere and evolve some broad principle, whereby the spectacle of a high public servant openly using his talents in defence of another public officer with a reputation under a cloud may not give a rude shock to a public that is ignorant of the principle of legal etiquette."

Complaint against the system of acknowledging payment of land assessment on slips of paper.

Kalpataru (104), 11th Nov.

22. A correspondent writes to the *Kalpataru*:—The old practice of acknowledging receipts by village officers for land assessment paid by rayats in books maintained by them at their own expense has been discontinued and receipts are now given on very small slips of paper. The land-holder's receipts for assessment play an important part in law-suits. The books were, therefore, far more convenient than the loose acknowledgment slips. I, therefore, request that the old system of receipt books should be revived.

Complaint about the high price of salt in the Surat District.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 15th Nov.

23. One Bhulabhai Bhaidas writes to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* complaining of the hardships suffered by the people of the Surat District owing to the high prices which the salt merchants charge to the people of the district. He adds:—The merchants have cornered all the salt manufactured in the Dungri Salt pans and sell it at their own price. Formerly a bag of salt weighing two maunds was sold for Rs. 3-12-0, and now the same quantity is sold for Rs. 5-8-0 or Rs. 6.

Complaint about the high price of salt at Ratnágiri.

Satyashodhak (117), 11th Nov.

24. A correspondent writes in the *Satyashodhak*:—It is most unfortunate that salt which is produced with very little labour from sea-water should sell dearer than rice in a coastal town like Ratnágiri. The increase in prices of commodities such as sugar, etc., imported from abroad can be explained by the situation created by the war. There is, however, no such justification for the dearness of salt the scarcity of which can be substantially mitigated by manufacturing it locally in salt-pans. This new industry will also provide work for some people of this poor district. The restriction on the storage of salt beyond the prescribed limit of one maund also presses heavily upon the people who are prevented thereby from storing it when it is selling cheap.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Primary Education Bill before the Bombay Legislative Council.

Jám-e-Jámshed (24), 14th Nov.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (57), 12th Nov.

25. Commenting on the report of the Select Committee of the Bombay Legislative Council on the Bill to provide for the extension of primary education in municipal districts in the Bombay Presidency other than the City of Bombay, the *Jám-e-Jámshed* hopes that the changes made by the Select Committee in the original Bill will meet with the approval of the people of the Presidency. In view of the financial condition of the large majority of the people in the districts, the paper welcomes the amendment which seeks to make compulsory primary education free. It observes that the liberal spirit with which Government have allowed the section to be expunged from the Bill, which exempted the Provincial revenues from any additional burden incidental to making primary education free and compulsory, will spread great joy among the public. It supports the Honourable Rao Bahadur Sathe's suggestion to keep the cases of failure to attend school outside the jurisdiction of magistrates' courts in order to prevent compulsory education from being made unpopular. In view of the steady rise in the demand of labour, both agricultural and industrial, the paper declares itself to be in accord with the view held by the Honourable Mr. Chunilal Mehta and the Honourable Rao Bahadur Sathe against a complete prohibition of children of school-going age from employment and remarks that the question should be viewed not from the standpoint of idealists but from that of practical persons. [The *Surat Akhbár* believes that the provision in the Bill prohibiting children under the age of 11 years from all sort of employment will greatly handicap children of the lower classes from acquiring technical knowledge of various arts and crafts calculated to prove helpful to them in after life. The paper is also against making primary education free and observes that such a system will tend to make people less and less self-reliant.]

EDUCATION.

Problem of Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency.

Islámic Mail (4), 4th Nov., Eng. edition.

26. In the course of the third instalment of its article on Urdu teaching in the Bombay Presidency, the *Islámic Mail* writes :—"The decision of Government has come as a surprise to many of us. Indeed Government have taken a difficult position. Side by side with the growth of national spirit the need for a common or national language is being felt more keenly every day. Mussalmans all over India are adopting it and such outlying provinces as Burma and Madras are opening up special Urdu schools, although the Urdu speaking population there does not bear any comparison whatever with the huge mass of population in this presidency which not only speak but use Urdu. The movement for the promotion and development of Urdu is spreading fast and even in such tracts as may be said to have dropped Urdu, people are striving to push it on.......... The Government has not been able to find one single representative Moslem institution disavowing the need for Urdu being the medium of instruction. Even the straw to which they cling, the Anjuman-i-Islam, Kolába, declared Urdu to be the medium of religious instruction and to be the language in which the social functions were performed.......... Muhammadan representatives in the Council and outside it are clamouring for it, and we understand resolutions were proposed, by Muhammadan members of Council, in favour of Urdu, but they could not be introduced being time barred. Almost all the

representative Muhammadan institutions are demanding it, the Committee of educationists appointed by Government to deal with the subject urge it to be the medium of instruction, and yet Government have formed the curious and inconsistent conclusion that it is not wanted by the Muhammadans in this Presidency. The Government appear to be under a strange delusion as regards the language requirements of the people. They ignored all the clamour in favour of Modi till at last they were disillusioned by their defeat in the Council. The Muhammadans are unfortunately not so strong as the Hindu community and cannot bring Government to their knees as the supporters of Modi have done. But will not the Government be pleased to generously climb down from their high altitude and give sympathetic attention to the *universal* demand of the Moslem Community? We are obliged for their generous regard for Muhammadan advancement and appreciate their good intentions to give the Muhammadans equal opportunities of getting the billets in the *subordinate* service by acquiring the vernacular of the district without being handicapped by the burden of Urdu.........
We admit that a knowledge of the vernacular of the district is essential, nay, indispensable. But the best way to tide over the difficulty is to follow the practice in vogue in private *maktabs* and institutions. Let Urdu be the principal language and the vernacular of the district the second language.........
It is always easy for a Commissioner or a Collector to find one or two Muhammadans to support his views whether against Urdu or even against religion. Our leaders share the general degeneration of the community and would say any thing to please the powers that be. But it is not commensurate with the liberality and public-spiritedness of Government to take advantage of our weakness and create obstacles in the realisation of our national aims. Arabic and Persian have passed away and there only remains Urdu to teach our boys the rudiments of religion, and will Government take that away? But as a friend pointed out, now that the all-powerful Home Rule League organ has taken up the case of Urdu supported by the *Times of India* the chances are that Government will have to climb down."

Primary education in Bombay City.
Bombay Samáchár (60), 17th Nov.

27. Referring to the scheme framed by the Bombay Municipal Schools' Committee on the subject of the extension and improvement of primary education in Bombay, in the course of which the Committee has urged upon the Bombay Corporation the supreme necessity of ultimately making elementary education free and compulsory in the city, the *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its strong belief that the Corporation will not fail to give due respect to this weighty opinion of the Schools' Committee which was composed of experienced and farsighted educationists. It regards as practical the recommendation made by the Committee for levying a small Education Cess on landed property to meet the increased expenditure involved in carrying out the proposals it has made. The paper expresses the hope that, in spite of the provisions of the Bombay Municipal Act of 1888 which enacts that Government would contribute their share in the increased expenditure incurred by the Bombay Municipality on primary education if the Municipality made it free or free and compulsory at the instance of Government, the latter will help to make this great and laudable scheme of education successful by extending to it their pecuniary assistance.

Complaint about the stringent application of the Students' Circular in the Bombay Presidency.
Young India (14), 14th Nov.

28. "We think the time has come for entering our emphatic protest against the arbitrary manner in which the 'Students and Politics' Circular is being applied. From a letter which the Secretary of the last Gujarat Educational Conference, Broach, received from the Secretary to Government, Educational Department, it becomes painfully evident that the authorities, not content with fostering indirectly unrest among the students, their parents and guardians, are determined to carry their hostile demonstration against public meetings whether they be political, educational, social or economic, to its legitimate conclusion. At the last session of the Educational Conference which met under the

presidency of Mr. Gandhi, the students of Broach were prevented from taking part even as volunteers. An appeal to the Private Secretary to the Governor was referred back to the Department, with the result that the Secretary of the Conference was informed as politely as official etiquette would allow that Government saw no reason to interfere with the decision of such an infallible officer as the Director of Public Instruction!"

The Central Provinces Government and students.
Indu Prakásh (40), 10th, 12th and 13th Nov.

29. The authorities have taken out of their armoury the famous Risley Circular and have made it more deadly. We are constrained to say that the Educational authorities in the Central Provinces did not display any far-sightedness in closing the schools and colleges. They could have solved this question by taking the guardians of the students into their confidence. The students, however, were not well-advised in taking the extreme step of striking. [In its subsequent issues the paper remarks:—The administration of India is carried on by a handful of men coming from England. The decisions arrived at by the Local and Supreme Governments and their councils become operative whatever people may think about them. The regrettable events in the Central Provinces have resulted from the authorities overlooking the fact that even the tender hearts of students possess the spark of patriotism. The poor students are accused of taking too much part in politics. But why should this disturb anyone? Such occurrences only betoken the awakening of a nation.]

Subodh Patrika (43), 11th Nov., Eng. cols.

30. "The reply given by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to the considered representation of the Nagpur Graduates' Association, regarding what we cannot but describe as the oppression of the students by German disciplinarian regulations about attending public meetings, is disappointing in the extreme. The Honourable Mr. Slocock's main argument seems to be that there is nothing new in these regulations and that they were promulgated ten years ago. But bad laws do not become good by lapse of time. What was a bad law ten years ago is indeed a worse one to-day, as India has not stood still for the past decade, as even the most sun-dried bureaucrat will admit. The student classes have shared in the general advancement. There is a new spirit among them such as never animated them in previous years. To attempt to bottle up this new spirit is a most grievous error, as the history of political anarchism in Bengal has proved conclusively."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Storage of cinema films in Bombay.
Indu Prakásh (40), 13th Nov.; **Rást Goftár* (31), 18th Nov., Eng. cols.

31. The recent outbreak of fire at the Ekadashi building in Girgaum is supposed to be due to an explosion caused by cinema films. It is much to be regretted that within six months of the disastrous fire at Prag Mahal there should be another outbreak due to the same cause, *viz.*, the storage of cinema films. There was considerable discussion at the time about the desirability of allowing cinema films to be stored in tenanted buildings. Who is responsible for this state of things? Why is the Bombay Municipality apathetic in this matter? It is surely time that drastic steps were taken to prevent similar disasters in future. If the Bombay Municipality will not bestir itself redress must be sought from other quarters. [The *Rást Goftár* writes:—"It is almost criminal to allow such a state of things to continue, and the Bombay Corporation should take steps without delay to prevent a further recurrence of these tragic accidents.......... The danger is quite preventible, for if it is laid down under the municipal regulations or bye-laws that no inflammable material is to be stored in any part of a house the upper floors of which are used for residential purposes, people living in Bombay houses could go about their business and sleep at nights with a sense of safety.......... Accordingly, we call upon the Corporation and appeal to the Government of Bombay to take early steps and introduce legislation if necessary to prohibit absolutely the storage of inflammable articles in houses in which a large number of people live, move and have their being."]

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 12th Nov.

32. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the public are entitled to demand from the owner of the Ekadashi Building as well as the Municipal authorities an explanation as to why, after the Prag Mahal fire incident, a portion of the said building, which was inhabited by a large number of tenants, was allowed to be used as a shop for storing cinematograph films. It also refers to the alleged delay that took place before the fire escape arrived at the scene of the present fire. As a few safeguards against similar incidents taking place in the future, the paper suggests that the storing of dangerous goods, such as cinema films, on the ground floors of buildings occupied by tenants should be prohibited; that the proprietors of such shops should be compelled to keep the films in fire proof boxes; that the shops should be located as far as possible from staircases; that they should be fitted with automatic sprinklers; and that the owners of large buildings should be compelled to provide two fireproof staircases for their buildings instead of the single ordinary ones as at present.

Gujaráti (17), 18th Nov., Eng. cols.

***33.** "The Ekadashi building was insured and the house owner is safe. So is the proprietor of the films in whose premises the fire is said to have first broken out. But the tenants have heavily suffered. Their only consolation is that their lives have been saved by Providence, though some of them have received very serious injuries. General sympathy is being felt for the unfortunate sufferers. But that is not enough. In an overcrowded city like Bombay the public ought to insist that every house should be provided with an external staircase or with staircases of stone as suggested by the Chief Officer, and that fire escapes are brought on the scene of fire as quickly as the fire engines. With regard to the storage of cinema films, the Municipal Act ought to be amended to bring it under more effective control and the existing provisions of the Act more vigilantly enforced than they have been hitherto. We hope the Municipal authorities, the City Improvement Trust and Government will not delay the adoption of suitable preventive and protective measures until the occurrence of a more frightful tragedy in the native quarters of the city. It is a shame and disgrace that in a city like Bombay even common-sense precautions are not rigorously enforced in the construction of even huge buildings or of buildings raised on plots leased from the City Improvement Trust. Its career has hitherto shown that it is a body without a soul, otherwise it would have first endeavoured to remove the slums from the city and shown greater solicitude for the safety of the people than for the external appearance of the buildings occupied by them. The Bombay Municipality also has not been as vigilant and exacting as it should have been in dealing with those who store inflammable materials in buildings occupied by tenants. Government, too, have taken an unconscionably long time in amending the Municipal Act as suggested by the Corporation."

Complaints against the Ahmedabad Municipality.

Hindusthán (21), 11th Nov.

34. A correspondent of the *Hindusthán* complains that in spite of the increasing death-rate due to plague in Ahmedabad the Health Department takes great pains to persuade people to get themselves inoculated, while neglecting to clean insanitary areas and thus allowing plague to play havoc with the lives of the poor people. He suggests that some of the very insanitary and filthy areas might be set fire to and burnt down. He further suggests that the mills should be closed so that the poor people may be forced to go out of the city. He complains of the inconvenience felt by the people of the city in the matter of water-supply, which is very deficient after 11 A. M., and suggests that some arrangement may be made to meet the requirements of the people. He also complains about the choking up of the drains, which he ascribes to the neglect of the Engineering and Drainage Departments.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the general strike at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár).

Young India (14), 14th Nov.

35. "A Wadhwán subject" writes in *Young India* :—"It is now over a month and a half since the business people of Wadhwán city suspended their business as a protest against the arbitrary and highhanded administration of the State by Mr. Kadri.......... It is evident that the Administrator was altogether unprepared for such a result from his unjust interference with the time-honoured customs and usages. He seems to have been so infuriated at the audacity of seven-eighths of the people passively resisting in a body his mandate, that he has tried various methods to break down the spirit of the opposition. All these have failed as they deserved to. And having failed in his half-hearted attempts to conciliate the great body of public opinion, Mr. Kadri set about discovering other means and has in effect dismissed some of the old and trusted officers of the State and compelled them to withdraw from the State, without any rhyme or reason. In other ways, too, he is harassing, I hear, those whom he regards as the prominent people in the city and their relations and dependants in a manner that is not easy to believe. The pity of it is that the Agent to the Governor who is the immediate authority over Mr. Kadri seems to have been entirely misled by the interested misrepresentations of the latter to believe that the people are in the wrong and the Administrator is in the right. Representations made by the people have been ignored by Mr. Maconochie and this has accentuated the feeling of anxiety and apprehension that exists among them already. I am not at all surprised that Mr. Maconochie should be indifferent to the complaints of the people. For, according to my information, he was responsible for forcing Mr. Kadri on the choice of the Local Government, and naturally, therefore, his sympathies would be with Mr. Kadri. Besides, the failure of repeated representations to His Excellency the Governor, made by the citizens of Wadhwán resident in Bombay, must have led both the 'superior' and 'inferior' authority to think that the central Government does not care a jot for the grievances and complaints of the people. On the other hand, the people have further strengthened their resolve not to resume business until the provocative orders against processions, etc., have been withdrawn. In this resolve they have the whole-hearted support of the Khoja Muhammadans, who are at one with their Hindu fellow-subjects in disapproving of the action of the Administrator. The Khoja Muhammadans, who form a small but important part of the business community of Wadhwán, have passed a resolution against any one of their members resuming business, until the whole community has resumed business."

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd November 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 47 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 24th November 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION —

British rule :

Comments on a case of outrage due to the fanaticism of the Borah community of Ujjain (Central India) 19
Comments on an alleged insult to a Pathan by an Anglo-Indian in a Railway train at Ráwalpindi Station 20
Comments on Mr. Montagu's programme in India 14
Comments on the Bombay Presidency Association's memorial to the Secretary of State 2
Comments on the demands of the Moslem League meeting at Lucknow 15
Comments on the joint scheme of reforms drafted by some Indians and Europeans at Calcutta . . . . 11 & 12
Comments on the proposed Committee to inquire into the cases of persons interned under the Defence of India Act in Bengal . . 18
Comments on the recent pronouncements of Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir Bamfylde Fuller on the question of Home Rule for India . 16
Comments on the Secretary of State's reply declining the invitation to attend the next session of the National Congress . . . 13
Government should ask Mr. V. R. Shinde to sever his connection with the Depressed Classes Mission 10
Lingayats and the reforms 9
Muhammadans and the forthcoming political reforms 3
The backward classes and the reforms 8
The bureaucracy is the representative of *Kultur* and the cause of most of the ills in India . . . .
The Cotton Commission is sitting for the good of Lancashire, not India 17
The Parsi memorial regarding communal representation to the Secretary of State . . . . 4—7
Excise : Complaint about the high price of salt 25
Indian Press : The policy of the *Young India* newspaper 23
Public Service : Alleged failure of Mr. B. N. Athavle as a Presidency Magistrate, Bombay 24
War : Comments on the progress of the — . . . . 21—22

H 362—*a* CON

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

LEGISLATION—

The Honourable Mr. Patel's compulsory Education Bill 26

MUNICIPALITIES—

Ahmedabad : Alleged gross neglect of sanitation by the municipal authorities of — 29
Bombay : Grievances of people frequenting the Kennedy Sea Face . . 28
Comments on the recent orders of Government conferring on all City Municipalities the right of electing their presidents 27

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the Wadhwán strike 30

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The bureaucracy is the representative of *Kultur* and the cause of most of the ills in India.

New Times (7), 17th Nov.

1. "The bureaucracy in India have been the partisans of *Kultur*; they have been anxious to assure 'the greatness' of the official class, to identify that class with the State, to stifle the national ideal of liberty, the prevent India from entering into the Modern Movement of Freedom. What has been the result? Indians, with a few exceptions are not, even when qualified, allowed to have high offices lest 'homogeneity' at the top be disturbed! Indian talent is not pressed in the service of the administration; anti-English (?) colour-bar is scrupulously maintained; an economic policy, in the name of a free trade which has not been fair to the claims of Indian industry, throws the stupendous 'white man's burden' on the people; the men and women are stricken with the weight of poverty rather than of years; there are very few who got two meals a day; 'the hungry look up and are not fed'; the painful story of famine and plague and cholera and malaria is repeated year after year; and any casual visitor to India has only to look into the faces of the labourer, the peasant, the boy in the school or the street, the clerk in the office, to understand that the bureaucracy have been so 'efficient' that the very physical vitality of this ancient People is progressively declining. The bureaucracy represent *Kultur*; the National Ideal is one of Civilization, the Ideal of self-realisation for the service of man. The struggle between the bureaucracy and the people is, thus, inevitable; it is a struggle between privilege and freedom, between vested interests and the People's happiness, between oligarchy and democracy. It is not a struggle for some posts, some offices for educated India; it is a struggle of National Freedom against the decrees and demands of a bureaucratic system of Government."

Comments on the Bombay Presidency Association's memorial to the Secretary of State.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 20th Nov.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 21st Nov.

2. The *Sánj Vartamán* strongly supports the Bombay Presidency Association's memorial to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. It regards it as a very weighty political document and hopes that it will produce a deep impression upon the mind of Mr. Montagu. The paper gathers from the memorial that the demands made by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League in 1917 are substantially the same as those that Bombay had made in the year 1852. It then writes:—The Indian public have been waiting for these same political reforms for a period of 65 years. During this period a vast change has been brought about in the education and sentiments of the people, and the Indians will be completely disappointed if they are still told that they should advance slowly. They have observed patience for the last 65 years and it is only the people of India that can exercise such commendable patience. Those who belittle the reforms suggested in the Congress-League scheme by characterising them as "catastrophic" and "hasty" betray their ignorance of the political history of this country. [The *Bombay Samáchár* regards the memorial of the Bombay Presidency Association as a document embodying thoughtful, relevant and practical suggestions. It prays that the outlines of provincial autonomy to be introduced in India that have been laid down in the memorial will receive the serious consideration they deserve. The paper remarks that the Presidency Association has rendered a valuable service not only to the people of Bombay but to the people of the whole of India by showing through its present memorial how the interests of all parties and communities could be effectually safeguarded in the matter of representation, and hopes that it will help to impress upon the minds of the opponents of the Congress-League scheme and upon the mind of Mr. Montagu the practical nature of that scheme.]

Muhammadans and the forthcoming political reforms.

Islámic Mail (4), 18th Nov., Eng. edition.

3. "The Secretary of State is to receive a deputation of Mr. Wazir Hasan's League this week and his party is mustering in full strength to make a great show so far as we know (and it is not always easy to know the doings of this League as it usually works behind the *Purdah*). They propose to submit the same scheme on behalf of the Mussalmans as was settled between them and their monitors in the Congress camp. The League has lost its all-India character and represents only a clique whose working has been admirably illustrated by the *Pioneer* in an article which we publish on the next page. An all-India deputation of Mussalmans was therefore a great necessity and we are glad to learn that Nawab Ishaq Khan, Honorary Secretary of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh, is arranging for one.......... His scheme of reform which has been drafted by Saikh Abdullah of Aligarh is a comprehensive scheme based on the principle we have been so strenuously advocating, *viz.*, one-third share for the Mussalmans in every public body, Councils, District Boards, Government service or Universities.......... We could understand the Hindu objection to this arrangement if they were prepared to make any concession whatever. If they had agreed to give equal shares to us in all the Provinces, then we would have understood their objection to a Muhammadan majority in Eastern Bengal, the Punjáb and the Frontier Provinces. They want us to make the sacrifice without giving us anything in return. The best scheme that suggests to us is that there should be three equal shares allotted to Hindus, Mahammadans and other minorities such as Christians, Europeans, Parsis, &c., &c. Let Hindus get one-third as their share, one-third should go to Muslims, one-third should go to other important minorities according to the population of the Provinces. This will keep the balance of power between the two communities and work as a lever against the aggressive tendencies of either. Where the two parties differ the third party will throw its weight to maintain the equilibrium. But it is essential that this allotment of power should operate all through the various ramifications of administration. It should embrace not only the Legislative Councils but public services, universities, local self-government and wherever authority may be vested in the hands of popular representatives. Our one great complaint is that our proportion in the Provincial Service, which is the pivot upon which the whole administrative machinery revolves, is inadequate, in fact the absence of Muhammadan element from it jeopardises Muhammadan interests. We confess, however, we do not understand the claims of certain sects among the Hindus for separate representation. The non-Brahmins or Sikhs are pure Hindus and as such they are entered in the Census Reports. They are a part of the great Hindu community and if their point of distinction is only that they are untouchables then every sect will claim differential treatment as one sect is regarded as untouchable by another sect. If so, the *Shias* will get up and claim separate representation and so will the *Sunnis*, *Wahabis*, *Ahmadiyas* and diverse other sects whose creeds differ so materially from each other."

The Parsi memorial regarding communal representation to the Secretary of State.

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 19th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 20th Nov.

4. Referring to the announcement in the *Times of India* regarding the Parsi memorial to be presented by Sir Jamsetji Jeejibhoy, Bart., and other Parsis, to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Right Honourable E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, the *Jám-e-Jámshed* considers it necessary emphatically to declare, in order to avoid all possible misunderstanding, that this memorial is not a memorial of the Parsi community, that it has not been submitted on behalf of the Pársi community and that the community has never been consulted by anybody in connection therewith. It further adds that the Pársi community and its respected leaders, *i.e.*, the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat as such, have in fact, been excluded from preparing the memorial and that the community as a whole has nothing to do with it.

[The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the opposition raised in some quarters against the memorial on the ground of the alleged insult to the Pársi community and the Trustees is ill-founded inasmuch as four out of the seven Trustees of the Punchayat are included in the deputation which is going to submit the memorial to Mr. Montagu. It observes that it is expressly stated in the memorial that it represents the views of Sir Jamsetji and other signatories thereto and adds that the Secretary of State for India will attach as much importance as the number of those signatories and the prestige of the leading men among them will merit.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 19th Nov., Eng. cols.

5. "The memorandum drawn up by Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy and other leading Parsis on the question of communal representation, and to be submitted to the Secretary of State for India, has set many throughtful minds a thinking within the community. Without a doubt the question is a serious one and deserves consideration without passion and without heat. Mr. S. R. Bomanji the other day tried to decry the movement and spoke heatedly on the subject. We are afraid this line of conduct will not in any way facilitate the solution of the question which after all like all other questions has two sides. It ought also to be remembered that the clause of communal representation is still standing on the statute book and that, in spite of the awakening of the enlightened minds amongst the community, on the basis of this clause, Muhammadan elections to the councils take place. Now let us admit that we are not the lovers of this clause. But when all is said and done, we come to the conclusion that it is after all a necessary evil. In the consideration of questions of national importance abstruse questions of mere sentiment ought not to be allowed to intrude. Facts are to be looked at straight in the face and, taking our position from this standpoint, we are bound to admit that this necessary evil—we mean this clause of communal representation—is bound to prevail at least for some time. We must confess that in our present stage of political development, communal representation for safeguarding the rights of important minorities must still hold the ground for some time yet. We believe that in the new India of the future it is most essential that the Parsis, both for themselves and for the country, should have an ample representation commensurate to the community's status, intelligence and past services. Now to express an opinion on this most important question the community has every right. We most emphatically declare that the community had no opportunity to exercise this right. We deny the right of 'Sir Jamsetji and other Parsis' to speak on behalf of Parsis unless they had a mandate from the community, which could only be given by a special meeting of the whole Anjuman convened by the Trustees of the Punchayat. Sir Jamsetjee and his friends, influential or otherwise, have every right to meet in a hole-and-corner meeting and send any representation to Government. But let it be understood once and for all that these worthies represent their own worthy selves only. Nothing more, nothing less."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 21st Nov., Eng. cols.

6. "We very much regret that some of our contemporaries should have thought fit to raise a storm over the proposed Parsi memorial to Mr. Montagu. The memorial does not profess to be a memorial of the whole Parsi community. It is explicitly stated in the very beginning that it is 'the humble memorial of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy and other members of the Parsi community'. If the *Times of India,* or any other paper, chooses to call it the memorial of the Parsi community, how are the memorialists responsible for that? As a matter of fact, all that even the *Times of India* says is that the memorial is to be presented by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy and other Parsis, 'on behalf of their community'. And that is true in the sense that the memorial is intended to obtain a benefit or a privilege for the Parsi community. The memorial is made on behalf of the community, even though those who are to present it may not have been formally authorised by the community to do so. The efforts of the memorialists are on behalf of the community. Even a single individual may address a memorial to Govenment on behalf of a whole community. What weight to attach to such a memorial lies with Government."

Rast Goftar (31), 25th Nov., Eng. cols.

7. "Is it any use squabbling over the deputation which will be headed by Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy and will wait on the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India?......... Is it desirable or not that the Parsis as a community should press their claims on the Secretary of State for India? To this question there can be only one answer and it is in the affirmative. That being so has any other attempt been made, except that of Sir Jamsetjee, to get up a representation and deputation? If not, who is to blame? There is yet time to call a meeting of the community and associate other leaders with the Parsi Baronet and modify the nature of the representation if that happens to be the opinion of the majority. But merely to sit on the fence and to fling stones cannot be considered a public service to the community."

The backward classes and the reforms.

Kesari (106), 20th Nov.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 23rd and 24th Nov.

8. Communities that were perfectly indifferent to politics so long and have made no sacrifices till now for the sake of politics, or their self-constituted leaders, have begun to make wild demands on their behalf. It is satisfactory to note, however, that the dog in the manger policy is possessed by very few heroes or communities. Is it not the misfortune of the country that there should be some at least who would not hesitate to cut their own noses in order to spite others? But though these mean-minded and envious few may kick the celestial cow of *swarájya*, nobody, we hope, will form wrong views about these communities from these instances. The huge mass meetings in Bombay and Poona supported the Congress-League scheme. Hole and corner meetings attended by about a hundred persons were held in opposition. But people know how to value these meetings. The All-India Maratha Conference of Belgaum and the Athani (Belgaum) District Conference adopted a reasonable attitude. It has been proved that in Karnátak as well as in Maháráshtra, there is no opposition to the demand of *swarájya* and that the masses do not insist upon caste-electorates. Some wanted to sow seeds of opposition in Gujarát but they failed. The Jain and Parsi communities have disapproved of communal elections. In Northern India also no question of communal elections has been raised. The whole of India, excepting a few self-constituted and mischievous leaders in Maháráshtra and four or five meetings attended by a handful of persons and engineered by them, supports the Congress-League scheme. There should be extension of suffrage so that all may take advantage of the reforms and Proportional Representation as suggested by the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye may also be adopted. If caste-electorates are insisted upon our Legislative Councils will not be composed of able and select men, but they will only be ridiculous museums of the castes and sub-castes in India. [The paper here refers to the proceedings of a Belgaum public meeting under the presidentship of Mr. Ankale, a Jain, condemning caste-electorates.] *Swarájya* will benefit mercantile classes like Jains, Lingayats, Marwaris and Gujaratis more than Brahmins. In India power is centred in the hands of three British bureaucracies, political, commercial and military. Nine Indians have been admitted into the military bureaucracy, but the commercial bureaucracy is intact. If this commercial monopoly is broken by *Swarájya*, Indian merchants will be greatly benefited. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* suggests that some arrangements should be made for the representation of backward and depressed classes in the Legislative Councils. It adds:—Though special electorates are objectionale the Congress has accepted them, so far as Muhammadans are concerned. The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye suggests the adoption of Proportional Representation in order to provide for non-Brahmins, but he thinks that some seats should be reserved for backward classes. It is possible that the backward classes will give up their insistence on special electorates, if they find that a reasonable number of their representatives are returned. Brahmins also may themselves set a limit to their number of representatives in the Council. The Honourable Mr. Shastri has suggested such a self-denying ordinance in the case of Madras. Though it is not necessary to use such stringent measures in this Presidency it is necessary that Brahmins should allow non-Brahmins to share their powers. In its

issue of the 24th the paper condemns non-Brahmin leaders for not supporting the Congress-League scheme. It expresses its surprise that non-Brahmins do not give their consent to the scheme, subject to such conditions as they may think it necessary to lay down to safeguard their interests.]

Lingáyats and the reforms.

Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 20th Nov., Eng. cols.

9. "We regret to learn that some of the Lingayats of Bijápur have decided to ask for communal representation through separate electorates on the ground that their community is an important minority. The hollowness of this plea is revealed by resolutions of their own community elsewehere and it is not a fact that compared to the Brahmin or any other sub-community of the Hindu society they are numerically weaker. Yet these our Lingayat friends, who must be pretending to represent their community, take pleasure in echoing the cry of separate representation which is raised in some parts of the country and create a discordant note in the universal demand for political reforms......... We are pained to learn that they have further exhibited their wisdom by receding from the Congress-League scheme and raised the standard of 'not yet' and 'step by step,' a hateful phraseology in our current politics.......... It may be that they laboured under the unfounded apprehensions of a possible supremacy of the Brahmin or other educated community if reforms under the joint scheme be granted and have been therefore led to take this contemptible course of minimising the value of the country's demand for political reforms. All this, however, betrays a littleness of mind which is deplorable in a great community like the Lingayat and we believe that all this is the activity of only a few busybodies and that the contagion has not affected the whole community."

Government should ask Mr. V. R. Shinde to sever his connection with the Depressed Classes Mission.

Jágaruk (102), 18th Nov., Eng. cols.

*10. "Mr. V. R. Shinde of the Despressed Classes Mission is now a confirmed Home Ruler. At Athani he made a public declaration to the effect. But he is not merely a Home-Ruler; he is dead opposed to any scheme of special representation of the Backward Classes!...... The only obstacle in the way of Mr. V. R. Shinde is in our opinion the Mission. It prevents him from becoming a second Tilak or Besant! We humbly propose that the Government should free him from the shackles of the Mission, which is no proper field for a man of Mr. Shinde's patriotism and political dash (!) We, therefore, insist that the Government ougth to implore him to give up his connection with the Mission, which is only a deadweight on the neck of his roaring ambition. When Mrs. Besant turned politician and joined the extremist party, the whole organisation of the Theosophical Society was transformed into an association for decrying the Government and demanding complete Home Rule! Mr. Shinde perhaps thought that he would be able to do the same in the case of the depressed classes. But the memories of these people proved more tenacious than those of the high-class theosophists; and they found it impossible to forget the warning that Mr. Shinde had so often administered to them that the 'Untouchables' ought to remain aloof from political agitation! The depressed population in all places has declared itself against Home Rule—even the Bombay people, whom the *Swarajists* tried in vain to hoodwink into giving a consent to the Congress-Scheme."

Comments on the joint scheme of reforms drafted by some Indians and Europeans of Calcutta.

Mahrátta (5), 25th Nov.

*11. "It agrees with the Congress-League scheme in some respects, as we shall show, but differs from it in many important particulars. It has one recommendatory feature that it is supported by no less than 14 Anglo-Indians, and from the close resemblance of it with Mr. Curtis's scheme in his studies it appears that he has drafted it. If it be so, then the 'Round Table' organisation is likely to vote for it. Sir Hugh Bray also says that the proposals 'seems to him to offer a *fair basis* for a scheme of constitutional change'. In view of the fact that the European interests are likely to weigh more with the Cabinet and Parliament, the support of such men is certainly invaluable. We cannot, however, assume at present that the European Association will approve of it *in toto*, perhaps they may even reject it. .... To put the matter in a nutshell, the Congress-League scheme and the new scheme agree in respect of the number and personnel of the excutive of the *quasi*-representative Governments, the non-official character of the Imperial and Provincial legislatures, and the grant of powers of criticism on army, navy and other matters even as in the Congress-League scheme. The new scheme is in advance of the Congress-League scheme in respect of making a tiny provincial government genuinely responsible to a separate, directly elected legislature within certain limits. In all other matters the Congress-League scheme is far in advance of the new scheme and as such Congressmen will certainly hesitate to accept it. However, if the framers of the new scheme would see their way to submit it to the Congress and if the two schemes are fused together, then the product will certainly be better than any one of them."

Dnydn Prakdsh (37), 21st Nov.

12. As Mr. Lionel Curtis' preposterous scheme of giving self-government to India by compartments had already made a little headway and also secured the adherence of some influential Indians, its exposure by the Honourable Mr. Shastri must be considered opportune. The simple fact that the *Madras Mail* has lent its support to this scheme is enough to convince anyone of its utter worthlessness. However attractive it may appear to be on the surface it will hardly confer any real power on the Indians. The *Hindu* of Madras clearly showed how worthless the present project appears to be when compared with the Congress-League Reform scheme and we imagined that the views expressed by this paper would find universal acceptance. We are, however, disappointed to find that the recent conferences of Europeans and Indians at Darjeeling and Calcutta have decided to support Mr. Curtis' scheme. It is surprising that its glaring drawbacks should escape the notice of men like Sir K. G. Gupta and others and we are confident that it will not meet with the approval of the Congress. We do not think that the Congress will ever consent to an arrangement under which the autocratic powers of the Government of India are confirmed and Indians are debarred from having any share in the administration of the principal departments of State in exchange for the doubtful privilege of controlling some minor departments. It would be most undesirable to mutilate our scheme of *swardjya* in the pursuit of this policy of conciliating the fastidious Anglo-Indians.

Comments on the Secretary of State's reply declining the invitation to attend the next session of the National Congress.

Young India (14), 21st Nov.

13. "Agreeably to the tour programme drawn up for him by his bureaucratic counsellors, Mr. Montagu has declined the invitation to attend the next session of the Congress. Of course, as our contemporary of the *Bombay Chronicle*, has remarked, if the Secretary of State were master of his own movements, he would have surely acted differently and would have been glad to avail himself of the invaluable opportunity afforded by the invitation. But in these days, even the 'Great Moguls' of the India Office seem to have become the dutiful servants of the bureaucracy, ever ready to obey their infallible and irrepressible mandates. It is to put it very mildly to say that his declining the invitation has caused disappointment among Indians. On the other hand, we think every self-respecting Indian will strongly resent it as he believes that this obvious discourtesy to Indian opinion is due to the interference of his bureaucratic guardians. We hope that this reply will not be taken as 'a settled fact' and that some of our leaders will impress him with the necessity of reconsidering his reply, which might otherwise give rise to feelings of bitter disappointment and indignation among Indians."

Comments on Mr. Montagu's programme in India.

Kesari (106), 20th Nov.

14. We do not think that a public reception of Mr. Montagu would have spoiled the policy of the Government of India. It is proper and reasonable that the Secretary of State should not give any public promise while in India. But we think it unreasonable that such a distinguished guest should not be allowed to be publicly honoured by the citizens. Mr. Montagu's programme was so arranged that he could not visit the Congress and a special invitation to that effect has been refused. What more proof of his subjection is needed than that he cannot even offer formal thanks to those who wait upon him? Though Mr. Montagu's tongue is not free, he has control over his brains and mind and when he goes back to England, we shall have a declaration showing the effect of Indian influences over him. We wish him a safe return and we hope that he will properly decide about the demand of *Swarájya* with a generosity natural to him when he will be free from the bureaucratic guard.

Comments on the demands of the Moslem League meeting at Lucknow.

Kesari (106), 20th Nov.; *Sandesh* (116), 18th Nov.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 21st Nov.

15. In order to make up the split between the two principal Indian communities the Congress took up a conciliatory attitude and did not object to special Muhammadan electorates and allowed them more representation than was warranted by their population in some Provinces. Muhammadans were thus satisfied and the scheme of *Swarájya* gained universal support. But lured by this gift Muhammadans are becoming more and more grasping in their demands, and they want half the number of Executive Councillors, Under Secretaries and members of the Secretary of State's Council to be Muhammadans. Not content with this demand, the members of the Moslem League meeting at Lucknow did not feel any scruples to ask that Muhammadans only should be allowed to bear arms in those Provinces putting forth the Bakr-Id Riots as a plea! The demand shows one-sided partiality and it is insulting to the Hindus. The demand that there should be a mixed committee of Europeans and Muhammadans to inquire into the Arrah riots and that no Hindu should be included in the commission, has completely shattered the Hindu-Muhammadan *entente*. It is the height of selfishness to appeal on the one hand for the co-operation of the Hindus to agitate for the release of the Ali Brothers and to exercise pressure on Government in that connection and on the other to demand that Hindus should have nothing to do with the Arrah Commission of inquiry. We have only to say that Muhammadans are not in their senses and are raving anything they like, influenced as they are by the news of the recent riots. When this mood passes away, we may take it that the members of the Moslem League will again recover their balance of judgment. Nobody should think that they are giving vent to their settled opinions now, when they have become wild. [The *Sandesh* writes in a similar strain and regrets that Muhammadans have made baseless charges against Hindu leaders and suggests that Hindu and Muhammadan leaders should themselves control the ignorant masses of both the communities and declares that Government orders cannot bring about a union of both the communities. The *Dnyán Prakásh* writes:—Demands put forward by the Lucknow meeting are most unjust and will never be accepted by the other communities. In order to enlist the co-operation of our Muhammadan brethren the Congress not only admitted the principle of communal representation but also consented to the Muhammadans being represented in the Legislative Councils in a proportion largely in excess of their actual numbers. Their present demands are, therefore, not only improper but ludicrous. Unless the sensible section of Muhammadan opinion disavows these exaggerated claims the unity which has so far been achieved stands in danger of destruction. We trust that contingency will not arise.]

Comments on the recent pronouncements of Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir Bampfylde Fuller on the question of Home Rule for India.

Kesari (106), 20th Nov.

16. The *Kesari* considers that a new era has dawned in politics and refers to the recent pronouncements on the political situation by Sir Valentine Chirol and Sir Bampfylde Fuller. It quotes Sir Valentine's criticism that the Home Rule movement has not yet spread to the villages, and exhorts the Home Rule Leagues to take heed of the warning and work hard. It admits the truth of the criticism of Sir Valentine that political agitators can suggest nothing beneficial to the ryots when they visit villages, but it remarks that the Home Rule movement

need not stop till such well-versed agitators are found. It further holds that the agriculturists realise that more agricultural reforms will take place under *swarájya* than is the case now. Though Mahatma Gandhi knows nothing of indigo plantation, it continues, his recent agitation has had a value of its own. It opines that it is more practicable for the agriculturist to become a Home Ruler than for a Home Ruler to become an agriculturist. It exhorts villagers to remove the illusion of Sir Valentine Chirol that agriculturists are not Home Rulers.

The Cotton Commission is sitting for the good of Lancashire, not India.

Gujaráti (17), 18th Nov.

17. In whose interest is the Cotton Commission working? Since there are no mills in India which can use long staple cotton the inquiry is of no use to India. In fact the inquiry is not being made in the interests of India or Indian mills, but because the mill-owners of Lancashire have to pay high prices for American cotton. Will the mill-owners of Lancashire touch the Indian produce when American cotton gets cheap? Why should the Agricultural Department waste the country's money in cultivating long staple cotton? Cannot the Department better utilise its energies in improving the cultivation of cereals? Should the cultivation of food-stuffs be neglected for providing long staple cotton for Lancashire? If the cotton grown in India could not find a market, better cotton might be grown. But such is not the case. Why then should efforts be made to cultivate cotton which is not suitable to the Indian climate and which is not likely to bring any gain to the cultivator? Why does not Lancashire finance the Indian Government for carrying out the experiments? The interests of Lancashire should not be promoted in the name of the Empire at India's expense and risk.

Comments on the proposed Committee to inquire into the cases of persons interned under the Defence of India Act in Bengal.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 23rd Nov.

18. Referring to the speech recently delivered by His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay in the Bengal Legislative Council in justification of the Bengal Government's measures under the Defence of India Act to combat the seditious movement in Bengal, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, while thanking Lord Ronaldshay for securing the appointment of a committee, composed of Indians and Europeans with a judge of the High Court of England at its head, to investigate the cases of all detenus under the Defence of India Act, remarks that the mere submission of the evidence possessed by Government to the committee is not enough. Alluding to the sensational prosecution, based on a fictitions document, against Mr. Parnell, the Irish leader, on a charge of treason and to some of the cases in Bengal in which innocent persons were accused of sedition and conspiracy against His Majesty the King-Emperor on concocted evidence, as decided by Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the paper suggests that those interned under the Defence of India Act should be allowed to appear before the above-mentioned committee with their counsel and to have the opportunity of sifting the evidence against them by means of cross-examination. It believes that this sort of inquiry will not only be calculated to pacify the minds of the public, but will help to get justice done to Government.

Comments on a case of outrage due to the fanaticism of the Borah community of Ujjain (Central India).

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 23rd Nov., Eng. cols.

19. "A correspondent from Ujjain relates the story of a hideous crime committed in August last. From a bare recital of the facts, it appears that a mob of about 500 Borahs brutally maltreated a Borah family, consisting of an old man of ninety, a widowed daugther-in-law of his, and a lad of 17, his grandson. The mob frightfully mutilated and disfigured the old man, barbarously assaulted the widow, and the youth's head was dashed against the wall fracturing the skull.......... The pity and horror of it is increased a thousandfold, when we reflect that these atrocities have resulted from the so-called sentiment of religious devotion. In order to understand the motives and influences under which the incident occurred, we must go back to the disputes which have agitated the Borah community for some months past. The disputes started in Bombay, but soon spread to all the important centres of the Borah community in India. At a meeting of the Dawoodi Borahs held in Bombay about July last, His Holiness the Mullaji, in view of these disputes, declared that certain gentlemen in the community were his enemies, and announced that they had been excommunicated. The representatives of the High Priest, all over India, were informed of this by wire, and were instructed to excommunicate those who held views different from those of the High Priest. The Amil of Ujjain, who is a cousin and brother-in-law of the High Priest, accordingly convened a meeting of the Borahs at Ujjain, where he is said to have exhorted his hearers to stand by His Holiness, and urged that those who helped the Mullaji with their lives and property would be doing a righteous thing. The Amil on this occasion announced the names of five Borahs who were to be excommunicated. Among them was the name of the unfortunate old Sheikh Ali Mahomed, who has been the victim of the brutal outrage we are commenting upon.......... An outrage of this character is bound to discredit all those in whose behalf it is professed to be committed. We know that His Holiness the Mullaji has been exhorting his followers to remain calm and desist from acts of violence.......... We have no doubt that His Holiness will promptly dissociate himself from all acts and expressions of mere fury and fanaticism. But it is not enough to dissociate oneself from crimes, after they are committed. Care must be taken to see that no excuse is furnished for the commission of crimes.......... All influences, therefore, which tend to encourage violence and bigotry must be checked and put down. One of the most reprehensible of such influences has been the deliberate instigation of the forces of fanaticism by some of the local papers. In the name of religion these papers deliberately excite and inflame the violent passions of the mob. They profess to serve the community, when the obvious and ill-disguised object all the while is to increase their sale, and make money out of the situation that has arisen. The function of a public paper is to spread light and dispel darkness. It is painful to reflect that some of the dailies and weeklies in our midst have consistently acted in a contrary spirit. They deliberately take the wrong side, because it is the side of the majority and pays. The result of their good offices is to influence the inflammable, and make the blind blinder. Incidentally and in the end, they lead to the fiendish and fanatical outrages of which the Ujjain incident is a type."

Comments on an alleged insult to a Pathan by an Anglo-Indian in a railway train at Rawalpindi Station.

Hindusthán (21), 22nd Nov.

20. The *Hindusthán* reproduces the story of an old Pathan, one of whose sons is said to be fighting in Mesopotamia and another to have lost his life in France, and who is alleged to have been asked to get down from the second class compartment he was occupying at Peshâwar and insulted by an Anglo-Indian for having got into an Intermediate class compartment reserved for Europeans, with the following comments of the *Indian Opinion* published in South Africa:—Whose blood will not boil on hearing such incidents occurring in India? Such incidents happen in South Africa because it is said to be a White man's country; but it is strange that an old man, belonging to the fighting races of India and who has made such sacrifices for the Empire, should be submitted to such insults in his own country. There is much talk of passive resistance (in India), but much good will surely come out of it if it is put into practice at such a juncture.

Comments on the progress of the war.

Sánj Vartmán (32), 21st Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 24th Nov.

21. Dwelling upon the present war situation and referring to the desire of the Maximalist party, which has gained ascendancy in Russia, to conclude a separate peace with the enemy, the *Sánj Vartmán* remarks that it now remains to be seen whether Germany will be ready to restore the conquered territories of Russia or whether the Russians will be willing to allow Germany to retain those territories. It maintains that when the Russian political extremists commence discussing peace terms with Germany they

will realise how suicidal their step of concluding a separate peace will prove to Russian interests. The paper then goes on to refer to the newly formed War Council of England, France, Italy and America and expresses the hope that the co-ordination will enable these four powers to cope with the present Italian situation and will not allow Italy to share the fate of Servia and Roumania. It then alludes to the failure of the German submarine campaign and expresses its belief that the future of Germany will be settled on the soil of Italy and that the Piave or the Adige will decide the question of the freedom of Europe. [Touching the Russian situation, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* observes :—Russia has taken a most disgraceful step after involving in difficulties the Allies who entered the war for the preservation of its prestige. It almost amounts to playing false with the Allies and it will not fail to result in launching Russia into great trouble. The thing which is now more to be dreaded is the possibility of Russia withdrawing its army from Asiatic Turkey and Persia. Such a contingency will add to the burdens of His Majesty's Government, but, regard being had to the growing powers of the Empire, we hope that Government will be in a position to cope with that new situation also.]

Rást Goftár (31), 25th Nov., Eng. cols.

*22. "In the course of the present war there have been many occasions when attempts have been made to minimise a serious crisis or a grave disaster by declaring that it implied no advantage to the enemy.......... France and England are striving to their utmost to expel the Germans from Belgium and France. That is the whole history of the war on the western front. Now, if it is asserted that the occupation of Belgium and part of France is of no military importance or that it is a barren invasion or conquest it would be a misleading assertion, for the acquisition of territory is always profitable, and that is why so much blood is shed in acquiring it. The Germans have destroyed beautiful cities and towns and committed gross outrages of every kind, but they have also looted the people, levied heavy tribute upon them, and cultivated the land for produce. This means eking out the sinews of war and this is one reason why inspite of repeated reports to the contrary Germany is not yet showing any marked signs of exhaustion. The conquests of Serbia, Poland and Roumania were all supposed to be barren conquests, but surely the wheat plains of Poland and the natural resources of Roumania and Serbia have not disappeared, and the inhabitants are compelled to cultivate the land so that the harvest may be reaped by the victorious Germans. Finally, the imminent peril of Italy means a likely addition to the supplies of Germany and Austria. If the line of the Piave cannot be held it will be difficult to save Venice, the Queen of the Adriatic. All the priceless national possession, the sculptures and pictures, are being removed to Rome and elsewhere, and it is alleged that if the Germans and Austrians come to Venice they will find it empty and almost deserted, and it will be as barren a victory as Napoleon's entry into Moscow.......... Will the Teutonic armies leave Venice if they enter it? On the contrary, once established it will be as difficult to expel them as from Belgium and north-east France, while merciless tribute will be laid on men and land. The full gravity of the situation must be squarely faced and it is wrong to raise false hopes by incorrect analogies."

The policy of the *Young India* newspaper.

Young India (14), 21st Nov.

23. "With the present number of *Young India*, we are entering upon the third year of its existence. The journal, which has now come to occupy a recognized place of importance in Indian journalism, was called into being in the stormy times following the outbreak of the European war and has been from the very outset maintained as a fearless and independent exponent of Indian Nationalism, which had already entered upon its advanced phase with the entry of Mrs. Besant into the arena of Indian politics. In the two years that have now passed, *Young India* has steadfastly adhered to the great cause of 'Home Rule for India' and consistently striven to advance that cause by all constitutional means, and since the formation of a branch of the Home Rule League, which Mrs. Besant helped to found, it has become the recognised organ of the League

in Western India.......... During the past two years *Young India* has been maintained at great self-sacrifice by two of our most patriotic and devoted workers—Messrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and S. G. Banker, who have grudged neither personal service nor money to make the journal worthy of the high place to which it has attained. But in response to a desire to broadbase the foundations of the paper, proposals were matured during the year to entrust it to the keeping of a small body of patriotic citizens including its founders, who have formed themselves into a limited concern under the name and style of 'The Young India Syndicate, Limited'. The policy of *Young India* will remain as before—to advance the cause of the nation."

Alleged failure of Mr. B. N. Athavle as a Presidency Magistrate, Bombay.
Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 25th Nov., Eng. cols.

***24.** In the course of an article in which it dwells on the alleged failure of the exclusively Indian *régime* in the Bombay Police Courts during the absence of Mr. Aston, whose return to duty it welcomes, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* thus criticises the work of the Acting Fourth Presidency Magistrate :—" Mr. Athavle has been a conspicuous failure. Without strict judicially impartial turn of mind, without due patience, he has been unpopular with the bar and the public alike. Mr. Aston has been able to keep up the dignity of the Court without forced threatenings and excessive punishments ; Mr. Athavle almost made a system of the latter. The public of Bombay will at least heave a sigh of relief at being rid of all chance of his magisterial somersaults and inconsistencies, whatever the worth of these be from the mere spectacular point of view." [The paper then goes on to dilate on the inadequacy of the salaries of Bombay Presidency Magistrates and pleads for improvement in them with a view to attracting competent men to these posts.]

Complaint about the high price of salt.
Surat Akhbár (75), 19th Nov.

25. Dwelling on the present high price of salt, the *Surat Akhbár* remarks that Government can check it, if they like, in the twinkling of an eye. It attributes the dearness of salt to speculators cornering it and selling it to shop-keepers at a high price. In order to remedy this state of things, the paper suggests that Government should stop the sale of salt to speculators and should open additional salt depots.

LEGISLATION.

The Honourable Mr. Patel's Compulsory Education Bill.
Kesari (106), 20th Nov.

26. The *Kesari* objects to the Honourable Mr. Pathan's note of dissent suggesting that compulsory education should not be introduced amongst Muhammadans till Urdu schools are started and says that most of the Muhammadan boys have learnt and will continue to learn the respective vernaculars of the divisions of this Presidency, Kanarese, Marathi and Gujarati and that the Muhammadan persistency for Urdu is due to Aligarh teachings. It hopes that the Council will properly dispose of the matter without minding Mr. Pathan. It supports Messrs. Mehta and Sathe's suggestion that children should be allowed to work for some hours if necessary during their primary stage of instruction and thinks that such permission will minimise the opposition of ignorant and greedy parents.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the recent orders of Government conferring on all City Municipalities the right of electing their presidents.
Bombay Samáchár (60), 22nd Nov.

27. We would like to thank His Excellency Lord Willingdon for promoting the cause of local self-government by issuing a Resolution giving all the city municipalities in this Presidency the right of electing their own presidents. But this is not all that can be done in the interest of local self-government. The District Municipalities and Local Boards also should be freed from official control, and they should be given the right of electing their own presidents. We hope His Excellency will take steps to remove the disabilities of municipalities in this Presidency which have been enumerated in the memorial presented by the Presidency Association to the Secretary of State for India and do all in his power for the efficient working of local self-government in the Presidency.

Grievances of people frequenting the Kennedy Sea-face.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 20th Nov.

28. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells at great length upon the hardships and inconvenience caused to the people who go out for an airing in the evening on the Kennedy Sea-face in Bombay, owing to the clouds of dust raised by the horsemen who frequent the place and the absence of lights after dark, which gives ample opportunities to bad characters to harass and waylay respectable people. It suggests that the former practice of watering the ride may again be followed and arrangements made to provide lights on the Kennedy Sea-face. Should considerations of economy come in the way of watering the ride and lighting the sea-face, the paper suggests that the building of the sea-face wall be discontinued to meet the expenses.

Alleged gross neglect of sanitation by the municipal authorities of Ahmedabad.

Gujárati (17), 18th Nov.

29. The *Gujaráti* voices the popular complaint that the prevalence of plague at Ahmedabad is largely due to the choking up of the drains and expresses surprise that matters should have been allowed to come to such a pass when the affairs of the Ahmedabad Municipality were managed by Government officials for more than seven years out of the fifteen years the drains have been in existence. It expresses surprise and indignation at the explanation given by the Superintendent of the Drainage Department to the effect that it was not his business to inspect the drains, and asks Government and the Municipality to enquire into the matter and to devise means for the prevention of the choking of the drains.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the Wadhwán strike.

Shri Sayáji Vijay (74), 22nd Nov.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (57), 19th Nov.

30. Referring to the Wadhwán strike, the *Shri Sayáji Vijay* regrets that the people of Wadhwán have not yet obtained any redress of their grievance in spite of their approaching the Administrator and the Agent to the Governor in connection with it. It observes:—The people of many Native States are not protected by law in the proper sense of the term. They have to submit without demur to the whims and fantastical orders of officers in authority, and very often they cannot obtain redress in spite of their supplicating the State as well as the sovereign authority. The Wadhwán strike is a fresh illustration of this state of affairs. It is hoped that peace will be immediately restored if His Excellency the Governor will intervene in the matter and try to remove the discontent of the people as requested by the Wadhwán citizens residing in Bombay. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand, remarks that since the cry of Home Rule has come into existence in this country the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muhammadans has been characterised by a prejudiced and domineering spirit, and it regards the present Wadhwán strike as an instance in point. The paper observes, however, that if the chief aim of the Hindus is to bring about the removal of a Muhammadan officer placed over them by approaching His Excellency the Governor with imaginary grievances, it does not believe that such objections of theirs, due to mere prejudice, would induce His Excellency to give them one-sided justice.]

M. K. SHAIKH,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,

P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 30th November 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

10398
6 12 17
1 12 17
G R 1st

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 48 of 1917**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 1st December 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule:
- Alleged ill-effects of the Bohra meeting recently held in Bombay . . 25
- Appeal to Government to regulate the prices of foodstuffs, etc., in the Bombay Presidency 27
- Comments on the evidence of Mr. Karimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy before the Indian Industrial Commission . . . . 18 & 1
- Comments on the Governor of Bengal's decision to submit cases of political conspirators to a judicial tribunal . . . . . 20 & 21
- Comments on the proscription of Mr. Lala Lajpatrai's book "An open letter to the Prime Minister of England" 24
- Comments on the reported raid on the London Office of the Indian Home Rule League 23
- Duty of Musalmans of Bombay Presidency to help the victims of the riots in Arrah District (Behar) 26
- Mrs. Besant's communication to the Press regarding the non-release of Ali brothers 22
- The system of issuing Treasury Bills should be continued even after the war 28

Comments on the Bombay Exhibition of foodstuffs, etc. 36

Indian Political Reforms:
- Comments on the Curtis Scheme of Reforms . . . . . . 1—3
- Comments on the Home Rule League's address to the Secretary of State 4
- Comments on the memorial of the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council to the Secretary of State 5
- Comments on the Parsi Memorial for separate representation for the Parsi Community . . . . 6 & 7
- Comments on the refusal by the Secretary of State to receive the address of the All-India Moslem League 10
- Communal electorates will accentuate caste differences 9
- Government are aware as to who helped them and who did not at present juncture 17
- Inadvisability of constituting Indian Chiefs as an Upper Chamber in India 12
- Lingayats not opposed to the Congress-League Scheme 8
- Non-Brahmins should keep aloof from the Extremists. 15
- Spuriousness of the Muhammadan-Hindu *entente* 16
- The lesson to be learnt from the reception of Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant at Delhi 14
- The position of Native States in relation to British India in the Congress-League scheme of reforms 11
- Village officers have intimidated members of the untouchable classes into signing the Home Rule petition 13

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Irrigation: Grievances of garden landholders in Bhimthadi Taluka (Poona). 32
Plague: Plague at Ahmedabad 38
Police: Alleged spread of lotteries in Surat City 37
Post and Telegraph Department: Bombay Postmen and their last strike . 34
Press Act: Comments on the security taken from the *Hindusthán* newspaper 29
Public Service:
Hardships of talatis 30
Necessity of increasing the pay of Vaccinators 31
Revenue matters: Petition of Kaira agriculturists for remission of revenue. 33
Sanitary matters: Comments on the last annual report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Bombay 35
Sind: Alleged tendency of officials in — to interfere unduly and high-handedly in matters vitally affecting the principle of local self-government 39

EDUCATION—

Comments on the proposed Joint Board for the conduct of Matriculation and School Final Examinations 40

MUNICIPALITIES—

Alandi: Complaint against the — (Poona) Municipality 43
Comments on the Government Resolution reviewing the working of the Municipalities in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1915-16 . 41 & 42
Lárkána: The house-tax at — (Sind) 44

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the state of affairs at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár) . . . . 45 & 46

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Curtis Scheme of Reforms.

Kesari (106), 27th Nov.; **Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 3rd Dec.

1. Commenting upon the Curtis scheme the *Kesari* says that it attracts people because Mr. Curtis proposes to hand over some Departments to be managed by the Legislative Councils. Another good point noticed by the paper is that Mr. Curtis wants the Legislative Councils to be wholly elected, Government members being called in only to explain matters. But the paper adds that there is a great defect in the scheme inasmuch as it does not make the decision of the Legislative Council binding upon the Executive Council, even if it is passed twelve times over whereas the Congress provides that the Legislative Council resolution will be binding upon the Executive if it is repeated twice. It continues:—Even the resolutions regarding the Departments transferred to the Council will not be mandatory but advisory. Mr. Curtis has provided for appeal to Parliament in case of the Executive's refusal, but it would be impossible under the present circumstances to secure Parliament's consent when the Viceroy repeatedly opposes the resolutions. Mr. Curtis has also thrown open to discussion all matters, including the military. With all this, however, we think that Mr. Curtis scheme will be fit only for a brand new Negro State. We Indians are capable of managing everything from the work of Local Boards to that of the Secretary of State's Council. It is therefore adding insult to injury to suggest to us that we should train ourselves first only in certain Departments. Provincial Governments themselves are to be dependent upon others and we are to get $\frac{1}{4}$ of their powers which means that we are to have control of only an enlarged edition of Municipalities and Local Boards. Mr. Curtis provides that all members should be elected. But so long as they have no executive power and cannot make the change of even a pie in the Budget, is not their vote worthless? He has also taken much care to guard the interests of Anglo-Indian capitalists. The proposals to split up Provinces into Divisions, to transfer servants from Bureaucratic Departments to Popular Departments, to take the consent of Commissioners for raising loans and taxes, and the anxiety shown to compensate Anglo-Indian capitalists are ruinous, disastrous and troublesome. A protest against the Curtis scheme is necessary. It has been already entered by the Madras leaders. If the proposal comes before the Congress, it will be dealt with as it deserves. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—Mr. Curtis interprets the words 'Responsible Government' used by the Secretary of State to mean Cabinet Government and says that every Scheme of Reforms should provide for a change of Ministry. It is a mistaken view. Our greatest objection to the scheme is that it wants to introduce Reforms as an experimental measure. The scheme is unpractical and unsatisfactory as it wants to split up Provinces and place every Division under a Commissioner with the powers of a Governor. If he be an I.C.S. man, he will interfere in everything and the powers of the Cabinet will be very limited.]

Gujaráti (17), 25th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 27th Nov.

2. We do not think that Indians can accept the joint scheme of Indians and Anglo-Indians prepared under the guidance of Mr. Curtis. No Indian should commit the mistake of accepting any scheme of reforms except the one outlined by the nineteen members of the Viceregal Legislative Council and endorsed by the Congress and the Moslem League. The Indian people should, therefore, express their emphatic disapproval of Mr. Curtis' scheme. Indians do not wish to forego any of the reforms demanded in the Congress-League Scheme and they would, therefore, agitate for its acceptance by Government as a first step towards the grant of *Swarájya*. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, deprecates the hostile attitude assumed in certain quarters towards the joint scheme and urges its readers to treat it with the consideration it deserves and to move for its careful consideration at a sitting of the representatives of the National Congress, the Moslem League and the Anglo-Indian Association.]

**Indian Social Reformer* (3), 2nd Dec.; *New Times* (7), 28th Nov.

3. “We do not think that *the scheme of the Joint Address is at all satisfactory. It makes the mistake of ignoring the essential incompatibility between the bureaucratic and the responsible systems of government. It expects the lion and the lamb to lie down together until such time as the lamb develops the thews and sinews which, in the lion's view, would render his presence and protection unnecessary. It overlooks the fact that institutions develop a life of their own, and with it an instinct of self-preservation, as truly as organisms endowed with life. The history of local self-government in this country should teach us to put little faith in schemes which make the political education of the people depend on the goodwill of a bureaucracy. And it is no fault of the bureaucracy either. It is not in its nature to foster responsible government, just as it is not in the nature of thorns to grow figs. The proposed Provincial State will be no better than a glorified municipality, and we all know that between municipalities and the executive administration in this country there is not much love lost.......... We have no hope that the Provincial State of the Joint Address scheme will fare any better at the hands of the Provincial bureaucracy than municipalities and district boards in the past. It is too much to expect it.” [The *New Times* strongly condemns the joint Indian and European scheme of reforms, and remarks :—“The scheme is foredoomed to failure; the might of modernism is arrayed against it; the national ideal is arrayed against it. It is a limping scheme, not moving forward in response to the call of the nation; it is largely an Anglo-Indian scheme, not interpreting the real Indian mind. .... The so-called ‘joint scheme’ does not know the Indian mind; it is suspicious of Indian abilities; it ignores the faith of the nation that Europeans are not nearly as well qualified as the Indians themselves for the Indian administration; it lacks a comprehension of the contemporary phase of the Indian situation; it rests on a vicious pre-supposition that India is still unfit for self-government.”]

Comments on the Home Rule League's address to the Secretary of State.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 1st Dec.

4. With reference to certain sentences in the Home Rule League's address to the Secretary of State requesting that India should be placed on a position of equality with self-governing dominions after the war, the *Dnyán Prakásh* contends that the Congress-League Scheme has been deliberately misrepresented in the address and says that the Congress-League Scheme is itself a post-war scheme and that it was not intended to be introduced during war-time as is contended by Mrs. Besant, and that though the resolution of the Congress is ambiguous, the Moslem League definitely provides that the Scheme of Reforms is a post-war one and that the third section of the Congress Scheme demanding equality with self-governing units of the Empire is with reference to ‘inter-imperial’ relations. The paper continues :— Some may think it advisable to introduce the reforms during war-time, if the war be prolonged. But let an amendment to the Congress Scheme be passed to that effect in the Congress. Nobody has any right to pass it off as a Congress Scheme before obtaining the consent of the Congress.

Comments on the memorial of the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council to the Secretary of State.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 28th Nov.

5. *Apropos* of the representation which the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council are going to submit to the Honourable Mr. Montagu and His Excellency the Viceroy in connection with the constitutional reforms, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the fact that the various signatories thereto, though differing among themselves in matters of detail, have joined hands in signing the representation and have expressed themselves to be in general agreement with the Congress-League Scheme, demonstrates the extent to which educated public opinion has become unanimous in support of that scheme. It believes that the allotment of 32 seats to Muhammadans from among the 100 seats on the Local Legislative Council to be filled by election, as has been suggested in the abovementioned memorial, will gratify the Moslem community and will strengthen their claim for separate representation. The paper, how ever, cannot

agree with the memorialists in their disapproval of any further extension of communal representation, and in this connection supports the suggestion made by the Bombay Presidency Association for reserving 10 seats for the representation of important minorities. It also does not approve of the suggestion made both by the Association and the non-official members of the Council about giving, as far as the city of Bombay is concerned, the right of electing members for the local Legislative Council to University Graduates and estate holders only, and wishes that the right were also extended to those who are paying income-tax up to a particular amount.

Comments on the Parsi Memorial for separate representation for the Parsi community.

Pársi Sansár (27), 17th Nov., Eng. cols.

6. Commenting on the memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State submitted by Sir Jamsetjee Jijibhoy and other praying for separate representation for the Parsis, the *Pársi Sansár* writes:—"In spite of its teeming millions, the Islamic world could get a separate communal representation on the score of the preponderance of the Hindu element in India. This precedent is a strong argument for a separate electorate for all the other smaller communities of India, such as, the Parsis, Jews, Anglo Indians, Native Christians, etc. If the demand made by the Parsis does not embarrass the Indian Government we give it the weight of the support of all the Karáchi Parsi population, and so far as we can judge from the trend of present policy it does not embarrass the Government who actually want to know the mind of the different peoples of India."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 26th Nov.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 25th Nov.; *Rást Goftár* (31), 25th Nov.

7. *Apropos* of the memorial to be submitted to the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy by Sir Jamsetjee Jijibhoy and other Parsis in connection with the political reforms to be introduced in India, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that the entire Parsi community is unanimously in favour of having separate representation for the Parsis in the Legislative Councils if other minorities are going to be accorded that privilege. It, however, maintains that a large section of the community is opposed to the way in which the memorial was drafted and the deputation appointed to submit the memorial. The paper, accordingly, points to the probability of the authorities drawing the inference, from the controversy in the press in that connection (which inference the paper itself does not endorse), that the community is divided over the question of separate representation. It is of opinion that difficulties would arise, as the present "self-appointed" deputation would not be in a position to determine, without further consulting the community, the composition of the Parsi electorate in case Government decided to give the Parsis the right of separate representation. The paper, therefore, suggests that a general meeting of the Parsi community should be held promptly in order to get its consent to the memorial, and it confidently hopes that the meeting will not only support the memorial but will confirm the composition of the present deputation. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* regards the opposition raised in some quarters against the memorial as quite unnecessary and based on flimsy grounds. It does not believe that the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat have been slighted in any way simply because all of them are not included in the deputation. The paper asks the members of the community not to be swayed by party considerations in political matters but to sign the memorial in large numbers in order to make it as weighty as possible in the eyes of the authorities. The *Rást Goftár* also supports the memorial in a whole-hearted manner and believes that the movement for submitting it to the authorities bespeaks farsightedness on the part of those concerned. It is of opinion that in political matters the convening of a meeting of the *Anjuman* was neither desirable nor necessary.]

Lingayats not opposed to the Congress-League Scheme.

Kesari (106), 27th Nov.

8. Mr. N. R. Bamangonkar writes to the *Kesari* from Belgaum:—I visited Nipáni, Athni, Belgaum, Sholápur, Bijápur, Hubli and Dhárwár to see whether there was any opposition to *swarájya* as the outcome of the split between Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The differences owe their existence to some Belgaum

gentlemen, and certain Jain, Lingayat, Maratha and Mahar individuals who form the opposition to the Congress-League scheme are not influential persons in their own communities. Exaggerated descriptions in Anglo-Indian newspapers of hole and corner meetings led people to doubt whether the split was real or false. Those who could not tolerate the Hindu-Muhammadan *entente* effected in Lucknow by the grant of over-representation to Muhammadans, tried to create a split between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and to show that the classes and masses are not one. The outcome was the Madras non-Brahmin movement which was imitated in some Belgaum villages. But the All-India Maratha Conference at Belgaum and the Lingayat Conference at Sholápur supported the *swarájya* scheme. The latter also supported caste electorates but only in case other communities were granted the same. But Government are not likely to make their administration complicated by adopting caste-electorates. A meeting of all communities was held at Hubli (Dhárwár) under the presidentship of a leading Lingayat pleader Mr. Kambli to support the Congress scheme. Another Lingayat pleader Mr. Pawate is the President of the local Home Rule League. In Dhárwár also a meeting was held under the presidentship of Mr. Sangangowda Patil, a Lingayat Pleader, and all adopted the *swarájya* resolution unanimously. No one should suppose that the Lingayat community is opposed to the *swarájya* movement judging from the irresponsible utterances of one or two Belgaum Lingayats. These individuals may be criticised but the community should not be attacked.

Communal electorates will accentuate caste differences.

Kesari (106), 27th Nov.; *Ráj Hansa* (85), 29th Nov.; *Shubhodaya* (89), 23rd Nov.; *Chandrodaya* (34), 26th Nov.

9. Nobody can have any difference of opinion on the point that representatives of the various castes should have an entrance into the Council. But the question is whether they should be returned by communal electorates which would accentuate caste differences or whether they should come in through some other electorates that would have nothing to do with caste. Many impartial and intelligent men hold that the principle of caste electorates would strengthen the caste system. When Government invited opinions in 1907, many non-Brahmin leaders of Madras, the Madras Government itself, and three Bombay Commissioners had given their opinion against caste electorates. The representation sent by 19 non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council—and they include many non-Brahmins—definitely condemns communal electorates. But as the members want their educated brethren belonging to different communities in the Council they have suggested the adoption of Proportional Representation, the fresh grouping of districts and direct elections. Undoubtedly this proposal is better than that of caste-electorates. If two or three districts are grouped together, the non-Brahmin voters will outnumber Brahmin voters and there is a danger that no Brahmin will be returned, if the former mean it. We want qualified men in the Council whether they are Brahmins or non-Brahmins. No candidate should think of contesting the election on the strength of his caste. Brahmins, Marathas and Lingayats like Messrs. Shinde, Deshmukh, Savant and Bamangaonkar oppose caste electorates because they would make caste rigid and because they would be harmful to the country and because they would enable ignorant men to enter the Council. [The *Ráj Hansa* and the *Shubhodaya* condemn communal elections and the *Chandrodaya* supports them.]

Comments on the refusal by the Secretary of State to receive the address of the All-India Moslem League.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 2nd Dec.; *Rást Goftár* (31), 2nd Dec., Eng. cols.

*10. Commenting on the refusal by the Secretary of State to receive the address of the All-India Moslem League, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"We do not see what serious consequences would have ensued if the reference (to the interned Mussalmans) had been allowed to stand in the address. The Muhammadan public would have been satisfied that they had been accorded the opportunity of placing their grievances before the King's Viceroy and the Indian Minister, while the two dignitaries would not have been inconvenienced in any way. The right of the subject to audience is an immemorial tradition in India, and we cannot but regret the effect which the incident is likely to have on the public mind." [Commenting upon the refusal to accept the address of the Moslem League deputation, the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—" Perhaps the Government of India are right in their decision since it has been announced that the Secretary of State for India will concentrate his attention on constitutional reform while he is in India, but some way should be found for the reconsideration of the prolongation of the internment of certain Moslem leaders, specially the brothers Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali."]

The position of Native States in relation to British India in the Congress-League scheme of reforms.
Young India (14), 28th Nov.

11. Commenting on the criticism levelled at the Congress-League scheme of reforms, that "it has failed to take cognisance of the Native States", *Young India* writes:—"Political honesty and consistency would demand that the States should be assured not only of the amount of independence that they already possess but also of an effective voice in the settlement of the many 'questions connected with currency, fiscal and commercial policy, imports, exports, salt duties, emigration, army, navy, foreign affairs'. These questions, as rightly observed by Sir M. Visvesvaraya in his address to the last session of the Mysore Representative Assembly, 'affect the subjects of Indian States quite as much as they do people in British India'. As the same authority stated, 'many of the States pay subsidies; several contribute a substantial share of the indirect taxes of the Government of India and maintain Local as well as Imperial Service Troops which add to the fighting strength of the Empire'. None-the-less, they have absolutely no part or lot in the determination of common questions that affect them for better or worse. It is the duty of statesmanship to remove such anachronisms as at present exist. And this, we think, cannot be done by reducing the States to a position of virtual dependence on the Government of India but by giving them a direct and equal voice in the Councils of that Government, so far as questions common to them and British India are concerned. The suggestion of a Federated Chamber in which the Rulers of the Indian States, great and small, will sit may be commended as a solution of the question of securing some sort of deliberative body in which matters of interest common to them and the British Provinces can be discussed and legislated upon; but care must be taken to see that its powers are strictly limited to this sphere. Any idea of the inclusion of the Native States in the legislative machinery of India must be strongly discountenanced, not only as radically unsound and dangerous to British India but as undermining the status of the Rulers themselves."

Inadvisability of constituting an Upper Chamber of Indian Chiefs in India.
Indu Prakásh (40), 24th Nov.

12. Suggestions are sometimes made for constituting an assembly of Indian chiefs as a sort of Upper Chamber. It is difficult, however, to understand why Indians should accept this mill-stone round their neck in view of the scant courtesy shown to the House of Lords in England and the threat sometimes held out in that country that the crown itself will have to go into the melting pot if necessary. The proposed arrangement can only be justified by allowing Indians in British India to have a voice in the internal affairs of the Native States. If it is intended to recompense the Indian Chiefs for their services in the war the amount of their tribute may be reduced and they may be freed somewhat from the control of Political Officers. To offer them a share in the administration of India would be like inviting America or Japan to send representatives to the British Parliament for their invaluable assistance in the war.

Village officers have intimidated members of the untouchable classes into signing Home Rule petition.
Jágaruk (102), 23rd Nov.

13. A gentleman of the untouchable class sends us from Pandharpur the names of about a hundred men of the untouched classes. He says the kulkarnis and the other village officers intimidated them into affixing their signatures or thumb impressions to the demand for Home Rule. We are unable to give their names for want of space. Will the authorities inquire into this matter? A visit to a village will not fail to convince the Secretary of State of the hollowness of the demand for *swarájya*.

The lesson to be learnt from the reception of Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant at Delhi.

Sandesh (116), 27th Nov.

14. At Delhi Mr. Montagu has been able to see for himself the evidences of the esteem in which Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant are held by the people. He must also have realised the falsity of the statement made to him by some people that a bitter hostility exists between the Hindus and the Muhammadans and that although the leaders of the two parties have joined in making suggestions, the people of the two communities will make their adoption impossible. But, as a matter of fact, in spite of occasional minor differences between the two communities their hearts are at present solely filled with nationalistic sentiments. An excellent illustration of the cordial relations existing between the Hindus and the Muhammadans was seen at Delhi the other day. When Mr. Tilak reached that city he was welcomed by five thousand persons on the station platform while more than ten thousand assembled outside to greet him. The welcome accorded by the Muhammadans to Mr. Tilak and by the Hindus to Mrs. Besant and Mr. Jinnah can only be accounted for by the deeply planted sentiments of nationalism in the minds of the two communities. We trust Mr. Montagu will now realise that the statement which he made before coming to India that the Home Rule movement was confined to a few educated men was due to his ignorance.

Non-Brahmins should keep aloof from the Extremists.

Jágaruk (102), 23rd Nov.

15. We have repeatedly asked our non-Brahmin brethren to keep the Extremists at arm's length. Their duplicity is well-known. Whereas Mr. Kelkar recently declared that he not only did not oppose the movement for communal electorates but supported it, Mr. Khadilkar another Extremist, characterized the movement as suicidal! The Extremists are well accustomed to air such contrary opinions, the object of all this jugglery being to appropriate all the benefits accruing from *swardjya*. They oppose communal representation on the ground of the division of the community into several castes and sub-castes. As a matter of fact we demand only two separate electorates, one for the backward classes and the other for the untouchables and we are quite sure Government will grant these demands. The Extremists should bear well in mind that the demand for separate electorates cannot now be stifled. We shall continue to carry on the agitation until Government concede our claims.

Spuriousness of the Muhammadan-Hindu *entente*.

Jágaruk (102), 23rd Nov.

16. The *Kesari* recently declared that the Hindu-Muhammadan unity was a *fait accompli*. But at the special meeting of the Moslem League at Lucknow the Hindu leaders were blamed for their reticence in connection with the riots in Behar. This has stirred the bile of the extremist papers and the *Kesari* which only recently was indulging in the fiction of Hindu-Muhammadan unity now declares that the Muhammadan leaders have lost their balance of mind and that the Hindu-Muhammadan unity is now definitely at an end. Our Brahmin leaders will, however, agree to any demand that is made by the Muhammadans but they will never accept a demand made by their own co-religionists of the backward classes. The only result of this policy will be that they will forfeit both the spurious sympathy of the Muhammadans and the confidence of their own co-religionists.

Government are aware as to who helped them and who did not at present juncture.

Jágaruk (102), 23rd Nov.

17. Mr. Tilak recently declared that it was the efforts of the Brahmins that induced Government to grant *swardjya* and that the other communities were now coming forward to claim a share therein without labouring for it. This is a gross perversion of facts. Government were neither dazzled by nor pleased with the loyalty of the advanced classes. They had already correctly gauged their sincerity! As a matter of fact they feared lest some of the malcontents should succeed in spreading disaffection among the masses. Government were pleased because that fear proved groundless and because men of the backward classes proved their prowess on the battlefield. It is most unfortunate, therefore, that a man of Mr. Tilak's experience should claim all the benefits of *swardjya* for his caste people. Government are of

course well aware which class helped them and which embarrassed them still further at this critical juncture, and we are quite sure they will act accordingly.

Comments on the evidence of Mr. Karimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy before the Indian Industrial Commission.

Rást Goftár (31), 2nd Dec., Eng. cols.

*18. "Mr. Karimbhoy supplied the ginger which is not always to be found in the dishes served up before the Commission. In his written as well as oral evidence Mr. Karimbhoy strongly contended that in army contracts European firms receive preferential treatment and patronage as compared with Indian firms. This is covered by one of the printed questions of the Commission in which the witness is asked whether he has any criticism to offer regarding the working of the present rules relating to the purchase of stores by Government Department. Instead of giving Mr. Karimbhoy the fullest latitude and allowing him to prove his contention or cross-examining him for the purpose of disproving his theory, Sir Thomas Holland took up the strange attitude that the matter was outside the scope of the inquiry which is being made by the Commission. There was in fact a brisk passage at arms and Sir Thomas Holland almost lost his temper. All that, however, is no answer to Mr. Karimbhoy's complaint, which, it is scarcely necessary to add, represents the feelings of many of his countrymen. It is not an accusation against a particular individual or a particular department, but a matter of common knowledge. The witness said he was prepared to quote chapter and verse in support of all statements that he has made in his written statement. He should have been allowed to do so instead of being put out of court, as it were, though his allegations were germane to the inquiry which is being made by the Commission."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 30th Nov.; *Hindusthán* (21), 30th Nov.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 1st Dec.

19. The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that the evidence given by Mr. Karimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy before the Indian Industrial Commission with regard to the leather tanning industry in India was as important as it was sensational. It cannot accept the argument advanced by the President of the Commission in support of of his disinclination to examine Mr. Karimbhoy publicly in respect of the charges he had brought against some Government officers in the written statement he had submitted to the Commission. The paper observes:—We make bold to say that this question is not only one affecting the interests of the public but that it is a question of Imperial importance. It is a question affecting the advancement of industries. What would be the condition of a particular industry when injustice is done to an Indian firm connected with that industry, by Government unduly extending their patronage to European firms, after the former firm has invested a large capital in the introduction of a new industry in the country at the suggestion of Government officials? It is the primary duty of the Commission to make a public inquiry as to whether such injustice has been done. We strongly appeal to the Indian Government not to drop the matter at this stage but to appoint a small committee to make investigations into the complaints made by Mr. Karimbhoy and to place the results of the inquiry before the public. [The *Hindusthán* remarks that the evidence of Mr. Karimbhoy A. Peerbhoy furnishes the key to the problem why Indian industries do not thrive in this country. It expresses its disapprobation of the preferential treatment given by Government to non-Indian firms as suggested by Mr. Karimbhoy's evidence, and observes that the latter will afford the Government of India food for reflection and induce them to inquire as to how far such complaints have been affecting other industries. The paper hopes that a just Secretary of State like Mr. Montagu will take necessary measures on the basis Mr. Karimbhoy's evidence, which has thrown light upon the mysteries connected with the system of military contracts in India. The *Shri Venkateshwar* also expresses its disapproval of the alleged favouritism shown to European firms and opines that a more thorough inquiry into the subject-matter of Mr. Karimboy's complaint will promote both Government as well as public interests.]

Comments on the Governor of Bengal's decision to submit cases of political conspirators to a judicial tribunal.

Kesari (106), 27th Nov.

20. With reference to Lord Ronaldshay's decision to have Bengal political cases decided by a tribunal presided over by a Judge from England the *Kesari* remarks:—Bengal was demanding an inquiry and Lord Ronaldshay has done well in meeting their request. A regular inquiry and decision by a Judge will silence the critics. But why did his Lordship begin an open campaign against political conspirators at this time? What is his object? From the pompous and threatening speech of the Governor in the Legislative Council, the first impression created is that officials have discovered a convincing mass of evidence unexpectedly. But as we go through the whole speech, we cannot but laugh. [The paper here gives details of Lord Ronaldshay's speech.] We shall hold the case proved, after the judicial decision is given. But it is a matter for consideration why all this dirty linen is being washed, when Mr. Montagu is here and the *swarájya* question is being discussed seriously.

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 26th Nov.

21. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* publishes the speech delivered by Lord Ronaldshay at the opening of the Bengal Legislative Council and commends the leniency shown by Government towards juvenile culprits who have repented of their folly and confessed their crimes. It adds:—It is really very good of the Government of Bengal to have decided to appoint a Judicial Committee to try the cases of all persons interned under the Defence of India Act. Had such an arrangement been arrived at at the outset, the minds of the people of Bengal would have been set at rest. The Government of Bengal deserve praise for appointing the Judicial Committee composed of Indian and European Judges and presided over by a Judge of the King's Bench. The people of Bengal will have no hesitation in accepting the finding of the Committee if one or two Bengali Judges are appointed on the Committee. The culprits will thereby have the satisfaction of securing impartial justice.

Mrs. Beasant's communication to the Press regarding the non-release of Ali Brothers.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 27th Nov.

22. Mrs. Beasant's letter in connection with the non-release of the Ali brothers has apparently exasperated the Muhammadans. During her internment her followers used to declare that Indians should insist on her release prior to the discussion of any reforms. Her advice, however, about the Ali brothers is of quite a different character. She counsels Indians to have recourse to the Law Courts in this matter and not to allow anything to dissuade them from discussing the reforms with Mr. Montagu. The *New Era* of Lucknow, however, says that her advice may be in consonance with the undertaking she gave to the Viceroy to obtain a calm atmosphere during Mr. Montagu's visit but that it will never be acceptable to the Muhammadans.

Comments on the reported raid on the London Office of the Indian Home Rule League.

Young India (14), 28th Nov.

23. "The news which was published on Monday last of a raid on the London Offices of the Home Rule for India League is astonishing, but it need not unduly disturb our equanimity. The Home Rule League Office in London is the last place where sedition and incitement to assassination would receive encouragement, and Commander Wedgwood is the last person in the world to have written a preface to a book which contains such incitement. At present we have only the opinion of a Tory Home Secretary to go upon, and Sir George Cave's record at the Home Office is not of a character to engender any great respect for either his judicial or liberal qualities. We suspect, ourselves, that the search for this so-called seditious book was regarded by the Scotland Yard authorities as a useful occasion for the examination of the correspondence of the League Office."

Comments on the proscription of Mr. Lala Lajpatrai's book 'An open letter to the Prime Minister of England'.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 27th Nov.; **Indian Social Reformer* (3), 2nd Dec.

24. Government have already proscribed Lala Lajpatrai's book *Young India*. It appears they have now proscribed another publication of his entitled 'An open letter to the Prime Minister of England'. We are unable to pronounce any opinion on it as it never reached this country. No one will, however, believe that an experienced politician of the type of Lala Lajpatrai would propound objectionable views. Indeed his former publication *Young India* was praised by the English newspapers. People will naturally conclude, therefore, that Government proscribed the present pamphlet with their usual arbitrariness. [The *Indian Social Reformer* remarks :—" Those, who know something of Lala Lajpatrai's religious and philanthropic work in India, will be extremely slow to believe, without definite proof, the Home Secretary's information as to his having been subsidised by German agents."]

Alleged ill-effects of the Bohra meeting recently held in Bombay.

Deshi Mitra (64), 29th Nov.

25. Commenting upon the decision of a police case in which certain Bohras of Ujjain were sentenced and fined for inhuman attacks upon an old Bohra and his son and daughter-in-law, the *Deshi Mitra* writes :—The fanaticism displayed at Ujjain is proved to have been due to the public meeting of the Bohras held at Bombay. Some Bohras of Surat had to be fined owing to being thrown into an excitement by the proceedings of the Bombay meeting! The fracas at Nágpur was also due to the Bombay meeting. The Bombay meeting of the Bohras is thus responsible for sowing the seeds of disunion and discord. The main dispute has arisen because certain members of the Bohra community want an account of the charitable property administered by the Mullaji who is said to have refused to give any account of the property held by him. The Vaishnav Maharaj once exercised power similar to that now enjoyed by the Mulla. But those days are gone. The Bohras and their Mullaji would, therefore, do well to recognise the change time has wrought and act accordingly.

Duty of Mussalmans of Bombay Presidency to help the victims of the riots in Arrah District (Behar).

Akhbár-e-Islám (57), 26th Nov.

26. Referring to the Arrah riots, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that the time that is passing at present is not only critical for the Muhammadans but one calculated to inflame the minds of orthodox Moslems. It severely deplores the apathy of the Muhammadans in the country as a whole, and of those of the Bombay Presidency in particular, towards the innocent Muhammadans of Arrah who have, observes the paper, fallen victims to the oppression of men belonging to alien communities. It characterises the silence of the leading Moslems of Bombay City as unpardonable. The paper then proceeds :—How many meetings have been held by the Muhammadans of Bombay and of the Presidency to show their sympathy and render help to the Muhammadans of Arrah who, together with their children, have been done to death by the Hindus, and to others who have been living in abject misery? We have to say with regret that not a single one has been held; and if there was one in an obscure corner, what weight could it carry? Even in that meeting there was no mention made of any help (to be rendered to those in want) as if Bombay did not possess any Muhammadans. Many attempts have been made to blow the Home Rule trumpet among the Muhammadans with the help of up-to-date-looking Moslems, and purblind and unwary Muhammadans contribute their help to the cause to the tune of hundreds of rupees, but it is both surprising and regretable that these same Muhammadan Home Rulers have not a pie to give to the oppressed Moslems of Arrah. Perhaps they think that by rendering pecuniary help to the Arrah Muhammadans they would give offence to their Hindu guides who are to obtain temporal and spiritual salvation for them.

Appeal to Government to regulate the prices of foodstuffs, etc., in the Bombay Presidency.

Rást Goftár (31), 25th Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 1st Dec.

27. Dwelling upon the high prices of commodities generally and of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life in particular in all parts of the Bombay Presidency, the *Rást Goftár* declares that the middle classes are suffering great hardship owing to the heavy rise in prices. It supports the complaints made by the people of Broach in the petition they submitted to the Bombay Government in this connection. In common with the petitioners, the paper inquires why the prices of indigenous products should increase so heavily and, suggesting that Government should not allow the prices of necessaries of life, such as *ghee*, milk, fuel, flour, vegetables, grain, etc., to be steadily increased, remarks that they should no longer delay in coming to the rescue of the poor subjects. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is also entirely in accord with the suggestions made by the Broach petitioners and remarks that the state of things that has been deplored in the above-mentioned petition obtains in the whole of the Presidency. It also favours the appointment by Government of a committee to control the prices of foodstuffs and to enforce them upon the merchants.]

The system of issuing Treasury Bills should be continued even after the war.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 29th Nov.

28. The *Dnyán Prakásh* approves of the decision of Government to issue Treasury Bills and writes :—Although this arrangement is intended to be a war measure we trust that it will be continued even after the war ends. It is necessary that our Government should borrow, as far as possible, all the money that they want in the country itself. The present method of utilising the balances at the disposal of Government requires to be radically changed if it is to be made more profitable. It is neither desirable nor possible to continue the existing system and our Government should benefit by their experience of the last three or four years.

Comments on the security taken from the *Hindusthán* newspaper.

Hindusthán (21), 24th Nov.

29. Referring to the recent order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, demanding two securities totalling Rs. 1,000 from the *Hindusthán* under the Indian Press Act, the paper remarks that since its proprietorship has been now transferred from an individual to a Limited Company the question of security is one more directly affecting its new proprietors, *i.e.*, the public, rather than an individual. It then observes :—We shall say this much in connection with the policy of this paper that while remaining completely loyal to the British Government we have made endeavours to fight for the rights of the public. Our loyalty towards Government does not abate by reason of their demanding security from us, but at the same time the fact shows to what extent the Press Act robs the leading public journals of their independence. We shall not be backward in discharging our duty towards the public because of the present Government demand for security. Having regard to the manner in which the Press Act was administered in other Presidencies, we believed that under the regime of Lord Willingdon the said Act was worked in our Presidency with less rigour ; but it is natural that such steps taken under the Press Act against public journals may spread feelings of regret among the public at a time when the Secretary of State for India has come on a visit to this country for pacifying the Indian people. The *Hindusthán* had appeared before the public in order to serve both the King and the people, but it is our regret that that policy has not found favour with the authorities. We shall discharge our duty. We shall not falter in doing our duty by the State, but (at the same time) we shall pray to the Almighty to give us strength to fulfil our duty towards the public.

Hardships of talatis.

Sandesh (116), 27th Nov.

30. A correspondent writes in the *Sandesh* :—The talatis are rightly classed amongst the most honest servants of Government. But whereas the men in the Police and the Forest Departments are provided with clothing and have comfortable quarters to live in in addition to a handsome salary, the poor talatis have to work on a miserably low stipend. The treatment that they receive at the hands of the mamlatdar and the other subordinate officers in the Revenue Department is also most unsympathetic. Last year the talatis in the Bhiwandi Taluka of the Thána District were directed to work for four days in the taluka office and for three days in their own villages during the week. As this order was most inconvenient they endeavoured to get it cancelled and being unsuccessful they tendered their resignations hoping thereby to attract the attention of the Collector to their grievance. That official, however, showed his readiness to accept their resignations and the poor talatis had ultimately to resume work on reduced grades!

Necessity of increasing the pay of Vaccinators.
Kesari (106), 27th Nov.

31. One "Hari Sharma" writes to the *Kesari* saying that the grades fixed in 1872 in the Department of Sanitation and Vaccination have not yet been revised and complains that the pay is very low, that Vaccinators have to vaccinate 1,920 children every year, that Talatis do not help them as the Kulkarnis did in the work and that Birth and Death Registers according to which the Vaccinators have to work are not properly kept by the uneducated Police Patels. He adds:—If they ask for promotion they are told it is war-time. But what other expenditure of Government has been stopped? The Police are given increments during war-time. Prices of all articles have gone up, but Vaccinators do not even receive grain compensation allowance. We hope some Honourable Member of the Council will ask some questions regarding the pay of Vaccinators.

Grievances of garden land holders in Bhimthadi Taluka (Poona).
Kesari (106), 27th Nov.

32. The *Kesari* supports in general the representation of the holders of garden lands in Bhimthadi Taluka (Poona) to the Superintending Engineer and says that many of the grievances regarding the supply of canal water are due to new orders issued according to the whims of officials. It adds:—Why should the rule about the height and breadth of mounds round sugar-cane fields be rigidly enforced? The construction of mounds costs a good deal more than formerly and the *Bagayatdars* should be given some concessions. Who would say that the request of these men for the grant of new stocks in exchange as the old ones have become too soft by watering, is unreasonable? It is also quite necessary that water rates should be realised in March and not in January. The one great defect in the recovery of assessment is that the rayat has to pay it before he has gathered his crops and consequently he has to resort to the savakar. What wisdom is there in sticking rigidly to the dates of recovery? The officials should remove of their own accord the grievances of rayats. The contentment of rayats is a source of great strength to Government. Should the officials then add to this strength or weaken it through obstinacy?

Petition of Kaira agriculturists for remission of revenue.
Kaira Vartamán (67), 28th Nov.

33. The *Kaira Vartamán* endorses the petition submitted by the cultivators of the Kaira District bringing to the notice of Government the loss suffered by them owing to excessive rains and praying for remission of land revenue. It expresses a hope that Government will be pleased to enquire into the matter and grant the favour asked for. It expresses confidence that the Honourable Mr. Patel and the Honourable Mr. Parekh will make all possible efforts in the Bombay Legislative Council to secure the relief asked for by the cultivators. It asks the Home Rule League of Kaira to send a deputation to His Excellency the Governor in the matter.

Bombay postmen and their last strike.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 29th Nov.

34. The *Sánj Vartamán*, after referring to the dissatisfaction prevailing among the postmen of Bombay over the settlement arrived at after the recent strike and the Government promise to give them further increase in their salaries, makes mention of the refusal of the postal peons to draw their salaries for the months of

September and October last unless they are paid for the period of the strike. It asks Government to give the postal peons their salaries as requested by them as a special case to avoid the infliction of further hardships upon the poor people.

Comments on the last annual report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 28th Nov.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 1st Dec.

35. *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the Government Resolution on the report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of Bombay for the year 1916 affords melancholy reading. It regards the Government policy of effecting economy in the matter of sanitation as erroneous. It maintains that the attempt on the part of Government to vindicate the failure of the Sanitary Department to combat malaria effectually produces mingled feelings of surprise and regret. The paper does not approve of the action of Government in raising the price of quinine, which is being sold to the public through the Post Office, when the efficacy of that drug has been recognised in keeping down malaria, which is, on the whole, claiming a heavier toll of mortality than the plague itself. It requests the Governor in Council to make provision, at any cost, for enabling all classes of the public to procure it with ease. It also cannot agree with the Government policy of expecting the public to take what precautionary measures they like to prevent the spread of plague in particular areas which might result from the influx of people from other plague-infected parts and suggests that Government should, in order to prevent such exodus, provide temporary abodes, with light, water and other facilities, on the outskirts of the infected areas. [The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the virulent nature of the plague epidemic raging at present at Ahmedabad and wishes that Government would come to the succour of Ahmedabad before the disease there extends to other parts of the Presidency. It believes that Government ought to have given precuniary help to the Ahmedabad Municipality as they had done to the Poona Municipality for the extermination of rats. The paper also regrets that Government could not see their way to send Sub-Assistant Surgeons to parts of the Bombay Presidency other than Sind and the Kaira District in the year 1916 to assist in fighting malaria, as was their wont in previous years.]

Comments on the Bombay Exhibition of Foodstuffs, etc.

Gujaráti (17), 2nd Dec., Eng. cols.

***36.** "The present exhibition is doubtless a great success, so far as it goes. But if it leads to the establishment of at least one or two *Swadeshi* Stores on a large scale containing the foods and household requisites that are to be seen at the Exhibition, it will have achieved lasting good. Otherwise, there will be left behind the bare catalogues which, so far as the general public is concerned, are of little practical value. The articles must be made easily accessible to all in a city like Bombay, and the object which the organizers of the exhibition had in view will only then be attained. We hope Lord Willingdon's Government, the Executive Committee and public-spirited citizens will consider this suggestion and not delude themselves with the belief that bare spectacular shows, however dazzling and tempting, will afford genuine help to the householder and consumer in general after the Exhibition has been closed."

Alleged spread of lotteries in Surat city.

Deshi Mitra (64), 29th Nov.

37. The *Deshi Mitra* complains that lottery tickets of various Native States are allowed to be sold in Surat without any hindrance from the Police. It further complains that bogus lotteries are started by various commercial firms to promote the sale of their own goods in the city. It draws the attention of the authorities to the provisions of the Penal Code which prohibit lotteries, the opening of offices for the sale of lottery tickets or the advertisement of lotteries, and asks them to put down the evil and save the people from falling victims to the mania for speculation or gambling.

Plague at Ahmedabad.
Gujarāti Punch (19), 25th Nov.

38. The *Gujarāti Punch* complains of lack of proper supervision on the part of the Health Department of Ahmedabad and of failure to take measures to combat the ravages of plague in that city. It also complains of the hardships of the people owing to the scanty supply of water which the Municipality allow owing to the choking up of the drains. It refers to the faulty system of registration of deaths in the city and suggests that a more efficient system should be adopted particularly in the case of those communities that bury their dead. [Elsewhere the paper protests against the opening of the Gujarat College at a time when plague is raging very furiously and suggests that the College be closed and the students granted their terms as was done when plague prevailed in Poona.]

Alleged tendency of officials in Sind to interfere unduly and high-handedly in matters vitally affecting the principle of local self-government.
New Times (7), 28th Nov.

39. "While the Secretary of State for India along with the Viceroy is considering schemes for the progressive realisation of responsible self-government, serious efforts are being made by District Collectors to impose house-tax on the various towns in Sind.......... Only recently a storm was raised in Hyderabad by the proposal to impose house-tax, and Lárkána was set ablaze with excitement by the high-handed action of Mr. Bolus. The little peaceful town of Rohri has been disturbed and unduly excited by the proposal to impose *Shahukari* tax. And an esteemed correspondent from Shikárpur now informs that the new Collector Mr. Rothfeld is trying his best to persuade the municipality to accept the proposal to impose house-tax there. The Collector was interviewed by the *panchayat* and some respectable citizens who entered a strong note of protest.......... The situation created by such excessive, undue and high-handed interference of the officials in matters vitally affecting the principle of local self-government requires united action on the part of public bodies and municipalities throughout Sind. The official efforts to encroach upon the rights of local self-government and to create factions between the two communities—Hindus and Muhammadans—must be checked by united public protests from all parts of Sind. The protests of individual towns have proved insignificant and are unable to produce any effect on the minds of officials and we believe it is high time that a representation by all municipalities be made to the Commissioner in Sind. The people in Sind feel helpless against official executive defying all public voice and public sentiment; and it is necessary in the interests of public peace and contentment that a joint representation be made without delay. The question is not simply that of paying the tax. It is one of principle, a principle respected and cherished by every civilized Government, that of respecting the will and sentiment of the people in matters of local legislation. The principle is being mercilessly trampled upon by official high-handedness and we earnestly appeal to all public bodies in the Province to seriously consider the question."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the proposed Joint Board for the conduct of the Matriculation and School Final Examinations.
Jam-e-Jamshed (24), 29th Nov.

40. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* strongly deprecates the compromise arrived at between the University and Government in the matter of appointing a Joint Board which will conduct the Matriculation and the School Final Examinations and supervise the work of the schools which prepare candidates for these examinations, on the ground that the loss of direct control on the part of the University over the Matriculation Examination will mean the loss of control over secondary education in the Presidency. It reminds its readers of the exhortation of the late Sir Pherozshah Metha not to allow the control over the Matriculation Examination to go out of the hands of the University, and alleges that those who have consented to the compromise have not heeded his advice. It is afraid the Joint Board will be dominated by officials.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Government Resolution reviewing the working of the Municipalities in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1915-16.

Rást Goftár (31), 2nd Dec., Eng. cols.

*41. Commenting upon the Government Resolution reviewing the working of the Municipalities in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1915-16, the *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"We think the reports from the Commissioner in Sind and the Commissioners of the three divisions in the Presidency proper should be published so as to allow the public to judge those reports for themselves.......... 'The Hyderabad Municipality was superseded during the year, while the municipalities of Rájápur, Erandol and Vámbori continued under supersession'. We are left entirely in the dark as to the circumstances under which these Municipalities came to be superseded. The Sind Hyderabad Municipality had a non-official Chairman for many years, and its supersession is a serious blow to local self-government in Sind. Hyderabad is the second most important Municipality in Sind and its supersession is a serious matter. A change of President or a reconstitution of the Municipality might have met the situation, but the extremely drastic step of supersession requires a full explanation which cannot be found in the Government Resolution. We find that the Erandol and the Dharangaon Municipalities, which were under supersession, have been reconstituted. Hyderabad is a more important Municipality and should be reconstituted without unnecessary delay. It was superseded on the 6th December 1915."

Bombay Samáchár (60), 26th Nov.

42. Referring to the resolution recently published by Government on the administration of municipalities in the Bombay Presidency, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the opinion expressed by Government as to the satisfactory working of municipalities with non-official presidents will help to remove the differences between Government and the public on the question of non-official municipal presidents, which has a close bearing on the subject of the development of local self-government. It hopes that, in view of the success that has attended the experiment of allowing city municipalities to have elected presidents, the difference between the city and other municipalities in this connection will also be done away with. The paper also wishes that, in order to remove the chances of a tussle, such as at times goes on in some cases between the Chief Executive Officer of a municipality and its non-official president, the position and functions of each should be defined by statute. It further dwells upon the necessity of improving the resources and financial condition of the municipalities and, referring to their steadily increasing wants in matters of education, sanitation, etc., it maintains that their progress cannot be expected to be rapid or even substantial as long as they have to remain dependent upon Government loans and grants from time to time. The paper, accordingly, believes that the time has now come for Government to place at their disposal additional sources of revenue, or failing that to make provision for systematically distributing among them a particular portion of the provincial revenues.

Complaint against the Alandi (Poona) Municipality.

Kesari (106), 27th Nov.

43. Messrs. Bapu Balkrishna Joshi, Shripat Vithal Deshpande, Balwant Babaji Kushade, Kashinath Bhau Golande and Virachand Hatichand write to the *Kesari* from Alandi (District Poona):—At present people in our town are being subjected to a great tyranny. Till now, we had only one Municipal tax, the house-tax. But it has been enhanced so much from this year that we shall have to abandon our houses and go away. Some houses have to pay 10 times the original tax. Estimates of house-rent have been made according to the sweet will of the authorities and 12½ per cent. on that estimate has been assessed as house-tax. Many people are ready to hand over their houses to the Municipality at a lower rental than that estimated by the Municipality. Houses in the same locality have been very differently assessed. Prominent people have no other course but to leave the town. Our misfortunes are not at an end. 25 per cent. of the house-tax is to be paid as sanitation

tax and we have to pay also conservancy cess and Bhaji tax. As all the members are not elected and responsible to the people, the officials are dominating the Municipality and the people are being subjected to such tyranny. Will Government redress the grievance?

The house-tax at Lárkána (Sind).

New Times (7), 24th Nov.

44. In the course of a lengthy letter in the *New Times* on the resolution finally passed by the Lárkána Municipality to impose house-tax, an anonymous correspondent remarks:—"The conservancy for which the halalkhore cess is being levied and gives an income of Rs. 4,000, already costs the Municipality Rs. 6,000. Thus the savings of 2 or 3 thousand rupees from the new house-tax will be absorbed by the above conservancy expenses. May we therefore understand that the house-tax was being imposed to meet these 2 thousand rupees, the excess expenditure on conservancy? Was it thus worthwhile to disturb the minds of the people and cause such a genuine dissatisfaction for realising Rs. 2,000 or 3,000? The people never raised the least cry that the halalkhore cess was not a suitable one or was pressing hard upon them. It was a tax paid for direct service done to the people, and the poor and the rich paid it most willingly from time immemorial. Even the increase of 2 or 3 thousand rupees towards this cess would not have been grudged by the public. But there was absolutely no necessity for realizing about 2 or 3 thousand rupees from the people since the terminal tax lately introduced has already been giving to the Municipality a profit of about Rs. 12,000 a year. No one who has full insight into this house-tax question, and who knows that most of the assessable houses in Lárkána are ancestral, in the occupation of the owners themselves, most of whom are poor, can in fairness urge that the remission of the halalkhore cess by imposition of the house-tax would in any way relieve the poor. The poor having assessable houses paid a lighter tax and paid it for service done but now they shall have to pay a much heavier tax which they so much hate. Is this relief to the poor or a hoax?"

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the state of affairs at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár).

Young India (14), 28th Nov.

45. "The Wadhwán trouble does not seem to have ended yet. The Administrator, who was baffled in his attempt to break the strike of the Banias, has now resorted, we learn, to more refined methods of harassing the people. One of these is to insist on the people of Wadhwán city obtaining licenses to visit the camp. Now anyone who knows the intimate relations which exist between the city and the camp will be able to realise the amount of trouble which people are put to by this order. So far as one can see there is no justification whatever—not even the prevalence of plague, because the camp is free from it—for this action of Mr. Kadri. It is amazing that the vagaries of this retired Indian bureaucrat have yet failed to earn the disapproval of the Local Government."

Hindusthán (21), 26th Nov.; *Káthiawár Times* (26), 28th Nov.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (57), 29th Nov.; *Indian Loyalist* (23), 30th Nov.

46. Prefacing its comments upon the present general strike at Wadhwán with the remark that the Chief of Wadhwán has been unfortunately deprived of his authority by the British Government, the *Hindusthán* observes that by issuing his orders placing restrictions on the playing of music in public streets Khan Bahadur Kadri might have perhaps intended to secure for the Muhammadans of Wadhwán the rights enjoyed by their co-religionists in other parts of the country. It understands that not only did the Muhammadans never raise any objections in the past against the playing of music near the mosques but they themselves played music there. It inquires if Khan Bahadur Kadri ever received any petition on the subject from the Muhammadans before he issued the orders above referred to, and if he did, whether he ever consulted any leader of the Hindu community in connection with any of their demands. The paper does not believe that the prejudiced opinion Mr. Kadri has formed about the Hindus of

Wadhwán is likely to undergo any change for the better. It observes that the present situation at Wadhwán is due to Mr. Kadri, and regard being had to the fact that the public mind has not yet been satisfied it is necessary that another capable officer who can treat the public with sympathy should be appointed as Administrator of Wadhwán in the place of Mr. Kadri. The paper also appeals to the Agent to the Governor in Káthiáwár to appoint a special officer to ascertain whether the present Administrator or the people are in the wrong. [The *Káthiáwár Times* publishes the purport of a letter from a Wadhwán correspondent in the course of which the writer wants to know, in connection with the strike, how long the kind British Government wish to see the loyal people of Wadhwán continue in their present state of misery. He maintains that in spite of the repressive attitude of Mr. Kadri and Mr. Amanatulla, the Superintendent of Police, the Hindus of Wadhwán have a high respect for the British Government. He concludes with requesting the latter to satisfy the Hindus by doing them prompt justice. Taking exception to the above comments of the *Hindusthán*, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* inquires if it is proper to maintain that the partial and chaotic regimé of the former ruler of Wadhwán should be continued even by a Moslem representative of the British Government? It remarks that restrictions upon the playing of music are not in any way antagonistic to the religious tenets of the Hindus and that if Mr. Kadri had failed to respect the religious feelings of the Muhammadans on considerations of Hindu opposition he would have proved himself to be a weak Administrator. The *Indian Loyalist* does not lay the fault of the present strike entirely at the doors of Mr. Kadri. While hoping that the latter will not fail to satisfy the minds of the public in the matter of the restrictions on music if their objections are properly placed before him, it advises the Hindus of Wadhwán to beware of the instigations of their ostensible friends who are really their enemies.]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 7th December 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 49 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 8th December 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

- Bombay Legislative Council: Interpellations in the— 30
- British rule:
  - Comments on Mr. Karimbhoy A. Peerbhoy's evidence before the Industrial Commission . . . . 8—11
  - Comments on the proceedings of the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council 21
  - Government should take measures against the undue raising of house rents 20
  - Government should take measures to alleviate the hardships of people owing to high prices 19
  - Lala Lajpat Rai's book and the London Police 15
  - Protest against Government servants like Mr. Justice A. M. Kajiji mixing themselves up in political movements 17
  - Reflections on the Bakr-Id Riots in the United Provinces . . . 18
  - The Bengal Government and the internees . . . . 12 & 13
  - Treatment of Bengalis interned under the Defence of India Act . 14
  - Young men in India often join the malcontents because Englishmen forget their manners and adopt a snarling superior attitude towards Indians 16
- Excise: Protest against the proposed re-introduction of the system of auctioning liquor-shop licenses 33
- Indian Political Reforms:
  - Alleged conflict between a Home Rule propagandist and the Talati of Bedia (Godhra) 5
  - Comments on the memorial of the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council to Mr. Montagu 3
  - Comments on the refusal to accept the All-India Moslem League address 6
  - Government should put forward their own Reforms Scheme for discussion 2
  - Only some important and qualified communities should be given special electorates 4
  - The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association's representation to the Secretary of State for India 7
  - What will be the result if the demands of the Congress-League Scheme are not granted? 1
- Judicial matters: Comments on a recent libel case disposed of by Mr. Oliveira, Third Presidency Magistrate 32

B 374—a OCN

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded*.

Medical matters: Comments on the triennial report of the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay 34

Press Act: Comments on the demand of security from the *Hindusthán* newspaper 31

Public service:

Comments on the extension of Sir Mahadev Chaubal's term of office . 29

Comments on the extension of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's term of office as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb 28

War:

Comments on Lord Lansdownes letter regarding terms of peace . . 22

Comments on the Russian situation . . . . 24—26

Probable effects of the capture of Jerusalem on Muhammadan feeling in India 23

The British should place more confidence in Indians if they want to win the— 27

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Compulsory Education Act passed by the Bombay Legislative Council . . . . 35—37

EDUCATION—

Disapproval of the rejection by the University of the proposal to permit matriculation candidates to answer in vernaculars. 38

Suggestions for the utilization of the grant of Rs. 1,00,000 for scholarships to Muhammadans in Sind 39

MUNICIPALITIES—

Broach: Appeal to Government to inquire into the alleged misuse of the space cleared under the Borahwad Improvement Scheme in— . . . 41

Comments on the grant of right to elect Presidents to certain— . . . 40

Larkána: Agitation regarding the house-tax at—(Sind) 42

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the formation of Cutch-Káthiáwár political association in Bombay 47

Comments on the strike at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár) . . . . . . 43—46

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

What will be the result if the demands of the Congress-League Scheme are not granted?

Mahrátta (5), 9th Dec.

*1. "Will British statesmanship decide to flout the Indian National Congress? 'Strong men' are capable of anything! Do we not know that the All-Moslem demand for the release of the Alis supported by non-Moslems is still treated with scant courtesy? That is only one of a number of instances in which public opinion has been flouted. .... But we submit that even weak men become transformed into giants—by any continued ill-treatment which they receive at the hands of their strong masters. Changes in Russia are a living testimony to the truth of our proposition. Gone is the autocrat of all the Russias, and many another autocrat with him and after him and M. Lenin, a choice of the workmen of Russia is now at the top. Whatever changes may hereafter take place, the very fact that a M. Lenin has come to the top and guided Russian policy for a month has a significance which not only the crowned heads but also the land and money monopolising classes throughout the world will not undervalue, if they are sane. The too patient, too ignorant, too apathetic, too credulous, in fine, the too weak Russian peasant and workman has, thanks to the self-sacrificing work of the Russian Intelligentia through 4 or 5 decades, been transformed into the chastiser of autocrats and plutocrats!"

Government should put forward their own reform schemes for discussion.

Kesari (106), 4th Dec.

2. When the Indian capital was removed to Delhi, the question of Provincial autonomy also was discussed. After a time, however, it was sought to explain away the phrase, but as God has the good of India at heart, there was the great war in Europe and He made British statesmen sing the glory of Freedom of the People and of National Independence. He created a feeling of shame in the heart of Englishmen that the whole world would laugh at them and revile them if they sacrificed their all for the independence of a petty nation with whom they had nothing to do while they did nothing for India, useful, generous and friendly to them. Thus the question of *Swarájya* came to the front unexpectedly and it has ended in the arrival of the Secretary of State in India and the reception of deputations by him. The discussion of a Minister of the Crown with the representatives of the people will strengthen the British Empire in India a hundred times more than the stones used in the foundation of New Delhi. We leave the reader to imagine what ideas must have been inspired by the pompous procession of Lord Curzon at Delhi and by the plain reception of Indian leaders in a beggarly tent by Mr. Montagu, in the hearts of the people. It is unmistakably proved by Mr. Montagu's preliminary work in India that British statesmen now realise the true way of maintaining the Empire. Just as it is important to know the right way, it is equally important to travel rapidly by that way. We doubt how far Mr. Montagu will be successful in this respect. We do not know as yet what Government are going to give us and people cannot do anything more than indulge in speculations. Lord Morley was a simple and straightforward man and he laid before the nation his draft scheme. Then the people had no scheme of their own but Government's was ready. Now the case is reversed. Before discussion is to go on, it must have something to proceed upon. What is the use of a baseless discussion? It would have been very satisfactory if Government had accepted the Congress-League Scheme as a basis and suggested some changes in it. If they had produced a scheme of their own without any binding force, the representatives of the people could have had useful discussion with Mr. Montagu thereupon. But real discussion is impossible as there is no Government scheme. There are no signs that the Congress-League scheme will be fully accepted, and attempts should be made throughout the nation to inform Mr. Montagu through all ways and means that unless the whole scheme is accepted, there will be no contentment. Till Government submit to popular criticism their own scheme, they have no right to pass vain criticisms on the Congress-League scheme or to cross-

examine those that wait upon them. Unless we know the value of the Government scheme, we say plainly that it would be ridiculing and reviling public opinion to ask any person: "Will you accept a scheme more restricted than the Congress-League scheme? Will you remain contented in that case?"

Comments on the memorial of the non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council to Mr. Montagu.

Jágaruk (102), 30th Nov., Eng. cols.

3. "The non-official members of the Bombay Legislative Council have submitted a memorial to the State Secretary for India in which they have expressly stated that they are opposed to making any special arrangements for the adequate representation of the Backward Classes! The list of the signatories includes a number of names from the Moderate camp and yet the Moderate paper of Poona is ready to support our demand and actually asks us to state the conditions on which we are willing to support the Congress-League Scheme of reforms! Really, if incoherence, internal dissensions and utter want of unity are the unmistakable signs of the approaching death of an institution, the above illustration testifies to the truth of Mr. Prithwish Chandra Roy's statement that the Moderate party is dead!"

Only some important and qualified communities should be given special electorates.

Chandrodaya (34), 3rd Dec.

4. We do not think that the demand of Hindu backward classes for special electorates is against the Congress scheme. But some leaders have suggested the formation of mixed electorates as special caste electorates would strengthen caste differences. What is wanted is the inclusion of representatives of important castes that are in minority whether it be through mixed or special electorates. We do not insist upon any particular form of electorates. We are of opinion that the *Swarájya* scheme should be accepted without any such conditions. We suggest to those who want special members and special electorates that they should first advocate the *Swarájya* scheme and then ask for rights for their castes. We can never support them if they think that their merit lies in their caste. We support them only if educated and independent men of different castes come forward with the object of performing national service. We may even admit that this question of division of powers should be taken up after the *Swarájya* scheme is sanctioned. We think that some important backward classes who have acquired fitness by education will certainly get the right of special electorates. But it would be ridiculous if every backward class asks for it. It is but proper for some important backward communities to ask for the right on the strength of their fitness.

Alleged conflict between a Home Rule propagandist and the Talati of Bedia (Godhra).

Hindusthán (21), 3rd Dec.

5. The *Hindusthán* writes:—A correspondent from Godhra writes to us to the effect that on the 16th November one Lallu Bapu who had undertaken to ask the people of Bedia to sign the Home Rule League memorial was roughly treated by the Talati of the place and his papers were snatched away from him. The papers were handed back to the said Lallu Bapu at the intervention of the Fouzdar of the place. But the Talati sent for him again, used abusive language towards him and again snatched away the papers from him. The Godhra Home Rule League is going to take legal steps in the matter.

Comments on the refusal to accept the All-India Moslem League address.

Kesari (106), 4th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 6th Dec., Eng. cols.

6. The *Kesari* says that there was very little life in the reception of deputations that waited upon Mr. Montagu as the Government of India resolved that there should not be the least change in the programme already fixed upon and as Mr. Montagu has placed himself entirely at the disposal of the Government of India. It further remarks:—Even this lifeless reception did not pass off without any accident. We have already alluded to the one-sided, selfish, impracticable demands insulting to the Hindus made by Muhammadans. The Government of India objected to the deputation not on account of these selfish demands,

but because the question of the Muhammadan internees was raised in the address and as the Muhammadans declined to make any changes, the deputation was not received and the entire Muhammadan community was disappointed. The Government of India should have adopted a more statesmanlike and sympathetic attitude in the matter. It was Government that encouraged the idea of the release of the interned, but very few except Mrs. Besant and her colleagues got the benefit of the changed policy of Government. That a person who is given the honour of an interview with the Secretary of State should not be allowed to be present at any public meeting in Delhi is not only an insult to the individual concerned (Mr. Tilak) but also to the Secretary of State himself. Many minor deputations have been received but the deputation of All-India Muhammadans has not been received. It has made the already enraged Muhammadans more indignant still. We say it is impolitic because Government do not see that this disappointment will be many times more dangerous than the evils anticipated by Government if they released Mahomed Ali. Is there no cool-headed, farsighted adviser with the Government of India now as at the time of Lord Hardinge? [Commenting on the refusal by the Government of India of the address of the All-India Moslem Deputation, the *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* writes:—"We can only say that this incident is being deplored throughout India while it will unnecessarily embitter the Muhammadan community. There would have been some justification for the action of the Government of India if the Viceroy or the Secretary of State had to reply to the address, but as no reply is made to any address, no exception need have been taken to a passage which referred to a widely-felt grievance."]

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association's representation to the Secretary of State for India.

Indian Social Reformer (3), 9th Dec.

*7. "We are surprised and sorry to learn that permission has not been granted to the presentation of the memorial drafted by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association to his Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. The memorial was printed in the *Reformer* of November 18. We do not know what the reasons were which actuated Government to adopt this attitude which is completely at variance with the expressions of sympathy, often uttered by the Governor and other members of Government, with social reform. Lord Sydenham has been telling people in England that Indians are doing nothing for social reform and are, therefore, unfit for self-government. The attempt to place before the Secretary of State an authoritative refutation of this view by one of the most important and influential social reform associations in the country is curtly refused. It may be noted here that representations have been presented to the Secretary of State advocating all sorts of fantastic schemes, one of them, for example, suggesting that the Muhammadan population should henceforth be judged according to Muhammadan civil and criminal codes. We are sure that it is not the wish of Government that Mr. Montagu should go home with the impression that absolutely nothing is being done for social reform by Indians, and yet they could not have acted worse if that had been their aim. A meeting of the Council of the Association is to consider the situation created by this arbitrary and unjust refusal, and we would suggest that steps should be taken to bring it to the notice of His Majesty's Government and Members of Parliament."

Comments on Mr. Karimbhoy A. Peerbhoy's evidence before the Industrial Commission.

Young India (14), 5th Dec.

8. "Speaking for ourselves, we must frankly admit that we have never entertained any high regard for such bodies as the Industrial Commission. It is a well-known method with a bureaucratic Government, whether in India or elsewhere, of shelving important public questions and has been systematically followed on every conceivable occasion. When in response to the strong feeling that existed in the country, on the subject of industrial development, Government appointed the Commission, instead of taking more practical measures, it was felt—and felt very rightly—that Government did not view their responsibilities in the proper manner. The Commission started on their progress a year ago but then took a prolonged holiday, while the Chairman was engaged on war

duties. They resumed their progress early last month, and busied themselves with the examination of witnesses who were generally regarded as 'safe' and approved of by a Secretary to the Local Government. Much of the evidence recorded by the Commission is of that prosaic description, with which most of us were already familiar. Only towards the close of the session was any new ground broken by a Muhammadan witness—Mr. Karimbhoy Adamjee Peerbhoy.......... The part played by Sir Thomas on this occasion does not add to his credit, nor does it help to exonerate Government, of which he seems to consider himself an indispensable limb.......... We do not wish to say much of his colleagues, who supinely allowed themselves to be led away by his prejudices.......... We believe the European colleagues of Sir Thomas were quite justified in their quiescent reception of the allegations; for it seems to us from the past records of some of them—particularly Mr. Chatterton, who was very kindly nicknamed by somebody as 'Mr. Chatter-box'—that they were there not to find out damning evidence against officials but to help to suppress it. Turning to Mr. Karimbhoy's allegations against Government—to let alone individual officers—they are indeed very serious and merit immediate attention. If the allegations are not openly met, Government stand to suffer very severely in their reputation for fairplay, which is most undesirable.......... We trust Government will realise the full significance of these allegations and furnish a full and satisfactory answer. If the allegations are true, it seems to us that the professed solicitude in the past for Indian industries was non-existent and the state of decadence to which they have been reduced conveys its own moral regarding the part played by Government in the field of Indian industries."

Mahrátta (5), 9th Dec.; *Indian Social Reformer* (3), 9th Dec.

*9. "Sir Thomas's ruling that the Commission would not publish Mr. Karimbhoy's evidence because it contained allegations against various officials was most preposterous. A statement concerning the working of the rules relating to the purchase of stores by Government Departments to be any way useful for the purpose for which the Indian Industrial Commission is brought into existence (the purpose, namely, of assertaining what are the difficulties of Indian industrialists and how they may be met with a view to make the industrial progress of the nation smooth and rapid) must, wherever necessary, contain detailed accounts of how Indian and European firms are treated by Government officials responsible for Government purchases. Of what earthly use is an Industrial Commission's report, if matters of the above character are strictly eschewed? Sir Thomas did not stop with giving his ruling so far as his Commission was concerned. He was so anxious to suppress Mr. Karimbhoy's 'allegations' againt officials and his evidence in support of these allegations that he gave a gratuitous warning to press representatives. Sir Thomas's assurance that Government were not partial to any firm—what does it indicate? It indicates that Sir Thomas carries with him an attitude which cannot but hamper (as it *has* hampered) an *impartial* inquiry into our industrial conditions. A Commission of Inquiry must not take any sides. The men appointed to a Commission should be as far as possible men with a balanced mind, prepared to find even Government (which is admittedly 'human') 'partial to some firms'.......... Sir Thomas in pleading with Mr. Karimbhoy for an inquiry in private said that the accusations such as the latter made against individual officials ought not to be made in public. We are unable to understand this 'ought'. We firmly hold that as Mr. Karimbhoy was asked to give his criticism of the working of certain rules, he was perfectly justified in 'adding a few words regarding his firm's experience of the want of encouragement accorded by Government to purely Indian concerns and the partiality displayed for giving patronage to rival European firms in this country' and that when this evidence came before the Commission, the latter 'ought' to have gone into it fully and cross-examined Mr. Karimbhoy in public, inasmuch as the latter was prepared for such an examination. Sir Thomas in avoiding such an examination has shirked an obvious duty and the Indian members of the Commission who silently acquiesced in Sir Thomas's ruling cannot be congratulated on their conduct."

[The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—" Mr. Karimbhoy's complaints may be true or not, but having been invited to give evidence, he had every right to be heard, and we cannot but regret the Chairman's attempt to shut him up."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 4th Dec., Eng. cols.

10. " Sir Thomas was from the start disinclined to go into the very important questions which Mr. Karimbhoy's allegations raised, and in any event seemed eager that the evidence should not be taken in public. It was only Mr. Karimbhoy's exceptional firmness and courage that enabled him to ventilate his grievances, in spite of the Chairman's unsympathetic and somewhat amazing attitude. It almost seems as if the Chairman, in anticipation of the unpleasant disclosures made by Mr. Karimbhoy, tried to frighten him out of his purpose by reading him a lecture, at the very start, on the witness's want of courtesy to the Secretary of the Commission, and of consideration for ' the importance of the Commission and convenience of the members '. We feel that Sir Thomas might have spared us this unedifying spectacle of the Chairman of a public commission rating a witness in the manner of a school-master. But this piece of frightfulness does not seem to have produced the desired effect.......... It seems to us that the charges of preferential treatment and favouritism made out by Mr. Karimbhoy are a matter of grave interest for the Indian public. It is also a matter which falls clearly within the scope of the Commission's inquiry, and should have been closely and carefully investigated, instead of being attempted to be evaded.......... The members of the Commission, or its chairman, instead of being annoyed at these somewhat unpleasant disclosures, should have instituted a most searching inquiry into the allegations. Especially as Mr. Karimbhoy was not indulging in vague assertions, but was quite definite and deliberate in his indictments, and was prepared to substantiate them by facts and documents. How can a matter of this sort be kept private and concealed from the public ? Why should it be concealed, and in whose interest ? Sir Thoma's attempts to justify his view, that this evidence should not be published, and also to persuade Mr. Karimbhoy that he was mistaken in his impression of unfair treatment of Indian concerns, appear to us to be disingenuous in the extreme."

Gujaráti (17), 2nd Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 3rd Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (57), 5th Dec.; *Shri Venkateshwar* (80), 4th Dec.; *Kesari* (106), 4th Dec.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 4th Dec.

11. Are Indians to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water ? Can European members of commissions appointed to investigate into the question of the commercial possibilities of India do any substantial good to India ? Such questions suggest themselves to the mind of the Indian people after the evidence of Mr. Karimbhoy A. Peerbhoy before the Industrial Commission in Bombay. It is but natural that Indians should be disappointed with and protest against the manner in which the evidence was taken. The evidence makes it clear that new industries in India will receive encouragement from Government only if they are conducted by Europeans and not by Indians. Sir Thomas Holland ought to have called for the details of Mr. Karimbhoy's allegations instead of trying to prevent his evidence from appearing in the Press. Should not Government institute an enquiry into the matter when it has been brought to light that the tenders of the European firm were accepted when their quotations were higher than those of Mr. Karimbhoy's firm ? Should not the officials who are responsible for such a waste of public money be punished ? What weightier argument can be brought forward for insisting upon the control of the exchequer being placed in the hands of the Indians ? [The *Bombay Samáchár* draws the attention of Government to the evidence given by Mr. Karimbhoy and asks them to use every means in their power to encourage indigenous industries so that India should be self-supporting after the war. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* asks Government to take note of the evidence and to encourage Mr. Karimbhoy's enterprise and recognise his services to the country and the Empire. *Shri Venkateshwar* expresses surprise that a commission should stoop to colour prejudices and that the Indian members should not raise a word of protest against the attitude taken up by the President. The *Kesari* congratulates the *Bombay Chronicle* and Mr. Karimbhoy

Peerbhoy for bringing everything to light and says that the conduct of Sir Thomas Holland in trying to keep the whole thing secret was objectionable. The *Dnyán Prakásh* publishes *in extenso* Mr. Peerbhoy's evidence and says that a Government enquiry is necessary and that favouritism in these methods should necessarily be put down by Government.]

The Bengal Government and the internees.
Chandrodaya (34), 3rd Dec.

12. Commenting upon Lord Ronaldshay's speech at the Bengal Legislative Council, regarding internees and the impending inquiry, the *Chandrodaya* thinks it greatly surprising to infer the existence of a conspiracy from some murders of officials and dangerous dacoities and thefts of munitions. It further remarks:—Nobody will think it just to charge the whole of Bengal with anarchism and to intern many youths because of the deeds of some anarchists. Lord Ronaldshay has evidence with him from 1907 and if Governmet believe in it, why did they not openly prosecute Bengalees so long? It is a straightforward way to prove their guilt and hang them instead of harassing them in secret to death. It is not proper for big men like the Governor to dishonour the nation on the strength of incomplete and untrustworthy evidence gathered by the C. I. D. We all feel sorry that Lord Ronaldshay deliberately spoke in the Council about this dangerous charge and that Lala Lajpatrai was charged with being in German pay at the time when Mr. Montagu is in India to consider further grant of Reforms. It is not clear whether the special tribunal to be created will take independent evidence or deliver its judgment on *ex parte* evidence collected by the C. I. D. Lord Carmichael used to mix with the people and secretly do something harmful to them. But Lord Ronaldshay, arming himself with fierce weapons and thundering terribly, has come forth to battle against the Bengalis. Let us see what will be the outcome.

Subodh Patrika (43), 2nd Dec., Eng. cols.

13. The *Subodh Patrika* writes:—"If we are to believe Lord Ronaldshay, every one of the 'internees' justly deserved the incarceration, and critics like Sir Rabindranath Tagore, when they maintain that many innocent young men have suffered for the guilty, are grievously in the wrong. In other words, the C. I. D. of Bengal are a most impeccable body, and whomsoever they lay their hands upon is a rightly condemned criminal. Unhappily for the Government, the public in India can never be persuaded to agree to this apotheosis of the C. I. D. The public distrusts the C. I. D. and no words from Lord Ronaldshay will mitigate one jot of the distrust. The reason is that the public has become familiar with their activities, which are clumsy, tactless at best and relentless always in dealing with suspected people, who may be perfectly innocent, and yet by some mischance have come to be in the black books of the department."

Treatment of Bengalis interned under the Defence of India Act.
Mahrátta (5), 9th Dec.

*14. Referring to interpellations in a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council regarding detenus, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"Quite a large number of questions at the meeting mentioned above referred to Sachindra Nath Das Gupta, Haridas Das and Surendra Nath Kerr who committed suicide. The answers to these questions were not such as would induce the public to put any confidence in Government arrangements in regard to the detenus. We learn from these answers that pending the arrival of adequate financial aid from the higher authorities or from the detenus' own people, the thana police make such advances as are required, but *have no funds placed at their disposal for such purposes*. It can be easily imagined how the thana police must be treating the detenus' prayers for advances, when no funds for such purposes are placed at their disposal. 'Will the Government be pleased to state how many applications or other representations have been made by detenus or their relatives up-to-date with regard to the non-payment or inadequacy of maintenance allowances and what action has been taken thereon?' To this question the reply was:—'The collection of the information asked for would involve an additional burden on already over-worked officers and Government do not think that the public utility of the information when obtained would be commensurate with the labour entailed.' We do not think that the public have the same idea of 'the public utility' of the information asked for, as Government have. Hundreds of young men, many of them promising students, are interned, and the public, which means men and women with hearts and minds and not some intangible abstraction, cannot congratulate Government on holding so mean an opinion of their duties towards these unfortunate members of their Nation."

Lala Lajpat Rai's book and the London Police.
Kesari (106), 4th Dec.

15. Even an accused person is given an opportunity to meet evidence against him. But Lala Lajpat Rai is being charged with sedition in his absence and it is a question whether he will have an opportunity to defend himself. The Police ruse of searching some individual or institution with some motive of their own, though under another plea, is not a new one. Accordingly the London Police searched the London Home Rule League office. [The paper then refers to Commander Wedgewood's question in Parliament.] As *Young India* has been prohibited in India, we cannot say anything for or against the book. But the conscience of every Indian will tell him that it can not be objectionable, as Lajpat Rai is the writer and as Commander Wedgwood has written the introduction and as favourable comments have been made on it by influential journals in England like the *Nation*. The entire Indian nation will protest against the statement of Sir George Cave that it would bring a stain on the reputation of Lala Lajpat Rai. We are surprised that Sir George has charged Lala Rajpat Rai with the still worse crime of receiving a bribe from the Germans. But he declined at the same time to prosecute the company that published the book. We do not know how to characterise the policy of making the worst charges against Lala Lajpat Rai when the minister has no courage to charge Commander Wedgwood who was present or of prosecuting the company. Whatever be the heinous charges against Lala Lajpat Rai, the respect of Indians for him will not at all be lessened till they are proved in the law court. Indians will also strongly protest against any charges made against him in his absence without giving him an opportunity to defend himself.

Young men in India often join the malcontents because Englishmen forget their manners and adopt a snarling, superior attitude towards Indians.
New Times (7), 4th Dec.

*16. The *New Times* relates the story of a young Egyptian who had been brought up at Cambridge and who addressed his English official superior with the familiarity of language he had learnt at Cambridge; which familiarity being resented by the Englishman, the young Egyptian in disgust joined the Nationalists. The paper then continues :—" The story is true of several young men in India: they 'join the malcontents' because some Englishmen in India not unoften forget their manners and their ideals and adopt a snarling, superior attitude to the Indians. In those suggestive books by the famous Russian novelists—Gogol's 'Inspector General,' Turgenev's 'Mumu,' Dostoyevsky's 'The House of the Dead' and Artzibashev's 'Sanime'—books which are a powerful exposure of the Russian bureaucracy and official inequity, the idea is repeatedly developed that repression is the cause of sedition and revolution. And it seems to us the Indian bureaucracy cannot shake off their responsibility for unrest in the country. The remedy for unrest is *not* repression, not the Defence of India Act, not a special law, not a 'special Judicial machinery', not the bureaucratic policy of checking free discussions on the platform and in the Press; the remedy for unrest is the tolerance due to every opinion, the justice which rises above all considerations of prestige and privilege, the sympathy which appreciates the new national impulses that are thrilling the Indian people. The remedy for unrest is Freedom."

Protest against Government servants like Mr. Justice A. M. Kajiji mixing themselves up in polical movements.
Islámic Mail (4), 2nd Dec.

17. "The *Leader* of Allahabad has some reason for being dissatisfied with the Persian Consul at Madras who promoted a Muhammadan Anti-Home Rule Meeting. The Honourable Mr. Bhurgri of Sind recently took objection to the part played at a similar meeting in Sind by the Vazir of Khairpur. We very much regret that Muhammadans holding superior Government posts often indulge in a lapse of this kind and it not only detracts from their position and influence, but it also creates the suspicion that Government is behind their activities.

In Bombay we find a prominent Government servant mixing himself with Moslem political movements in a way which might give rise to undesirable questions. Mr. Abdeali Kajiji is a High Court Judge and yet he is President of the Anjuman Islam—a political body decidedly—and what is more anomalous, he is president of the subject committee which is considering the draft of the Moslem address to the Secretary of State. We wonder how he agreed to work on a committee which is considering a highly controversial subject. The advanced party—and by the way there is a large number of them on the committee—is in favour of inserting a clause in the address in support of the Moslem League Scheme. There are others who believe that it ought not to be. Now we would like to know which side the High Court Judge would support? Would he espouse the Home Rule cause, or bring the weight of his influence to bear against it? That is a paradox which must needs be solved before he can sit on the committee."

Reflections on the Bakri-Id riots in the United Provinces.

Islámic Mail (4), 2nd Dec.

18. "The Allahabad disturbances, coming on top of the riots in Bihár, have been too much for the over-inflated Home Rule on which India was to be carried so swiftly and so comfortably to its political ruin. There has been the inevitable explosion, and Home Rule pretensions have vanished into thin air. The politicians and the journalists who were once so clamorous in making their 'demands' are busy searching for means to restore their damaged reputation....... While from every quarter of India come Muhammadan protests against the manner in which Muslim interests have been betrayed by the so-called 'All-India Moslem League', the little clique at Lucknow feel it necessary to bestir themselves. A letter has been issued inviting leading Muhammadans of all shades of opinion to attend a consultative meeting called on the 14th November 1917 by the Honourable the Raja of Mahmudabad and the Honourable Syed Wazir Hasan. In other words, Lucknow has began to hedge, it realises that it has gone too far, that the fiction of an unanimity of opinion does not please nor deceive, and that the time has come to propitiate a more than indignant community. The only question is whether the Muhammadan community as a body will permit those who have been so false to the teaching of the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and have mistaken intrigue for political sagacity, any longer to act as their official spokesmen. In Bihar at least they seem to have made up their minds on the subject, the provincial branch of the Moslem League and its 'wirepullers' being denounced in no uncertain terms. To the high priestess of Home Rule *cum* Theosophy the events of the last few weeks must have come as a terrible shock, Anti-Home Rule Leagues springing up everywhere—even in one of her twin 'spiritual homes', *viz.* Benáres, and no more bunting and flags to grace her progress through a city's streets. The return visit to Allahabad found all her clientele sorely depressed, the very students have been shamed into discarding their Home Rule emblems. It is a pathetic ending to a story of glorious agitation. But what concerns most people in this country today is not grief of Mrs. A. Besant and her following over the disaster that has befallen their beautiful schemes of reform, but the danger that pandering to such agitation involves."

Government should take measures to alleviate the hardships of people owing to high prices.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 2nd Dec.; *Surat Akhbár* (75), 3rd Dec.; *Hindusthán* (21), 3rd Dec.

19. Remarking that the people of the poor and middle classes have to suffer from great hardships as a result of the prevailing high prices of commodities generally, the *Gujaráti Punch* inquires if, in spite of all admonitions to them to practise economy, they can be expected to do without food and clothing. It refers to the three petitions made to Government respectively by the Postal employees, by trained and untrained teachers in the primary schools in Surat for increasing their scale of pay and by the agriculturists of the Kaira District for remission of land assesment, and appeals to the authorities concerned to consider sympathetically the requests made in those petitions. [The *Surat Akhbár* commends the action of certain Municipalities in the Punjáb in opening shops for selling grain and fuel with a view to alleviating the sufferings of the poor people. It remarks that in difficult times like the present it is the duty first of the State, then of the municipalties, then of public bodies and lastly of the well-to-do classes to save the poor people from the jaws of disease and death. It maintains that next after salt it is the question of fuel which should engage the attention of Government. The paper suggests that Government should suspend their forest restrictions for the time being in order to enable the poorer classes to satisfy with ease their needs in the matter of fuel. The *Hindusthán* refers to the unduly inflated prices of cloth due to speculation and calls upon Government to intervene and fix the maximum prices with a view to avoiding further hardships upon the general public.]

Government should take measures against the undue raising of house-rents.
Bombay Samáchár (60), 3rd Dec.

20. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the hardship inflicted upon the poor and middle class people living in Bombay by the continuous increase in the rents they have to pay for houses and asks Government to take measures by which house-owners would be prevented from increasing house-rents during the continuance of the present war. It asks Government to issue a warning to house-owners before taking further steps in the matter.

Comments on the proceedings of the last meeting of the Madras Legislative Council.
Kesari (106), 4th Dec.

21. In the Reform Schemes suggested by the Congress and the Moslem League the demand is made that every Legislative Council should elect its own president and frame its own regulations. At present the local Governors and the Viceroy possess these powers, and the rights of popular representatives are therefore circumscribed. The Honourable Mr. Rangachariar of Madras was not allowed to move a resolution about the *Madras Mail* in the Council and there were many resolutions and questions thus suppressed at the last Madras Legislative Council meeting. It may be inferred from this how all-embracing are the powers of the President and how ruthlessly they are enforced. The Madras Government wants to hold the Honourable members responsible for the complaints they embody in their questions. To threaten a member with legal responsibility for the question he asks is to further lessen the already too limited powers of interpellation possessed by the councillors.

Comments on Lord Lansdowne's letter regarding terms of peace.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 3rd, 5th and 8th Dec., Eng. cols.; **Rást Goftár* (31), 9th Dec., Eng cols.

22. "Is peace in sight? It almost seems so from Lord Lansdowne's letter and the conflicting comments upon it in the English Press. But there is no note of surprise. Lord Lansdowne is not in the Cabinet, but he is a statesman of high rank and his letter can scarcely represent an individual view. It is too early yet to judge of the real significance of this letter. But we can put two and two together. There is this letter. Then there is the revival of the project of the international Socialist Conference. The restoration of Samoa to Germany is being discussed. Everything seems to point to the fact that peace is in the air. What kind of a peace will it be, if there is going to be peace? It is not wise to be inquisitive before the event. But if there is really peace Bombay bazaar reports of some weeks ago will be fulfilled. As to the war being fought to a finish, that is a longer way than the one to Tipperary. The world is war-weary and the announcement of an armistice with a view to peace will bring respite to the whole world." [The paper reiterates the same view in its Gujarati columns. In its issue of 5th December the paper writes:—"Whatever else may be said, Lord Lansdowne cannot be curtly dismissed as an irresponsible pacifist without any thought for the honour and safety of the British Empire. Indeed, the remarks and comments of various papers show that Lord Lansdowne is by no means alone in the views that he holds and that he has the support of quite a considerable section of the British public. In order to understand this attitude a brief retrospect of the history of the war will be sufficient. Considering all the enormities that Germany and her Allies have committed during the war, the ruthlessness and frightfulness that have characterised the conduct of the war by the Central European Powers, there can be but one opinion as to the desirability of putting an end for all time to the menace to civilisation from Prussian militarism. This is why great Powers like England, France and Russia formed an alliance and were afterwards joined by Italy.........

Pursuing the equation of the belligerents on either side, we find the position greatly altered after three years of war. The German colonial possessions may be eliminated from the equation as they have no bearing on the tremendous struggle which is going on in Europe. On the side of the Allies Serbia and Roumania have disappeared, both having been invaded and conquered by Germany and Austria. Russia in revolution is in a state of anarchy and fighting on the Russian front has practically ceased. There may be no stable or even a provisional Government in Russia, but it is not difficult to understand that Germany will make peace with any one so long as it may obviate the need for employing German and Austrian troops on the Eastern Front. Against the elimination of Russia we may include the coming in of the United States of America, but it is obvious that it will be a considerable time before America can take an effective part in the war, or so stiffen the offensive on the Western Front that the German opposition will be shattered, the Teutonic armies will be driven pell-mell from France and Belgium and Germany will be invaded in the same way as Belgium and France. That is a far-off prospect indeed. Italy, which for two years more than held her own against Austria, has been invaded and the immediate question is whether the reinforcements hurried up from France and England will stop the Austro-German advance and save Venice. The Teutonic Alliance, on the other hand, remains very much the same as it was at the beginnning of the war. Turkey has suffered some reverses and has lost Baghdad and Mesopotamia, but that does not materially change the aspect of affairs in Europe. As regards the economic phase of the war, the Central Powers of Europe have no access to the sea and never did have it since the outbreak of the war, but, besides such neutral countries as Denmark, Holland, Scandinavia and Switzerland, they have had fresh sources of supply and even of the sinews of war from countries occupied by the force of arms, such as Poland, Serbia and Roumania, to say nothing of Belgium and the occupied portion of France. Even the invaded part of Italy has been laid under heavy tribute. Impartially considered there is no near prospect of the war being brought to a conclusion by the economic exhaustion of the Central Powers, for the map of Europe has considerably changed in their favour in the course of the war, and they have got larger sources of supply than they had at the beginning of the war. That has been the equation of the war and if there is still a determination for crushing Prussian militarism the *modus operandi* for attaining that object is beyond reasonable speculation. Thus whether Lord Lansdowne is given a hearing or not it cannot be said that his suggestion is inopportune or undeserving of consideration." In its issue of 8th December the paper dwells on the present attitude of the party in power in Russia and remarks :—" It is undeniable that the present stage of the war is an anxious one." In the course of a lengthy discussion of 'The significance of the Papal plea for peace' in the *Rást Goftár*, 'R. B.' remarks :—"That a great wave of yearning for peace is sweeping over the world no well informed person can doubt. The English parliamentary crisis over the question of the participation of English Labour representatives in the Stockholm conference has been the most spectacular of these signs. Though less dramatically brought to an issue the defiance of the French Government by both the Socialist and the Labour party in France, and the resultant position of M. Thomas, has been scarcely less significant. The reticence of American Labour and the general aspect of Socialism generally in its attitude to the war are signs which the Papacy has not overlooked in the launching of the last peace note. Controlling, as it does, a large share of the population in all the countries involved, the Catholic Church holds in its hands a weapon which the belligerents will not fail to recognise."]

Probable effects of the capture of Jerusalem on Muhammadan feeling in India.

Islámic Mail (4), 2nd Dec.

23. "The British troops are said to have reached a point 30 miles from the Holy City of Jerusalem and Moslem feeling is naturally one of anxiety and concern. It was our 'kibla' before 'kaaba' in Mecca was made the 'kibla', and our religion enjoins greater respect for this ancient and holy city than even for Mecca or Medina.......... The very name of *Baitul Mukaddas* associated as it is with the struggle between Islam and Christianity cannot but send a galvanic thrill through every Moslem heart and Muhammadans are naturally uneasy at the trend of affairs in this theatre of war. It would be criminal on our part to conceal Moslem feeling in this connection and to say that Moslems regard with indifference the prospect of the capture of Jerusalem by the British forces. But our contemporary the *Chronicle*, which professes to be a friend of the Mussalmans, either ignorant of the Moslem feeling or in flagrant disregard of Moslem susceptibility invites the British to dispossess the Turks of Jerusalem. We have heard of the story of the Kaiser's conversion to Islam and of the rumours that it has given rise to in certain remote parts of India where some fanatical people have been led to put faith in this German trick. The article which was published last month in the *Chronicle* about the Kaiser's conversion to Islam did create some feeling among ignorant people but we lost no opportunity in contradicting it and exposing the insidious object which the Germans had in disseminating these false reports. Even if for argument's sake we accepted the Germans' conversion to Islam will it place them in any better position than our own brethern of the faith—the Turks—whom we are fighting? No Moslim soldier has got any scruples in crossing swords with the Turks in discharge of his duties to the King whose salt he eats and to the country whom he is sworn to serve. Hundreds of thousands of true Moslems are fighting the Turks on the side of Great Britain which owns their temporal allegiance.......... The resolution passed at the recent meeting of the Moslem League as regards Jerusalem may be futile but it indicates the trend of Moslem feeling. We call it futile because it is foolish for any one sitting in India to dictate strategy to the British General Staff. They will do as the necessities of the situation may demand. If it is necessary in the interests of war to occupy Jerusalem it will be done. But to say that Muhammadans have no feeling over it or that they rejoice at the British occupation is adding insult to injury. Their sense of supreme loyalty and devotion to Government may not allow them to make hostile demonstrations as our friends in the Home Rule camp are in the habit of doing but there is not one single Muhammadan who does not feel and deplore the event. So it is with Jerusalem. If the British troops are impelled to occupy it we cannot do any thing but deplore the suicidal action of the war party in Turkey which has brought this day; but it is hardly fair on the part of the *Chronicle* which poses as a friend of the Mussalmans to hurt Moslem feeling by advising the occupation of this holy place of Islám. It shows too plainly how little these Home Rulers care for our feeling. They appear to take some satisfaction in reminding us that one of our Holy places, Baghdad, has fallen into the hands of non-Moslems, and that another is going to fall into their hands. Their object may be to excite the Mussalmans, but thank Government, Mussalmans understand the thing much better than they ever used to do. The distinction between religious and temporal war is clearly understood and no one is going to let the name of the Moslem be tarnished by perfidy. Even Mr. Mohamed Ali has declared that if the Turks invade India, his clear duty, as that of every true Moslem would be, to fight against them for the country in which we live, and for the Government to which we are pledged to be loyal."

Comments on the Russian situation.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 7th Dec.

24. Referring to the protests of the French and American attachés at Russian headquarters against a separate armistice by Russia and adversely commenting upon the remonstrance addressed to the Allied diplomats by the Russian Minister for foreign affairs, to the effect that a repetition of such acts would provoke grave complications, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that this threat of Russia demonstrates to what extent the Russians have fallen a prey to the guiles of the enemy and also to what lengths they are prepared to carry their faithlessness. It maintains that this remonstrance can admit of one meaning only and it is that Russia is seeking for an excuse to enter into a war with the Allies. The paper characterises this change in the Russian attitude as highly disgraceful.

Gujaráti (17), 2nd Dec.

***25.** Russia has at length played false with the Allies and opened negotiations of peace with Germany. If Russia makes peace the German armies on the Russian front will be withdrawn and sent to Italy, France and Flanders and thus the war is sure to be prolonged. The sad plight into which Roumania will be placed can only be left to imagination. It now remains to be seen what strategic moves Germany makes in Macedonia and Albania where small Allied forces are posted, as also in Mesopotamia and Palestine. The Allies, no doubt, will exert their utmost to prevent Russia from making peace, but the internal condition of Russia is so bad and its army is so disorganised that even if it does not make peace it will not be able to help the Allies in the year 1918. The war would have come to an end in the current year if Russia had continued to fight. The Allies were making good progress on all the fronts, but the confusion in Russia has spoiled matters and given a fresh lease of life to German militarism. It is to be regretted that Lord Lansdowne should have come forward to advocate peace at such a juncture. A premature peace will be of no use to the world. England should, therefore, continue to fight till Germany is crushed. The safety of the world and the British Empire will depend upon the Germans not being allowed to pride themselves that they are invincible.

Rást Goftár (31), 9th Dec., Eng. cols.

***26.** "There is scarcely any doubt left that Russia is about to drop out finally from the alliance of the Entente Powers....... ... The protests of the French and American attachés against a separate armistice have elicited almost a threatening remonstance from M. Trotzky. He has declared that 'he cannot allow Allied diplomats or military agents to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia or to endeavour to rekindle civil war'. He concluded that 'a repetition of such acts would provoke the gravest complications.' What does that mean? It is certainly a cry of hands off! and the menace is unmistakable. If the Allies insist that Russia cannot conclude a separate peace will the irresponsible and chaotic Government of Russia enter into an offensive and defensive treaty with Germany? Everything is now possible in Russia, but in that case complications would rise between Japan and Russia. In any case the position in Europe has become very critical, because although America is staunch and the President's last speech is firm the United States cannot at once play the same part in the war that Russia was expected to play. It was expected that the pressure on east and west would act as a vice, and eventually crush Prussian militarism, but this is no longer possible. How long will it take America to put two or three million men in the field and to help Italy if war is declared against Austria? And what will be the course of the war in the interval?"

The British should place more confidence in Indians if they want to win the war.

Indu Prakásh (40), 4th Dec.

27. Referring to Mr. Lloyd George's speech pleading for the unity of direction and control in the conduct of the war the *Indu Prakásh* writes:—The situation is serious and is likely to become still more serious in the future. The Allies not only should trust each other but England should also have much more confidence in the Indians than she has at present. If we are really citizens of the Empire why are we not treated as the equals of Englishmen like the inhabitants of the other units of the Empire like Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Ireland? Let a veil be drawn over the past. Let bygones be bygones. A wise man gives up half if the whole is threatened: in this spirit should the present situation be met. Why is distinction being made between the whites and the coloured? It is a truism that confidence begets confidence. In order to defeat the Germans England and her allies should imitate the ancient Greeks in their wars against the Persian Emperors in which they defeated them.

Comments on the extension of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's term of office as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb.

Young India (14), 5th Dec.; *Kesari* (106), 4th Dec.

28. "Extensions of the term of office to proved bureaucrats seems to be the order of the day under the benign providence of the Government of India. Not long ago, an extension was given to Mr. Hailey, whose 'efficiency' is still a matter of wonder in the Delhi Province. Now comes the announcement of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's extension of his term as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb. The achievements of this Irish gentleman are too fresh in the minds of our readers to need recalling here. While the whole country has viewed his reactionary and stultifying *regimé* with disgust, we are seriously told by that arch-apologist of the bureaucracy—the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Láhore—that Sir Michael has distinguished himself for 'efficiency' in the administration of the Province. If reactionaryism is the sort of 'efficiency' to be admired and belauded, our Láhore contemporary is right. But we would seriously ask Government: Is it worth while always to be flying in the face of public opinion? Sir Michael O'Dwyer is probably the most unpopular official in the country to-day, in and outside of the Punjáb. Is that why the bureaucracy make a sort of god of him?" [The *Kesari* says that the extension given to Sir Michael O'Dwyer will make the people feel sorry. It adds:—He will get another opportunity to speak in the Imperial Council but he will not let his tongue run riot after the experience he had. Next year the Punjáb leaders wish to invite the Congress to Láhore. Government have strengthened their position from their viewpoint by giving an extension to Sir Michael.]

Comments on the extension of Sir Mahadev Chaubal's term of office.

Young India (14), 5th Dec.; *Kesari* (106), 4th Dec.

29. "Our own presidency has not been without its due share of suffering in respect of officials who are marked out for bureaucratic approval as a result of public disapproval. Sir Mahadev Chaubal, the Indian Member of the Executive Council, has also received a short extension. The reason may be, as has been stated by a contemporary, that when Mr. Montagu comes to Bombay there should be an Indian Member well conversant with the wonderful doings of the Local Government, to bring home to the Secretary of State the special needs of the Presidency. Of course, this is an absurd plea, which only absurd people can take up. However, the fact is Sir Mahadev Chaubal gets his extension until March 1918 and we are not altogether sorry. Though in matters pertaining to administration, he has behaved as a born and bred-up bureaucrat, it must be set down to his credit that he has consistently supported the Governor in resisting the pressure of reactionaries during the past year or so to apply the policy of repression rigorously to this country. As against this there is a record of departmental and ministerial barrenness and orthodoxy which makes it impossible to be glad that Sir Mahadev is to stay on. Of one thing we may be sure, the extension would not have been given if Sir Mahadev had not been on the whole an 'amenable' councillor." [The *Kesari* says:—The extension given to Sir M. B. Chaubal is so brief that we do not know whether we are to congratulate or console him. As he has got repeated extensions, his work must have been considered to be satisfactory by Government and the inference must be drawn that Indians are not unfit for any post. But the Honourable Sir Mahadev does not yet think, be it because he is modest or otherwise, that Indians are fit for *swarájya*. Whether he is convinced or not, if Sir Mahadev can do the work of Executive Councillor for seven years, no Indian can be considered to be unfit for any post under the present routine system of administration. If Sir Mahadev had written a separate minute like Mr. Justice Rahim, instead of signing the majority report, his work would have been considered to be specially important. But even now he has noted his difference of opinion on many points. It is also important. As the term of Sir Mahadev is short now, people will be interested in the appointment of his successor.]

Interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 5th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 7th Dec.

30. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Patel's interpellation in the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council inquiring as to whether any officials in the Bombay Presidency were connected with any Anglo-Indian Associations, the objects of which were wholly or in part political, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its regret at the reply given by Government. It remarks that the reply shows that the officials now connected with the Anglo-Indian Empire League would have, in spite of the warning contained in the Government Order of 1915, continued their con-

front will be withdrawn and sent to Italy, France and Flanders and thus the war is sure to be prolonged. The sad plight into which Roumania will be placed can only be left to imagination. It now remains to be seen what strategic moves Germany makes in Macedonia and Albania where small Allied forces are posted, as also in Mesopotamia and Palestine. The Allies, no doubt, will exert their utmost to prevent Russia from making peace, but the internal condition of Russia is so bad and its army is so disorganised that even if it does not make peace it will not be able to help the Allies in the year 1918. The war would have come to an end in the current year if Russia had continued to fight. The Allies were making good progress on all the fronts, but the confusion in Russia has spoiled matters and given a fresh lease of life to German militarism. It is to be regretted that Lord Lansdowne should have come forward to advocate peace at such a juncture. A premature peace will be of no use to the world. England should, therefore, continue to fight till Germany is crushed. The safety of the world and the British Empire will depend upon the Germans not being allowed to pride themselves that they are invincible.

Rást Goftár (31), 9th Dec., Eng. cols.

***26.** "There is scarcely any doubt left that Russia is about to drop out finally from the alliance of the Entente Powers....... ... The protests of the French and American attachés against a separate armistice have elicited almost a threatening remonstance from M. Trotzky. He has declared that 'he cannot allow Allied diplomats or military agents to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia or to endeavour to rekindle civil war'. He concluded that 'a repetition of such acts would provoke the gravest complications.' What does that mean? It is certainly a cry of hands off! and the menace is unmistakable. If the Allies insist that Russia cannot conclude a separate peace will the irresponsible and chaotic Government of Russia enter into an offensive and defensive treaty with Germany? Everything is now possible in Russia, but in that case complications would rise between Japan and Russia. In any case the position in Europe has become very critical, because although America is staunch and the President's last speech is firm the United States cannot at once play the same part in the war that Russia was expected to play. It was expected that the pressure on east and west would act as a vice, and eventually crush Prussian militarism, but this is no longer possible. How long will it take America to put two or three million men in the field and to help Italy if war is declared against Austria? And what will be the course of the war in the interval?"

The British should place more confidence in Indians if they want to win the war.

Indu Prakásh (40), 4th Dec.

27. Referring to Mr. Lloyd George's speech pleading for the unity of direction and control in the conduct of the war the *Indu Prakásh* writes:—The situation is serious and is likely to become still more serious in the future. The Allies not only should trust each other but England should also have much more confidence in the Indians than she has at present. If we are really citizens of the Empire why are we not treated as the equals of Englishmen like the inhabitants of the other units of the Empire like Australia, New Zealand, Canada and Ireland? Let a veil be drawn over the past. Let bygones be bygones. A wise man gives up half if the whole is threatened: in this spirit should the present situation be met. Why is distinction being made between the whites and the coloured? It is a truism that confidence begets confidence. In order to defeat the Germans England and her allies should imitate the ancient Greeks in their wars against the Persian Emperors in which they defeated them.

Comments on the extension of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's term of office as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb.

Young India (14), 5th Dec.; *Kesari* (106), 4th Dec.

28. "Extensions of the term of office to proved bureaucrats seems to be the order of the day under the benign providence of the Government of India. Not long ago, an extension was given to Mr. Hailey, whose 'efficiency' is still a matter of wonder in the Delhi Province. Now comes the announcement of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's extension of his term as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjáb. The achievements of this Irish gentleman are too fresh in the minds of our readers to need recalling here. While the whole country has viewed his reactionary and stultifying *regime* with disgust, we are seriously told by that arch-apologist of the bureaucracy—the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Láhore—that Sir Michael has distinguished himself for 'efficiency' in the administration of the Province. If reactionaryism is the sort of 'efficiency' to be admired and belauded, our Láhore contemporary is right. But we would seriously ask Government: Is it worth while always to be flying in the face of public opinion? Sir Michael O'Dwyer is probably the most unpopular official in the country to-day, in and outside of the Punjáb. Is that why the bureaucracy make a sort of god of him?" [The *Kesari* says that the extension given to Sir Michael O'Dwyer will make the people feel sorry. It adds:—He will get another opportunity to speak in the Imperial Council but he will not let his tongue run riot after the experience he had. Next year the Punjáb leaders wish to invite the Congress to Láhore. Government have strengthened their position from their viewpoint by giving an extension to Sir Michael.]

Comments on the extension of Sir Mahadev Chaubal's term of office.

Young India (14), 5th Dec.; *Kesari* (106), 4th Dec.

29. "Our own presidency has not been without its due share of suffering in respect of officials who are marked out for bureaucratic approval as a result of public disapproval. Sir Mahadev Chaubal, the Indian Member of the Executive Council, has also received a short extension. The reason may be, as has been stated by a contemporary, that when Mr. Montagu comes to Bombay there should be an Indian Member well conversant with the wonderful doings of the Local Government, to bring home to the Secretary of State the special needs of the Presidency. Of course, this is an absurd plea, which only absurd people can take up. However, the fact is Sir Mahadev Chaubal gets his extension until March 1918 and we are not altogether sorry. Though in matters pertaining to administration, he has behaved as a born and bred-up bureaucrat, it must be set down to his credit that he has consistently supported the Governor in resisting the pressure of reactionaries during the past year or so to apply the policy of repression rigorously to this country. As against this there is a record of departmental and ministerial barrenness and orthodoxy which makes it impossible to be glad that Sir Mahadev is to stay on. Of one thing we may be sure, the extension would not have been given if Sir Mahadev had not been on the whole an 'amenable' councillor." [The *Kesari* says:—The extension given to Sir M. B. Chaubal is so brief that we do not know whether we are to congratulate or console him. As he has got repeated extensions, his work must have been considered to be satisfactory by Government and the inference must be drawn that Indians are not unfit for any post. But the Honourable Sir Mahadev does not yet think, be it because he is modest or otherwise, that Indians are fit for *swarájya*. Whether he is convinced or not, if Sir Mahadev can do the work of Executive Councillor for seven years, no Indian can be considered to be unfit for any post under the present routine system of administration. If Sir Mahadev had written a separate minute like Mr. Justice Rahim, instead of signing the majority report, his work would have been considered to be specially important. But even now he has noted his difference of opinion on many points. It is also important. As the term of Sir Mahadev is short now, people will be interested in the appointment of his successor.]

Interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 5th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 7th Dec.

30. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Patel's interpellation in the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council inquiring as to whether any officials in the Bombay Presidency were connected with any Anglo-Indian Associations, the objects of which were wholly or in part political, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its regret at the reply given by Government. It remarks that the reply shows that the officials now connected with the Anglo-Indian Empire League would have, in spite of the warning contained in the Government Order of 1915, continued their con-

nections with that body but for the Honourable Members' present interpellation and that it was this interpellation which brought the existing state of affairs to the knowledge of Government. The paper does not also approve of Government's reply to the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji's interpellation in connection with the Government circular prohibiting students from attending public meetings, etc., on the ground of its being vague. It wishes that Government should, in such matters involving important principles, give their reply in clear instead of round-about terms. From the reply of Government to an interpellation about the order of the District Magistrate, Panch Mahâls, prohibiting the singing of some songs on the occasion of the Gujarât Political Conference, the paper infers that the District Magistrate had exceeded his authority and wishes that Government would give proper instructions to their officers in connection with such matters. [The *Bombay Samâchâr* also expresses its disapprobation at the alleged round-about and stereotyped replies sometimes given by Government. It also finds fault with the nature of the questions put by Honourable Members on some occasions. It remarks that the Government reply to the Honourable Mr. Belvi's interpellation demonstrates the necessity of broadening the constitution of the Senate of the Bombay University so as to place it on a more popular basis. The paper does not view with satisfaction the reply to the question put by the Honourable Mr. Devjee Kanjee, declaring Government's ignorance about the number of industrial factories in the Bombay Presidency and the amount of capital invested in them. It also wishes Government to abandon their present policy of remaining aloof from helping industries like glass, etc.]

Comments on the demand of security from the *Hindusthân* newspaper.

Gujarâti (17), 2nd Dec.

31. Commenting upon the demand of a security from the *Hindusthân*, the *Gujarâti* writes :—No one besides Mr. Aston knows so well how to bring old presses under the operation of the Press Act. The demand of a security from the *Hindusthân* affords an example as to how security is demanded from the newspapers on the plea of change of the place of printing or change in the location of the press. Security should be demanded from newspapers in exceptional cases, but in the magisterial courts exemption from security is regarded as an exception to the rule. These securities are demanded on the Police reports or the reports of the Political Department, and the reports are not known to the public. Mr. Aston always depends on the report of the Police before the declaration of a newspaper is registered. The law does not require the magistrate to get a report from the Police. We object more to Mr. Aston's method of demanding securities from all newspapers without exercising his discretion than to the Police report.

Comments on a recent libel case disposed of by Mr. Oliveira, Third Presidency Magistrate.

Gujarâti (17), 2nd Dec.

32. We do not think that there is any country in any part of the world except India where justice is administered to the people in a foreign language and through translations. In India the chief trouble lies in the fact that the dispensers of justice have no knowledge of the vernaculars of the country and they have, therefore, to depend on translations. Mr. Bhukhandas Bhanabhai lodged a complaint in the Court of Mr. Oliveira for defamation against the Secretary of the Pandit Gattulalji trust property administered by Sheth Tribhowandas Varjiwandas for having published a book called 'Tipno' which contains certain allegations against him. The said book contains nothing but abuse of all those who ask for an account of the trust property and vilification of the Vaishnav Maharajas. Mr. Oliveira dismissed the suit on the ground that the Secretary had published the said report of the trust property with a view to answering the criticism levelled in the columns of the *Gujarâti* against the trust! Had Mr. Oliveira been conversant with the Gujarâti language he would not have made such a mess of things and called a book a report, while it calls Jesus a Brahma-rakshasa, vilifies Hindu Acharyas and other people and spreads false reports about people taken to the war from India.

Protest against the proposed reintroduction of the system of auctioning liquor-shop licenses.
Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 7th Dec.

33. Referring to the petition recently submitted by the Licensed Victuallers' Association to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and descanting on the various disadvantages associated with the system of putting up liquor and toddy licenses to auction, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* declares that the latter system is ruinous not only to the interests of the licensees but to the health and well-being of the public. It refers to the current report that Government contemplate the reintroduction of that system in the Bombay Presidency and observes that it cannot understand what charm it has for Government that they, time and again, should think of reintroducing it, particularly when its disadvantages have become patent to the Abkári authorities and when it does not reduce the consumption of liquor. The paper maintains that if the object of Government in adopting the auction system is to increase their revenue, it could be, to a certain degree, accomplished even if the fixed-fee system in force at present continues, inasmuch as the policy, now in vogue, of almost regularly increasing the rate of still-head duty as well as the license fees has the effect of steadily increasing the revenue. It concludes with expressing the hope that Government will, before effecting a departure in the present system, at least listen to what the licensees may have to say against it and satisfy their minds by showing how the fixed-fee system has proved a failure.

Comments on the triennial report of the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay.
Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 4th Dec.

34. Commenting upon the resolution published by Government on the triennial report of the Surgeon-General with the Government of Bombay for the years 1914—16, and referring to the fact recognised by Government that during the said period of three years women took the benefit of public medical institutions in a larger proportion than men, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* regrets that Government should have expressed their inability to open additional maternity wards and wards for the treatment of diseases of women, on the ground of financial stringency arising from the war. It is of opinion that Government should somehow see their way to spare a portion of the Provincial revenues for such an important object. For the purpose of effectually combating malaria the paper recommends Government to distribute quinine with a free hand among the public even at some loss. It expresses its surprise that Government should also be able to do nothing towards fighting tuberculosis on the ground of financial difficulties. It does not believe that the distribution, among the village people, of booklets containing directions for taking precautions against the disease will entail great expenditure upon Government.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Compulsory Education Act passed by the Bombay Legislative Council.
Young India (14), 5th Dec.

35. "In spite of all the improvements the Bill has undergone in the committee stage, it must not be supposed that as now passed by the Bombay Council it brings the educational millennium within a measurable distance of the people. It represents a very modest step in advance. Compulsion will be operative only under strict limitations and entirely subject to the ultimate control of Government. Clause 4 of the bill, as amended, appears to us to be more dangerous than as it stood originally. It practically reduces every municipality desirous of introducing compulsion to the mercy of the bureaucracy. The clause runs: 'A notification shall not be issued under section 3 unless the municipality *satisfies the Local Government* that it is in a position to make and will make adequate provision in municipal or other recognized schools for free and compulsory primary education.' We have reason to apprehend that this power may be used by the Local government whenever it so chooses, to retard rather than promote the object in view.......... Taking, however, the most optimistic view of things, we have reason to congratulate ourselves in this Presidency on the result which has now been achieved."

Gujaráti (17), 9th Dec., Eng. cols.; *Indian Social Reformer* (3), 9th Dec.

36. "There is no doubt that the new legislation marks an important step in furtherance of the cause of primary education and it is a matter of proud satisfaction that the Bombay Presidency has taken the lead in the matter. Its example has already stimulated some other provinces into activity, and the Punjáb, Bengal and Madras have already taken up the matter in right earnest. His Excellency Lord Willingdon's Government have approached the subject in a sympathetic spirit, and the Honourable Mr. Patel acknowledged in cordial terms the encouragement he had received from His Excellency Lord Willingdon and his Government in framing and pilotting the Bill through the Council." [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"It is the first measure of the kind in British India, and, though its scope is limited, it is one of the most important measures of legislation which have been enacted at the instance of a non-official member of an Indian Legislative Council."]

Hindusthán (21), 6th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 7th Dec.

37. Expressing extreme gratification at the passing of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill in the local Legislative Council, the *Hindusthán* remarks that the passing of this measure has laid a deep and solid foundation for the advancement of the people of this Presidency. It believes that this piece of legislation will produce very beneficent results in the country in the direction of industrial and agricultural development. The paper congratulates the Government of Bombay on the sympathy and liberality of heart shown by them in securing sanction from the Imperial Government for the introduction of the Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council. The paper expresses regret at the passing of the Honourable Rao Bahadur Sathe's amendment which imposes the liability of a fine not exceeding 25 rupees upon a person who takes into employment, on his own behalf or on behalf of another, a child so as to interfere with its efficient instruction under the Primary Education Act, and maintains that the said amendment will, on account of the niceties of construction its wording will give rise to, nullify the good effect of the original provision in the Bill. The *Bombay Samáchár* observes that the passing of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Education Bill will add a bright page to the annals of India. It hopes that elected members of Legislative Councils in other parts of the country will imitate the Honourable Mr. Patel in this direction. The paper supports the Honourable Rao Bahadur Sathe's amendment above referred to on the ground that, while effectually safeguarding the object underlying the system of compulsory education, it gives relief to the employers of child labour.

EDUCATION.

Disapproval of the rejection by the University of the proposal to permit Matriculation candidates to answer in vernaculars.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 7th Dec.; *Indu Prakásh* (40), 6th Dec.

38. Referring to the rejection by the University Senate of the proposal to allow Matriculation candidates to answer some of the papers in the vernaculars, the *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—At last the Bombay University gave the go-by to the vernaculars! The result would have been otherwise if reason had any weight. But the views of the majority prevailed. We must of course submit to the decision of the majority in these days of democracy. But the opinion of this majority was as worthless as that of the majority in the Supreme Legislative Council. There was a large number of European voters and although two of them recognised the difficulties of Indian students their sympathy for them proved of no practical use. Apparently, the proposal was rejected with the help of Bombay men. It is unjust that the opinion of Bombay fellows should override the wishes of the rest of the Presidency. Either there should be a larger number of mofussil fellows in the Senate or we must have separate Universities for the mofussil. Naturally the duty of bringing this about will devolve on the people of Poona and Maháráshtra. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes in a similar strain.]

Suggestions for the utilisation of the grant of Rs. 1,00,000 for scholarships to Muhammadans in Sind.

Sind Moslem (11), 24th Nov.

39. The *Sind Moslem* suggests that 12,000 rupees from the grant of one lakh of rupees for scholarships should be reserved for higher education under the following heads:—(1)—Arts Course—20 scholarships at Rs. 30 each per month = Rs. 7,200. (2)—Engineering College—3 scholarships of Rs. 50 each per mensem = Rs. 1,800. (3)—Medical College—20 scholarships of Rs. 50 each per mensem = Rs. 1,200. (4)—Law—3 scholarships of Rs. 50 each per mensem = Rs. 1,800. It then continues:—"So far we know not a single Muhammadan student has ever been sent from our Province to the Sanitary Institute, Bombay, since its foundation in 1912. It is a matter of regret that Muhammadans who form 90 per cent. of the total population of the Province have not been able to get a single Muhammadan Sanitary Inspector from that Institute during the last 6 years.......... A Muhammadan student, if sent to Bombay from our Province, would require Rs. 500 only. May we, therefore, hope that the Honourable Mr. Lawrence, the Commissioner in Sind, and Mr. Hesketh, the Educational Inspector in Sind, will reserve 3 scholarships of Rs. 500 each per annum from the grant for this purpose? Similarly the Sind Mussalmans are backward in Commerce and Forest Service. To achieve the latter object suitable Muhammadans should be sent to the Dehra Dun College and some provision should be made for Commercial education also. We think 2 scholarships of Rs. 30 each per mensem for each of the above Colleges would suffice at present. Sind being a Muhammadan Province and Karáchi its capital being near to Mesopotamia, it is absolutely necessary that students be encouraged to take up Arabic as their second language, and to achieve that end 2 scholarships of Rs. 30 each per mensem be given to such students at the matriculation whose second language is Arabic. In order to encourage Muhammadans to take up medicine, at least 5 scholarships of Rs. 25 each per mensem be reserved for students desiring to join the medical school at Hyderabad."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the grant of right to elect Presidents to certain Municipalities.

Kesari (106), 4th Dec.

40. Referring to the grant of the right of electing their Presidents given to 28 municipalities by Government the *Kesari* says that it is necessary that District Local Boards also should be given similar concessions. It further holds that the condition of Local Boards is very backward as compared to that of the municipalities. It adds:—Why should there be so much difference between municipalities and Local Boards? Should not Government take into consideration the moral loss suffered by the people in being always at the beck and call of officials? [The paper then refers to the resolution of the Láhore District Local Board asking for the retention of officials as office-bearers of the Board.] What moral weakness! All this is due to the long standing habit. It is better that the Board should commit blunders and incur financial losses than that there should be such a moral downfall though it be that the administration is conducted well. The Anglo-Indians of Láhore are pointing to this instance as a proof of the unfitness of Indians for *Swarájya*, but we think that it is necessary to give the rights of *Swarájya* as early as possible in order to remove the habit of dependence upon others, seeing from this instance how terrible is the moral downfall of subjects under foreign rule. Otherwise what can be remedied to-day with great difficulty will be without any remedy tomorrow.

Appeal to Government to inquire into the alleged misuse of the space cleared under the Borahwad Improvement Scheme in Broach.

Rást Goftár (31), 2nd Dec., English cols.

41. In the course of a lengthy letter contributed to the *Rást Goftár* Mr. Nusserwanji S. Ginwalla traces the history of the Broach Bohrawad Improvement Scheme, pointing out how the space cleared at the expense of Rs. 90,000 to Government is being made a wrong use of by the Municipality who have built an office and other municipal buildings on it and allowed a Borah gentleman to construct a three-storied building on it. The Borahs, he adds, brought the matter to the notice of the Collector but without receiving any redress. The writer then continues :—" This little history of the Bohrawad Improvement Scheme suggests three questions :—(1) Whether the Municipality had made a porper exercise of their legislative powers in having permitted a big house to be constructed and thus stultified the benevolent action of Government for sanitary improvement. (2) Whether the Municipality has any shadow or shred of right to appropriate to their own use, and build upon, lands acquired with the help of Government grant, made for a special purpose, and not pay any value for them, besides helping to undo the good already achieved. (3) When the Collector refuses to interfere in matters affecting the vital interest of Government as well as of the public, and a Municipality go on like this, who is to arrest such mad reckless career....... It would be well if a searching enquiry be ordered by Government in the matter of this Bohravad lands, and of the erection of the three-storied house, and of other things stated above. It is also desirable that Government should resume their lands with their super-structures and re-sell them if necessary to these evicted Borahs, who are in so much need of them, and will be grateful for this little grace. The above facts furnish a latest instance justifying the recent observations of the Bishop of Bombay that self-government in municipal matters has proved a dismal failure and a sore disappointment. His Lordship therefore wisely cautions Government against weakly yielding to meaningless clamour and the hysteric shrieks for extensive political power of the so-called ' Home Rule '. It is needless to say how these agitations and clamours are engineered, got up, and fanned for dazzling the eyes of ignorant masses. If acts like these be meant to be understood as the enchanting ' Home Rule,' one would certainly devoutly pray :—' But of all plagues, good heaven thy wrath can send ', ' Save, oh save me, from a Home Rule friend '."

Agitation regarding the house-tax at Lárkána (Sind).

Mahrátta (5), 9th Dec.

*42. " The Lárkána people are to be congratulated on their energetic campaign against the house-tax.......... We have written more than once on this affair. The Government of Lord Willingdon will do well to go through the case of the Lárkána house-tax imposition, without unnecessary delay. People's feelings and sentiments have surely some value! To trample upon them deliberately cannot but lead to evil results. When the lower authorities have made a mess of things, the higher authorities are expected by the people to grant relief. If no such expected relief comes within a reasonable time, the people naturally come to think that the opinion of one or two officials weighs more with the Government than the united opinion of thousands of people whose pockets and *sentiments* are subjected to a most ruthless treatment by that opinion. It is undesirable that people should be given reasons to expect no relief from the higher authorities, even in such a flagrantly unjust case as the Lárkána house-tax affair. May it be that the prospect of losing much of the power to ride roughshod over public feeling (which the discussion of Reforms has opened) has hardened certain officials and made them take a secret resolve that, while the ' season ' lasts, they would indulge their apprehensive selves in a right ' royal ' manner ?"

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the strike at Wadhwán (Káthiáwár).

Hindusthán (21), 2nd Dec., Eng. cols.

43. Commenting on the Wadhwán strike, the *Hindusthán* writes :—" We are at a loss to understand why in spite of serious public complaint against the deeds (or misdeeds ?) of the retired bureaucrat, the Local Government have chosen to be unconcerned spectators in a matter of such serious import. Here is a whole population protesting against the administration of the State and more than two months have elapsed, without the authority ultimately charged with the well-being of the poor, innocent subjects of the State, coming to their rescue. It is not even possible to imagine whether Lord Willingdon's Government are aware that strained relations exist between Mr. Kadri and the whole Hindu community. We cannot think that Government credit the whole community with mischievous intentions on the strength of the entirely one-sided allegations of Mr. Kadri. We have, on the contrary, the testimony of very high authority that Mr.

Kadri has not given any indications of any outstanding ability and his whole administration during the past ten months is a chapter of mistakes, due more or less to the coloured vision which he began to exercise from the very moment he entered upon his charge. Knowing as we do the high and unimpeachable position and integrity of our authority, we cannot entertain the view that the whole people were being led away by mischivous agitators solely with the object of discrediting Mr. Kadri and his work. Any way, it was the clear duty of the Local Government to hear the people and remedy their grievances if they were substantiated. The only explanation that the apparent indifference of Government is capable of is that they have been led away by the interested reports of Mr. Kadri, whose boast is, it seems, that he has got several godfathers in the Government. The refusal of the Agent to the Governor to treat the representation of the people seriously and the subsequent conduct of Mr. Kadri in behaving, as it is alleged, as if he were the veritable ruler of the State have created consternation in the minds of the poor helpless people."

Surya Prakásh (33), 1st Dec., Eng. cols.

44. "We have been hearing so long of the 'Strike' in Wadhwán that we thought it best to visit the place and ascertain personally the true state of affairs and its causes. During our visit, we have come across people of all classes, and the first thing that surprised us the most was that in Wadhwán City there was nothing like a 'Strike' or 'Suspension of business.'......... The real state of things gives a direct lie to the misrepresentations so unscrupulously made in some newspapers both vernacular as well as English. The only object seems to be to mislead the outside public. The high opinion that the respectable people of various castes including Maharaj Kunj Bihariprasad, head of the Swami Narayen sect (whom we had the pleasure to see and talk to freely), entertain of the presesent Administrator and the lines on which he has been carrying on the administration has thoroughly convinced us that all this ado is the outcome of the premeditated conspiracy of a handful of agitators and mischief-mongers. The masses are entirely satisfied with the prompt and evenhanded justice that they have been getting at the hands of their Administrator. Even in spite of the increase in assessment on account of the Revision Settlement recently made by the present Administrator, the agriculturists love and admire him on account of his sincere sympathy for them and his amiable disposition, and they make no secret of it.......... Several State servants, all Hindus, have seen us and expressed their highest satisfaction with the just and kind treatment of the Administrator. They are all pleased with the impartial and fair Budget proposals just announced in the Darbari Gazette. The efficiency of Mr. Kadri's administration is evident from the very fact that during the last year there has been a net saving of Rupees three lacs and a half to the State......... We really pity the Wadhwán people that they are blindly led by the nose by a handful of agitators and turn a deaf ear to the sound sincere advice given to them quite in time both by the Agent to His Excellency the Governor as well as the Political Agent."

Praja Bandhu (28), 2nd Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (57), 3rd Dec.; *Surat Akhbár* (75), 3rd Dec.

45. Referring to the estrangement between the Administrator of the Wadhwán State and the Hindus of Wadhwán as a result of the general strike existing in that city at present, the *Praja Bandhu* dwells on the necessity on the part of high Government officials to intervene in the matter and put a stop to further embitterment of feelings. Among the acts done by Khan Bahadur Kadri, after the strike, that are calculated to displease the public the paper mentions the dismissal by him of a few Hindu officers of the State on mere suspicion. It regrets that Mr. Kadri has, after an experience of 35 years of Government service, failed to understand the popular feeling even after the long duration of the strike and the public petitions submitted to the authorities. It maintains that whether the present strike be of a mild or aggravated type it is natural that the poor people must suffer great hardships as a consequence, and that the results of such protracted hardships are at times undesirable. The paper advises Mr. Kadri to remove the cause of the strike and pacify the public before the present state o fthings gives rise to grave results. [In continuation of its remarks on the subject (*vide* paragraph 46, W. R. No. 48 of 1917), the [illegible] observes that the Wadhwán strike is merely a manœuvre [illegible] of the mahajan of that city to put Government on the wrong scent with a view to secure the removal of a Muhammadan high official. It ascribes the present condition of things at Wadhwán not to the want of tact and sympathy on the part of Mr. Kadri, as suggested by the *Hindusthán* (*vide* paragraph above referred to), but to the prejudice and bias of the Hindus against the Muhammadans. The *Surat Akhbár* ridicules the so-called strike as a sham, and remarks that it is well known to Government as well as the public that Mr. Kadri is a man who would not take any wrong step.]

Dnyán Prakásh (16), 1st Dec., Eng. cols.

46. "When we first heard of this affair we never dreamt of the black cloud being any bigger than the palm of a child's hand. Gradually it has taken such a huge turn as to cast a veil over the realities. The music regulations thought to be offensive by the Mahajan are contained in a short notification numbered 227. The unfortunate document has been a subject of much criticism, fair and foul. We do not wish to take up to-day a detailed survey of the notification as the situation at Wadhwán is still very complex, and nothing is further from our mind than to abstain from embarassing the administration. It seems not a little curious, however, that the provisions of the notification and the manner of its publication *were* at variance with the spirit of British policy in Káthiáwár, and also with the usual procedure obtaining in British districts, which the *ex*-Collector could not have forgotten so soon. The deadlock has now lasted for an unbearably long period and it is the sacred duty of all concerned to bring it to an end with all possible speed. We confidently look to Colonel C. F. Harold, the Political Agent in charge of the Jhálláwád Prant, whom the Mahajan of Chotila remember with a sense of gratitude in connection with their strike. Distorted versions, probably inspired from both sides, have appeared in papers. Reading between the lines, it is apparent that Mr. Kadri was guided mainly by the advice of the *ex*-Chief Constable of Rajkot Civil Station in this matter, and once having launched upon it he could not retrace for the sake of 'prestige.'......... We sincerely hope that better counsels will prevail over the deliberations of both the parties and thus avoid the necessity of Government inferference which becomes more pressing day by day."

Comments on the formation of a Cutch-Káthiáwár political association in Bombay.

Hindusthán (21), 5th Dec.

47. With reference to the proposal to form a Cutch-Káthiáwár political association of Káthiáwádis residing in Bombay with the object of carrying on agitation for securing for the Native States in Káthiáwár that type of *swarajya* that may be from time to time given to British India, if not government on an entirely democratic basis, and with the object, among others, of enlightening the people of those States on their birthright of national independence, etc., the *Hindusthán* expresses sympathy with the proposal and writes:—We would, at this stage, recommend the Native Chiefs in Káthiáwár and the British Agency in that province not to be displeased with the idea of young Káthiáwádis of carrying on agitation in favour of securing democratic forms of government for the Native States in their province. On the contrary they should feel proud that these States can produce men who hold such aspirations and who are desirous of serving their country in that manner. If they look at these men with such feelings of pride and affection we hope that a time will come when the inheritors of these States will have occasion to appreciate their services. We would similarly advise those concerned with the movement that, while keeping an eye on securing democratic government by means of completely loyal methods, they should base all their efforts on lines that are well thought out.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 14th December 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 50 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 15th December 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council: Comments on the debate on the various resolutions in the— . . . . 21—32

British rule :

Comments on Mr. Karimbhoy A. Peerbhoy's evidence before the Industrial Commission 17
Comments on Sir R. Tagore's letter to a friend in England about interned persons in Bengal 15
Comments on the hunger-strike of interned Bengalis . . . . 13 & 14
Comments on the *personnel* of the Bengal Conspiracy Committee . 9 & 10
Comments on the prohibition of Mr. Horniman's proposed address to the students of the College of Agriculture, Poona . . . 19 & 20
Government and Lala Lajpatrai's book 16
Government and the interned Ali Brothers 11
Indian industries are neglected because the interests of the rulers and the ruled are not identical 18
The necessity of making things inconvenient for the authorities . 12
Excise: Comments on the recent Government Press Note on the constitution of — Advisory Committees . . . . 37 & 38
Forest Department: A complaint against the regulations for the issue of fire-wood permits 41
His Excellency the Governor: Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the Agricultural Conference at Poona . . 33

Indian Political Reforms :

Adverse comments on the discrimination shown by Government in selecting bodies for sending deputation to the Secretary of State . 8
Comments on the composition of the All-India Muhammadan Deputation 2
Constitutional reforms in Native States 4
Indians cannot expect any redress of their grievances at the hands of the Europeans . . . . 6 & 7
The Bishop of Madras and Indian political movements 3
The European official's insularity has produced unrest even in small towns and villages, and an Indian administrator is preferred to an English official even by the peasants and the villagers . . . 5
The unity of the demands made by the various addresses and deputations to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State 1
Police: Some defects in the working of the Bombay — Courts . . 36
Press Act: Comments on the demand of security from the *Bombay Chronicle* 35

H 389—a CCN

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Revenue matters:

Difficulties of rayats in the Kárwár District 39
Alleged failure of crops in the Kaira District 40

War: Comments on the present situation in Russia 34

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the passing of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Compulsory Education Bill . . . . 42 & 43

EDUCATION—

How the backward class students are prevented from entering the Training Colleges 44

MUNICIPALITIES—

Hyderabad: Comments on the alleged appallingly insanitary condition of—(Sind) and the total failure of the Municipal Committee of Management 45

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the formation of Cutch-Káthiáwár political association in Bombay 46

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The unity of the demands made by the various addresses and deputations to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State.

New Times (7), 8th Dec.

1. "It must be a vast and difficult task for Mr. Montagu to receive several deputations in a single day—to listen to the addresses and possess his lips in silence! The advocates of bureaucracy would regard some of the addresses as a stroke against the National Demand set forth in the Congress-League Scheme. Indeed, some of the sentiments expressed in a few of these addresses suggest influences *ab extra*; we seldom heard before of the political activities of some of the bodies now permitted to present addresses at Delhi. It apparently suits the bureaucracy to create an impression on Mr. Montagu's mind that India is not united in its demands, that the people have conflicting programmes, and that in the 'multiplicity of councils is the evil thereof'. But we may well believe that Mr. Montagu is too acute a statesman not to see that notwithstanding the diversity of programmes presented to him by particular sections of the Indian population, there is such a thing as the National Demand; and we hope he will not fail to realise that that Demand is embodied in the Congress-League Scheme."

Comments on the composition of the All-India Muhammedan Deputation.

Islámic Mail (4), 9th Dec.

2. The *Islámic Mail* publishes without comment the following article contributed by a correspondent:—"I have been very much pained to hear of the indignity which the Moslem deputation suffered at the hands of the Home Department of the Government of India specially so as it has lowered the position of the Honorary Secretary of the M. A. O. College in the public. But Nawab Ishaqkhan must excuse me if I say that he courted the discomfiture. In the first place I fail to understand what dragged the Nawab Saheb from the solitude which he had chosen at the time when the youths of the community under the leadership of Mr. Mohomadali chalked out a different line of policy which was quite in opposition to the traditional policy of Aligarh. Ever since the day when the Moslim League adopted the self-government resolution, the Nawab has kept himself aloof from the League and from other political movements. Suddenly he emerges to give shoulder to the Congress-League scheme, and offers to lead a deputation to the Secretary of State. Although it is not clear what new light his deputation would have thrown on the Reform Scheme since all the points contained in his deputation were embodied in the League representation, yet we may assume he had carefully considered the expediency of the step he was taking. However we are unable to account for the puerile way in which he quarrelled with the Government of India. As the Secretary to the Government said in his letter, "Mr. Montagu has come to gather the views of the people in regard to the Reform Scheme and not to interfere with the action of the Government of India." However we may feel the justice or injustice of the Moslem Leader's internment it was no reason for us to forego an opportunity of representing the Moslem views to the Secretary of State and we wonder why the deputation turned so strong headed over such a trivial matter. Incidentally there arises another point which concerns Bombay. I need not remind you that Bombay Muhammedans have a long time since—ever since the coalition of the Congress and the League—refused to take part in the movements initiated in Upper India, and no responsible man from Bombay took part in this deputation. But to keep faces, the Nawab put down the name of one or two plebians to represent Bombay at least one of whom does not belong to Bombay. Has Mr. Umar Sobani any status in Bombay or any title to play the role of the representative of Bombay Moslems? It is another thing for him to fly on the Home Rule wings of his friend, Mr. Horniman, but he has no right to lead the Mussalmans of Bombay."

The Bishop of Madras and Indian political movements.
Dnyán Prakásh (37), 13th Dec.

3. The Lord Bishop of Madras has recently in an article exhorted his Christian brethren to take an active part in politics. Although we never expected the Anglo-Indian community, engaged in materialistic pursuits, to sympathise with our aspirations it was a source of gratification to us that at least the Christian religious leaders sympathised with our demands. The Bishop's present article, therefore, is most disappointing. Although we welcome his advice that the Christians should no longer eschew politics but take a prominent part therein, we regard his exhortation to them to support the Anglo-Indian authorities to be most depressing. We would rather see the Christians keep aloof from politics altogether than use their energy in supporting the Anglo-Indians. If any party stands in need at present of outside help it is the Indians and not the bureaucracy who are well able to take care of themselves as they have monopolised all the power during the last several years.

Constitutional reforms in Native States.
Indian Social Reformer (3), 16th Dec.

***4.** "We are inclined to think that it is not fair to the Ruling Chiefs to expect them to adopt constitutional reforms on their own unaided initiative. Even the Government of India does not do this, though Secretaries of State, Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and members of the Indian Civil Service, have been bred up in the free democratic atmosphere of England. Such being the case, we cannot help agreeing that the Government and people of British India have a duty to do all they can to ensure for the people of the States a measure of constitutional government not wholly incommensurate with what may obtain in British India. There are already complaints that the policy of let-alone followed since Lord Minto's time has resulted in a deterioration of the standard of administration in several Indian States. If Lord Minto had made his policy conditional on the States putting their administration on a constitutional basis, this would not have happened. This, coupled with the Government of India's pre-occupations in regard to the war, is having a retarding influence on the position of the subjects of several Indian States. But the wave of democracy which is sweeping over the whole world will not be deterred by treaty rights from invading the territories of Indian States. We hope that the more thoughtful ruling princes at least will note the signs of the times, and hasten to 'broad-base' their *gadis* firmly and lastingly upon the will of their people."

The European official's insularity has produced unrest even in small towns and villages, and an Indian administrator is preferred to an English official even by the peasants and the villagers.
New Times (7), 7th Dec.

5. "The vast majority of Indians, we are being told to-day by Anglo-Indian extremists, 'would infinitely prefer the rule of Englishmen to the rule of one of their own countrymen'. 'It is only the English-knowing agitator' in the city—we are told—who is against the bureaucracy; the villager simply loves the Sahib! Scarcely one-tenth of the population lives in cities; so that nine-tenths of India prefer an English breaucrat to an Indian administrator! Is this true to facts? Sir Valentine pointed out in his notorious book on *Indian Unrest* that the rural population of Bengal was disaffected, not alone Calcutta, in the days of the anti-partition agitation; the villagers in the Deccan have political conciousness and are dissatisfied with bureaucrats; the Punjáb villages are penetrated with a patriotic spirit; the peasant in Gujerát often complains of the rigid land revenue policy and does not like the Sahib; the Rawalpindi riots were due to the peasant's unfaith in the bureaucrat; the men in Central Provinces were, only a short time ago, a centre of unrest; the workmen of Bombay have given demonstration of their unrest more than once; heavy assesments, poverty, famine, plague, cholera, malaria, and the Sahib's insularity have produced unrest even in small towns and villages; and an Indian administrator is preferred to an English official even by the patient peasant and the poor villager.......... A review of the Indian administration will show to any unbiassed student that though the English official professes to 'cherish the poor', his *practical* sympathy with them is almost *nil*......... Surely there must be something very wrong with a system of administration that is unable to help the poor people carried off every year in thousands by preventible diseases such as malaria, cholera, plague, and succumbing almost every year to famine in a Land of Plenty."

Indians cannot expect any redress of their grievances at the hands of the Europeans.

New Times (7), 10th Dec.

6. "An Indian" writes to the *New Times*:—"Mr. Webb asks us, no doubt in all honesty, to keep quiet now and he and his European friends will attend to all our ills after the war. Would he tell us what ills of ours were attended to by these friends before the war? What did these friends of ours do when they used to see us kicked at Railway platforms, driven out of Railway compartments on the ground that they were marked for Anglo-Indians, packed in third class compartments like fish in sardine tins, and ousted from all public offices which Anglo-Indians could occupy, nay, which even non-British subjects like the Goans could occupy? I am afraid the Indians have gone beyond the stage of trusting these guardians of our interests. There was nothing in the attitude of these friends of ours in the pre-war days to incline us to lay any reliance on their present advice. How often has Mr. Webb seen his kith and kin, turning up their noses at 'native jobbery, native nepotism, native cliquism, and native—what not ill? And has he read Mr. Peerbhoy's evidence, I mean the addendum before the Indian Industrial Commission, and what name does he give to the partiality of these Official and Commercial Bureaucrats?"

Kesari (106), 11th Dec.

7. The Curtis scheme was referred to indirectly by the Honourable Mr. Curtis in the Bombay Legislative Council and he said that it had the support of big officials. Though the allusion in His Excellency's speech was very vague, it still appeared that he meant to refer to the scheme. We are afraid that the first instalment of reforms may be restricted only to local self-government. Therefore, the other deputations that are to wait upon Mr. Montagu should not only support the Congress scheme but also condemn the Curtis scheme. The Calcutta European Association says that the refroms should not even be discussed. A cry has been raised that *swardjya* should not be given in the interests of Indians themselves, and not because of the harm it may do to the interest of European Merchants, as it was argued formerly. It appears that these inveterate and selfish Shylocks have neither generosity nor courage and honesty enough to give out the true cause (of their opposition).

Adverse comments on the discrimination shown by Government in selecting bodies for sending deputations to the Secretary of State.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 14th Dec.

8. Quoting the instance of the Bombay Municipality, the premier Municipality in the whole of India, which is allowed only to send a representation to Mr. Montagu, the *Sánj Vartamán* observes that the arrangements made for the receiving of deputations are quite unsatisfactory. It is true that the time at the disposal of the Secretary of State is very short. But if the deputation of the Municipality of a city like Bombay had waited upon the Secretary of State for India, the latter would have been able to come in personal contact with persons conducting local self-government successfully. In Madras, too, the public have been dissatisfied with the arrangements made to receive deputations. Deputations of all Anglo-Indian bodies are allowed to wait with their addresses while the request of the Madras Presidency Association to send its deputation has been refused. A deputation of non-Brahmins who are opposed to Home Rule is to wait on Mr. Montagu, while another deputation of persons of the same community who are in favour of Home Rule has been refused by the Government of Madras. The planters' deputation has been accepted, while the request of rich Indian merchants carrying on the leather industry to allow their deputation to present an address has not been acceded to. The address of the latter is quite harmless. It lends simply its practical support to the Congress-League scheme. But it demonstrates that merchants demand political rights. The Madras Government has failed to carry out its duty which was to arrange the receiving of deputations in such a way as to enable Mr. Montagu to understand effectively what the opinion of the Madras public is.

Comments on the *personnel* of the Bengal Conspiracy Committee.
Young India (14), 12th Dec.

9. "The appointment of the Bengal Conspiracy Committee has been made by the Government of India. The personnel of the Committee is as disappointing as the terms of reference are belying the hopes roused in the public that at last Government were going to do justice to the hundreds of young men and old, who have been clapped into jail without even the pretence of a public trial or enquiry. We had understood from Lord Ronaldshay's speech that the Committee whose appointment he then foreshadowed would be *disinterested* in the real sense of the term......... While, rightly or wrongly, 'a strong (official) judicial element' has been deemed 'essential' in the committee, public interests, which it was even more essential to secure, have been allowed to go by the board. Of the six members including the 'I. C. S.' Secretary, four are Europeans and two only are 'Indians', in whose sense of independence or freedom of thought the public do not possess the utmost confidence that is requisite to make their findings acceptable. Whatever may happen, justice must be done to the hundreds of unfortunate people, who have now lived for months together under the grave shadow of suspicion and calumny. If Government have such 'documentary evidence' connecting them all with the 'revolutionary conspiracies' in this country as it is professed they have, we think there should no longer be any delay in bringing the alleged conspirators to public trial. Nothing short of this will convince the country of the justice of these internments."

Mahrātta (5), 16th Dec.

*10. Commenting on the appointment of the Committee of enquiry into the revolutionary movement in Bengal, the *Mahrātta* writes:—"Our concern is with the question of how an otherwise sane and sober man (and an Indian) at all becomes a revolutionary. We submit that such a man becomes a revolutionary when he despairs of any peaceful propaganda doing anything substantial for his country within a reasonable time. He may be quite wrong in his reasoning. But he *reasons* and is led to his (let us grant) *unsound* conclusion, not because anything is the matter with his heart or head, but because he feels too strongly for his people.......... Government are anxious to be able to deal effectively with criminal revolutionary conspiracies. Now, in our humble opinion, you cannot deal *effectively* with any situation unless you diagnose it fully and carefully. One of the references to the Committee appointed by Government ought to have been *to investigate and report on the political and economic causes and conditions which, in the opinion of the Committee, have served, are serving and will, unless remedied, serve as the breeding ground for revolutionaries.* If this investigation had been entrusted to the Conspiracy Committee, the latter would have been able (assuming of course that its personnel were different from what we find it to be) to suggest truly effective means for dealing with the conspiracies complained of. As we have hinted above, there are economic and political causes and conditions in this country which have it in them to drive even some sane and sober men to the extreme path of revolutionism.......... It is this accession of sane people to the ranks of Revolutionism which must be prevented by all reasonable means, for in the preventing of this accession lies the *effective remedy.* And how can this prevention be effected? Let Government concentrate their mind on this root-query and we promise them that they will not be long in finding out the right solutions. Popular leaders have time and again suggested these solutions directly and indirectly. But all this has been more or less a cry in the wilderness. Now that Government are seeking to deal *effectively* with Indian revolutionism, it becomes our duty to draw their attention to the neglected cry. Will Government respond?"

Government and the interned Ali Brothers.
Kesari (106), 11th Dec.

11. The ideas of Government about justice, evidence and the benefit of doubt being given to the accused seem to have changed altogether of late. Formerly the pride of British Judicial officers was that it did not matter even if a hundred guilty men escaped so long as one innocent man did not suffer. But of ~~late~~ this tradition seems to have been given up. As hundreds of persons are arrested on suspicion and as no one is openly tried, how can we say that one innocent man is not crushed along with a hundred guilty persons? A worse and more contemptible method is to defame a person behind his back and not to give him an opportunity to defend himself. Its foul character is revealed in Lala Lajput Rai's case. What is more regrettable is that similar rumours are afloat about distinguished detenus in India. The *Bombay Chronicle* has protested strongly against such rumours about the Ali Brothers. The public should understand that such charges are not worth a cowrie and no one should prejudice himself by believing in Bazar rumours. If Government have unimpeachable evidence, they will produce it before the Court and prove it. It is a great sin to hold a person guilty, judging by mere rumours. Why should we knowingly commit the sin?

The necessity of making things inconvenient for the authorities.
Mahrátta (5), 16th Dec.

***12.** Commenting on the reference to the interned Ali brothers in the All-India Moslem address to the Secretary of State, the *Mahrátta* writes :—" If unanswerable argument were sufficient to bring the authorities to reason we should have had many of our demands satisfied by now. *Argument* is only one part of the activity that is necessary to get wrongs righted and justice done. The other equally, if not more, important part is *organised effort on as large a scale as the case demands* '*to make things incovenient for the authorities*' (to use an expression used by the *Islamiah* in writing on this very subject of the release of the Alis). We are afraid we are not as keen about doing our duty in organising the make-things-inconvenient activity as we are about putting together facts and principles and 'pledges' and what not with a view to produce a formidable argument. Our apathy in this respect has been amply 'rewarded'! Humiliations have been continuously 'vouchsafed' to us! Political *gurus* have laid down that 'constitutional' activity does not mean an activity of mere argument; it includes another activity, that of the so-called 'Passive Remedy' (or Satyágraha). We have assimilated this lesson, but only intellectually. That is not sufficient. Mere intellectual assent to the highest truths of Religion does not bring us Liberation—the ultimate Goal of life. Even so, such an assent will ever fail to lift us out of the humiliating circumstances imposed by temporal authorities."

Comments on the hunger-strike of interned Bengalis.
Mahrátta (5), 16th Dec.

***13.** " The *A. B. Patrika* learns that the hunger-strike was started by the 20 political prisoners in the Alipore jail on the 1st instant. Since we wrote last on this painful subject, we have had to read news about this affair, which cannot but make any ordinary mortal shiver with indignation. The hunger-strikers were sent away on the 6th instant to other jails inside and outside Bengal, and it was understood that they were to receive no mercy. Whatever the charges against these detenus, it is now too late in the day to expect people to acquiesce in such a treatment of prisoners who have not had the opportunity of clearing their character before a regular tribunal. It has been semi-officially announced that 'the strikers themselves assert that they have no ground for complaint regarding their treatment by the prison authorities, or in respect of food, clothing, etc., with which they have been provided, but have adopted the strike solely as a protest against their incarceration.' Unfortunately, the relations between Government and the people are so strained, and the distrust of the people by the authorities evinced in numberless ways had made the people, in their turn, so much suspicious (a reaction strictly in accordance with the laws of Mind), that the announcement has failed utterly to convince the public that the detenus have in truth no complaints to make in respect of food, clothing, etc., etc., and that their strike was a protest against their incarceration itself......... In such a case the only way to reassure the public is to forthwith appoint a Committee of Enquiry with a personnel that can be fully trusted by the people to discharge its duties fully and faithfully. Government have not taken this step. But they have been prompt in removing the prisoners to various places possibly that the latter may be cowed down and learn, in their severe isolation, to submit 'loyally' to any treatment that the prison officials might think fit to mete out to them! Whatever the effect on the prisoners of this unsympathetic conduct of the authorities, the public will not fail to count it as one important argument against the continuance of a system of rule under which the authorities can play with the feelings of the people in a most cruel manner."

Kesari (106), 11th Dec.

14. The *Kesari* says that the idea of passive resistance is Âryan and that it was very prevalent in ancient India. It further remarks:—It almost disappeared in India under British rule but now and then there were instances of passive resistance, though lessons were included in school readers giving such a virtuous principle a hideous aspect, with the intention of rooting it out from the country. The example in South Africa of Mr. Gandhi gave the idea a new life and it appears that there is a desire now to resort to it generally. The decison of the inhabitants of Karjat harassed by the tyrannical house-tax raised by the Notified Area Committee is a fresh instance. We now understand that political prisoners in Alipore jail (Calcutta) are on a hunger-strike because of their solitary confinement though persons detained under Regulation III of 1818 cannot be put under solitary confinement. Irish Sinn Feinners have adopted it and the death of their leader Mr. Ash is reported. It would be good if the Bengal officials will not wait for such an end in connection with the political prisoners. What harm would be there, if due precautions are taken and the detenus are treated in such a way that their lives are not endangered, till the Ronaldshay Committee begins its inquiry? He who will be adjudged guilty by the Commission will openly suffer capital punishment. Why harass him now and make him a hero of passive resistance?

Comments on Sir R. Tagore's letter to a friend in England about interned persons in Bengal.
New Times (7), 10th Dec.

15. "The *Pioneer* is particularly annoyed with the Poet for 'the letter written to a friend in England by Sir Rabindranath Tagore describing the purely imaginary horrors suffered by interned persons in Bengal'! Are the 'horrors' 'purely imaginary'? About a thousand persons not having the fame and friends of Annie Besant or Mohamed Ali or Shaukat Ali or Arundale or Wadia are undergoing internment at this moment: are their sufferings purely imaginary? Was the suicide of the Bengali student interned—Suchi Chandra Das Gupta—'imaginary'?......... Is it in the 'interests of discipline' to intern a youth and seek thus to crush his human instinct of communication with fellow-students? Is this internment in 'his father's house'—as communique issued by the Political Department puts it—much different from solitary confinement, of a kind which must tell on every young man, the very breath of whose life is social intercourse with his comrades? Is it a good commentary on the policy of internment that a promising young man should feel so depressed as to commit suicide? Is it in accord with England's indictment of Germany and its appeal to the civilized world for a higher standard of right and justice? Is it right to 'intern' men simply because they do not think as you do? Sir Rabindranath's letter should rend the veil which hides to-day the disgraceful situation from the English people. Not even Anglo-Indians can honestly accuse him of anti-English bias; he has, when occasion has required it, spoken frankly even about his own countrymen."

Government and Lala Lajpatrai's book.
Gujarâti (17), 9th Dec.; *Praja Bandhu* (28), 9th Dec.; *Kaira Vartamân* (67), 12th Dec.

16. Referring to the book entitled *Young India*, written by Lala Lajpatrai, which was recently proscribed by Government, the *Gujarâti* remarks:—The central idea underlying the whole book is that the people of India have become worthless and cowardly as a result of the present bureaucratic administration of the country. But that has not only made the authorities in England scent in it sedition and incitement to commit offences but Sir George Cave has

declared in Parliament that Lala Lajpatrai had close relations with German agents, that there were reasons to believe that he had received monies from Germany and that the book was written with a view to help Germany by creating difficulties in India. The present times are such that feeling could be excited, and the law resorted to, against anyone on the ground of his helping Germany. It is the good fortune of India that it has not struck any authority in this country to suppress the Home Rule and Moslem Leagues and the Indian National Congress on the pretext that they carry on agitation for *swarájya* in order to help Germany by creating difficulties against the administration in India; otherwise the Press Act and the Defence of India Act and the regulation of 1818 are ready to hand! Even if Lala Lajpatrai has, on being bribed by Germany, resolved to incite the commission of violent crime in India for the purpose of helping Germany the Indians would be the last persons to help him. But can the mind of a patriot like Lala Lajpatrai be so very much diseased? Before believing that, there should be proofs, and if they are not published there would be no wonder if the people were to think that they exist only in the imagination of Sir George Cave. [The *Praja Bandhu* remarks that the facts that the crime of sedition with which Lala Lajpatrai has been charged behind his back has not been proved and that the police have searched the office of the London branch of the Indian Home Rule League, for confiscating the copies of *Young India* written by Lajpatrai, before he has been allowed the opportunity of defending himself, are matters calculated to create disappointment. It observes that the fact that Government do not intend to prosecute, on the charge of sedition, either Lajpatrai or the firm which published *Young India* demonstrates the hollowness of that charge. The *Kaira Vartamán* reproduces the above remarks of the *Praja Bandhu.*]

Comments on Mr. Karimbhoy A. Peerbhoy's evidence before the Industrial Commission.

Hindusthán (21), 8th Dec.; *Rást Goftár* (31), 9th Dec.

17. The *Hindusthán* publishes a lengthy account of an interview with Mr. Karimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy in connection with the subject-matter of the evidence he gave before the Indian Industrial Commission in Bombay. In the course of the interview Mr. Karimbhoy is reported to have said that from the specimen of tents manufactured at the Cawnpore Mills at the rate of Rs. 480 each he could say that a tent of that sort was not worth more than Rs. 250 and that, regard being had to the orders for about 35,000 tents received by the three Cawnpore Mills owned by Englishmen, it could be said that about 70 to 80 lakhs of rupees have been paid to these mills unnecessarily from the public coffers. Apart from the question of tents Mr. Karimbhoy is further reported to have said with regret that according to the estimate of his firm more than a crore of rupees have been wasted from the public treasury during the last three years and a half in the purchase of leather and leather articles. [The *Rást Goftár* expresses its disapprobation of the attitude adopted by Sir Thomas Holland towards Mr. Karimbhoy when the latter appeared to give his evidence before the Industrial Commission, and opines that his refusal to go deep into the charges made by Mr. Karimbhoy could not have added to the prestige of the Commission of which he was the President. It refers to Sir Thomas's directions to the press reporters not to publish Mr. Karimbhoy's evidence which contained allegations against Government officials, and expresses its inability to comprehend how evidence given during the course of a public inquiry be treated as a confidential matter and how suggestions could be made and threats held out for suppressing it. The paper hopes that Government will promptly institute an inquiry into the accusations brought by Mr. Karimbhoy, as has been promised by Sir Thomas Holland.]

Indian industries are neglected because the interests of the rulers and the ruled are not identical.

Shri Venkateshwar (80), 13th Dec.

18. Dwelling upon the necessity of developing indigenous industries and attributing the present poor condition of India to lack of industrial organisation and also to the absence of any support from Government, such as is given in other flourishing countries, the *Shri Venkateshwar* contrasts the condition of India with that of Japan and observes:—India, however, in spite of its ancient civilisation, has, after coming under the protection of the British people having a new civilisation, already lost her innumerable profitable industries. On account of the present difficulties of importing foreign cloth in India, arising from the war, the time has come to-day for the men and women of this country to go naked. In a country where salt was manufactured in mountain-high heaps merely by the boiling of sea water, in that very land of Bharat on account of the importation of foreign salt having become difficult the poeple of Eastern Bengal, stricken with the dearth of salt, have been looting shops and markets. All this result is due only to the fact that the interests of the rulers and ruled in India, in spite their both being civilised, are not identical.

Comments on the prohibition of Mr. Horniman's proposed address to the students of the College of Agriculture, Poona.
Young India (14), 12th Dec.

19. "A more typical illustration of bureaucratic ferocity it is difficult to imagine than the mandate placing an embargo on Mr. Horniman's lecture to the students of the Poona Agricultural College.......... We are not surprised that officials should be afraid of a students' gathering being addressed by Mr. Horniman. What strikes us as extraordinary in this connection is that the Local Government should have slept until the eleventh hour, when it was too late for making other arrangements. We presume they were specially spurred to action by some of Mr. Horniman's recent successes. Nothing has been more amusing, though discreditable, in the history of the administration of this Province than the persistent and pertinacious attempts that have been made to crush Mr. Horniman, who emerges from each one triumphant and bearing aloft the torch of freedom."

Shri Venkateshwar (80), 12th Dec.

20. Commenting upon the Government order prohibiting the proposed arrangement according to which Mr. B. G. Horniman was to deliver an address to the students of the Agricultural College, Poona, on the occasion of the annual gathering of that College, the *Shri Venkateshwar* remarks:—The moment the authorities at Bombay heard about the arrangement, orders were issued for saving the innocent students from that dreadful bugbear Horniman. Well done! These gentlemen should be congratulated in an unequivocal manner on this interference on their part, because they have really saved the Empire by preventing Mr. Horniman's voice from falling on the ears of students. When it was declared in the Legislative Council, the other day, on behalf of Government that orders were already issued allowing Principals of Colleges discretion in the matter of permitting their students to attend political meetings, how is it that the discretion of the Principal of the Poona Agricultural College was interfered with by Government?

Comments on the debate on the various resolutions in the Bombay Legislative Council.
Kesari (106), 11th Dec.

21. A special feature of the last Council was that it continued its sessions for five days which is rarely the case. But it is necessary to increase the number of meetings and the number of days of every meeting in view of increasing work and we hope the desirable change will be introduced in the regime of Lord Willingdon. The enactment of Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill will make the last sessions a memorable one. Three days were devoted to its discussion. During the other two days 18 out of 48 resolutions were disposed of. In many cases Government officials said that the question was being considered and resolutions numbering 12 were withdrawn in this way. Of the two resolutions that were actually passed none is important. The resolutions rejected by the Council were really important and their fate will excite regret and sorrow amongst the people. The rejection of the Honourable Mr. Patel's jury resolution even now means a declaration that we are not living in A. D. 1917, but in some century B. C. The obstinacy of the Bombay Government is somewhat extraordinary in this respect. In the United Provinces and Bengal, such a resolution is easily passed and in Madras it is even enforced. Why should the Bombay Government then be so much afraid of it? Are the residents of other Provinces

only reasonable, educated and virtuous and is the Bombay Presidency excepting some three or four districts full of cruel beasts of prey? His Excellency advises us to move slowly. Even though half a century has elapsed since the introduction of the Jury System in some districts and since the establishment of the High Court, are we still in a hurry if other districts demand trial by Jury? Will anybody tell us why Government show partiality in allowing a murder case to be tried by jury in Belgaum and refusing the concession in Sátára and on what grounds they continue the system? His Excellency says that it is not possible to pass the resolution without any inquiry by a Committee. But no body prevented Government from holding the inquiry during the last 30 years. The excuse of an inquiry is suggested only after the resolution is moved! The attitude of Government is so extraordinary and haughty in this respect that it is better not to discuss it! It will be a credit to Government if they will grant the right to-day willingly. Otherwise we shall have it of right when the new Councils will be formed; why should we then beseech them? But what becomes of the wisdom and generosity of Government in that case?

Young India (14), 12th Dec.

22. Under the heading "Bureaucratic Cant" *Young India* writes:—"The value of many a useful discussion of Government policy in regard to public questions has been greatly marred in the past by the bogey of political motives which Government and their supporters have consistently attributed to their opponents. Nothing could be more unfortunate in this respect than the manner in which the Government of Bombay received the plea of Mr. Patel and his colleagues for the extension of the jury system in this Presidency. If Government had placed themselves in a spirit of uncompromising opposition to the proposal of Mr. Patel, we could understand their action. But the tactics adopted, of discrediting it as a political move, cannot but be regarded as reprehensible, especially on the part of a Government which has professed in season and out of season an unquenchable love for progress, albeit gradual and reasonable. Indeed after more than half a century of slow and steady experiment, it cannot be seriously contended even by a 'Government in their senses' that Mr. Patel's proposal was either 'impracticable' or 'revolutionary'. The question before the Council was plainly whether Government were prepared to extend the system or shelve the proposal. To this, Lord Willingdon has given an answer and the country ought to know at least now how far professions of sympathy with progress on the part of the Local Government are likely to go in practice. The whole discussion reveals the state of mind in which officialdom exists in matters of this kind and ought to bring home to people the utter futility of expecting the bureaucracy to adjust itself to new conditions and circumstances. The whole discussion on this important question tended to be unreal, which was not certainly improved by Lord Willingdon's amazing ignorance of the identity of Sir Richard Garth, Chief Justice of Bengal for a decade and a Privy Councillor to boot. It revealed, however, the unmistakable hostility of the bureaucrats and their henchman to the meanest concession of reform."

Indian Social Reformer (3), 16th Dec.

***23.** "The official speeches in the debate which recently took place in the Bombay Legislative Council on a resolution to extend trial by jury in this Presidency, betray a regrettable indifference to any but the most immediate aspect of the institution. In the course of our comments on the action of the Local Government restricting the scope of trial by jury in the Belgaum District two years ago, we quoted the opinion of an eminent American lawyer (cited with appreciation by Grote in his History of Greece) that an important advantage of the jury system was 'that it diffuses the most valuable information amongst every rank of citizens; it is a school of which every jury empanelled is a separate class, where the dictates of the law and the consequences of disobedience to them, are practically taught.' The eminent lawyer goes on to point out that trial without jury has a distinctly injurious effect on the public mind. It will, he says, 'by degrees accustom the people to a spectacle which they ought never to behold—a single man, determining the fact, applying the law, and disposing at his will of the life, liberty and reputation of a citizen'. Considerations like these used to play a large part in British Indian statesmanship, but the motto of our present-day administrators seems to be: 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.' No wonder that, without a foundation in sound theory, policy tends to shilt with every change of Governor or Member of Council, and that Government itself becomes less and less of a steadying influence on the public mind."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 13th Dec, Eng. cols.

24. "The jury system, it is notorious, has not been an unqualified success, so far as the mere administration of justice is concerned, either here or in England.......... The Advocate-General who, by his extensive experience of the behaviour of juries in Bombay, was peculiarly in a position to form an opinun, did not seem satisfied with his experience of Bombay juries. We think his opinion is entitled to respect. We agree that the proper standpoint to consider the question from is whether the interests of justice demand an extension of the jury system.......... But at the same time the question cannot be altogether detachad from its political aspect. It must be considered in both its political and practical aspects, and a satisfactory solution would be possible only by striking the balance of general advantage to the people. As a political institution, the right of trial by jury is invaluable and indispensable in a popular constitution. No more effective safeguard against the encroachments of authority and the privileged classes has been devised.......... Although in India to-day there are no assailants of the peoples' liberties of the type that existed in England in the 17th century, there are other menaces to be reckoned with. The officials as a class are not in sympathy with the people's aspirations. The majority of judges all over the country belong to the official class, share their prejudices, and are strictly accountable to and removable by the executive.......... Then there is the police; and in many places and in many cases the people require to be protected against the undue zeal or malice of these petty tyrants.......... Again, so far as India is concerned, while we are yet on the threshold of self-government, the system must be retained and extended, as a most useful training for discharging the functions of self-government.......... We have no doubt that with proper safeguards the system can be extended to all the parts of the Presidency with advantage."

Bombay Samáchár (60), 11th Dec.

25. The question of trial by jury has close connection with the high prestige of British justice, and the acceptance of the resolution would have added to that prestige. The system is not new to the Bombay Presidency. It has been in existence for many years in Thána, Surat, Poona and other districts, and in view of the success with which it has worked there, the demand for its extension to other parts of the Presidency can hardly be considered to be excessive. On the contrary the public have found several cases ending in deplorable results in districts which do not enjoy the previlege, rendering an appeal to the High Court necessary. Instances have occurred in places where cases are tried with the assistance of assessors in which on a reference to the High Court by the Lower Court in the event of the latter differing from the verdict of the assessors, the High Court has concurred with the assessors' decision, and this serves sufficiently to show that the Lower Courts require to be strengthened by the introduction of the jury system. It is, therefore, desirable that the principle should be extended especially when public opinion is keenly in favour of it. One objection that is raised against the extension is regarding the non-availability of educated persons in sufficient numbers for appointment as jurors, but it is hardly tenable in view of the awakening that is seen among the people in respect of education. Another objection that is raised is that based on the averseness of some classes of Indians against capital

punishment. But this objection is not applicable only to Indians. Even in civilized countries such persons are numerous, but the jury system has not been abolished in those countries on that ground.

Mahrátta (5), 16th Dec.

***26.** "Even in democratically governed countries, the natural guardians of students do not hand over their wards to the exclusive care of Government Departments. Not a single British parent would tolerate for a moment the idea of his son being prevented from attending a meeting to which he (the parent) sees no objection. The schools and colleges in Britain will have all to be shut down for want of students within a week of the promulgation of a 'Risley circular'. But whatever the British parents may or may not allow, our case is *ours*, a unique case......... Stuffed with 'shamefully distorted' past history and severely segregated from all contact with the revealing and vivifying utterances of the most representative public men of the day, our younger generation will without doubt grow into just the sort of men who have succeeded in defeating Mr. Manmohandas, and making themselves the laughing stock of the very Britishers who describe their experience at Oxford and elsewhere with their tongues in their cheeks. One very strange argument was used by His Excellency Lord Willingdon. His Excellency said:—'I have already had an opportunity of expressing my views on this particular matter to the students of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe and as they did not disapprove of my views I take it they must have approved of them.' His Excellency must know that open disapproval of his views by the students of Principal Paranjpe, especially when their Principal is what he is, would be a very 'bold' action. It is not improbable that these students may yet make up their minds to speak out their views. Since His Exellency has now openly said that he takes it that they have approved of his views, it is just possible that the students who are very strongly opposed to these views (and such, we know, there are) may take up again the idea of getting their similarly minded (but not so bold) fellow-students to put their signatures to a memorial praying for the revocation of the Circular. But even if the students do not take this step (which, in our opinion, they ought to take now that they are publicly represented as approving views which they cannot approve), their silence will be a proof of their weakness, or the weakness of their guardians and not any indication of their agreement with His Excellency......... Will parents and guardians submit to this treatment?......... Schools and colleges are built, equipped and managed with money coming from the people's pockets. 'We will take your money for running schools, but you shall not send your children to these schools unless you give us exclusive authority to make or mar their lives as we please.' That is the plain meaning of the students' circular."

Kesari (106), 11th Dec.; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (82), 11th Dec.

27. Discussing the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji's resolution about students and politics, the *Kesari* says that the Bombay Government is not prepared to put any trust in the conductors of schools, and it holds that the discretion of Principals has been encroached upon by Government. It complains that the explanation of Government that the circular applies only to political meetings has not been conveyed to Government schools and that the Head Master of the Dhulia School has not been asked to explain why he prohibited students from attending Mr. Shastri's lecture on free and compulsory education. It adds:—Government often say that they have no objection to any lectures being delivered in Colleges themselves by persons invited by the Principals, but Mr. Horniman, editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, though first invited by Dr. Mann was asked not to lecture. Will the Honourable Sir M. B. Chaubal or other officials inform us as to what has become of the discretion of the Principal in this case? Has an official like Dr. Mann no common sense to decide about lectures to be delivered to his students? What of others, if this is the condition of Dr. Mann? Let the reader decide for himself how far sympathy for students' welfare and how far a vindictive feeling not to allow students to listen to any words of advice from persons obnoxious to Government, had to do with the circular in question. [The *Karnátak Vaibhav* remarks :—The comparison made by Sir M. B. Chaubal between theft and Home Rule is ridiculous. The remarks passed by His Excellency on patriots indirectly and specially on Mr. Jamnadas are improper and unjust. Will the officials who encourage girls and boys to appear on the stage in connection with war fund and "our day" celebrations, have any idea of their wasted time? Is it possible for any other Government than that of unfortunate India to argue that the time of students will be wasted, and that it will have baneful effects on their minds, if the students listen to the discussions conducted by noble and most loyal patriots about the welfare of their country? We have not yet forgotten the attempts made by the late Emperor Edward to awaken patriotism in the tender minds of small children in England. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. Is there any arrangement in our curriculum to inculcate patriotism in the minds of our boys and girls? Do Government know the opinions of guardians about this matter? We suggest to the guardians to tell Government their frank opinion.]

28. *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 13th Dec.; *Prakásh* (114), 12th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 14th Dec.

At the last Legislative Council meeting the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji endeavoured to show that the orders of Government prohibiting students from attending political meetings were injudicious. No one, however, can say that he was entirely successful in his object. He did not avail himself of the excellent opportunity of ascertaining the reasons which led to the revival of the Risley circular and to the insertion of fresh restrictions into it. It is needless to point out how Government can effectively meet the argument that students have the same rights of citizenship as other people and that, therefore, they have every right to take part in political meetings and generally to associate themselves with politics. Mr. Manmohandas' line of argument was so queer that he was opposed even by the non-official members of the Council. In introducing his resolution Mr. Manmohandas aimed at removing the stigma on the Home Rule League put upon it by its specific mention in the circular. His unreasonable and excessive zeal, however, in pleading the cause of the students only resulted in making the stain deeper. The official members openly expressed their disapproval of the Home Rule movement which was at first merely implied in the circular. Mr. Manmohandas is himself responsible for this result and we do not think any Home Ruler will congratulate him on bringing forward his motion in the Council. [The *Prakásh* writes :—The authorities have been straining every nerve to keep the students aloof from politics since the Indians began to think of their political uplift. There is no doubt that the Nagpur students had legitimate cause for going on strike. It would not be surprising if the authorities resort to methods injurious to the nation so long as the present system of irresponsible administration continues. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* condemns the resolution inasmuch as it recommends the removal of all control even over schoolboys along with students attending colleges. It, however, favours the removal of restraints in the matter of college students attending public meetings and supports its contention on the ground of their age, experience and mature judgment. The paper endorses the views expressed by the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye in this connection and expresses gratification at the remarks made by His Excellency Lord Willingdon declaring willingness on the part of Government to allow discretionary powers to the principals of colleges in connection with this subject.]

29. *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* (29), 10th Dec., Eng. cols.

"We should have liked to see the interesting debate in the Bombay Council on the beggar question result in something more promising and practical than a mere committee of non-official members. We quite appreciate the difficulties of Government, and their hesitation to associate themselves directly with a matter of such complexity. But we feel that they might

with advantage be less squeamish and solicitious about the superstitions and susceptibilities of the people, than they are used to. The people have long since outgrown the times and the temper in which useful administrative measures and Government's motives were liable to be misunderstood, on the score of interference with the customs and beliefs of the people. And Government had better take note of this fact......... The bulk of the people are more practical and less fanatical than is still believed in various quarters. Even if it were otherwise, we do not see why necessary and salutary reforms should be perpetually put off out of an exaggerated respect for unreasonable sentiments.......... The people all over the country know and feel that, whatever the shortcomings of the present system of Government, it deeply respects the beliefs and the religious observances of the people. There is little chance now of official acts being misunderstood on this score. We think, therefore, that it is time to initiate a stronger and more courageous policy in the matter of social reform."

Jam-e-Jamshed (24), 11th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 13th Dec.

30. Commenting upon the motion of the Honourable Mr. Pheroze Sethna on the evil of professional beggars, the *Jam-é-Jamshed* says that any satisfactory solution of the problem is very difficult on account of the prevailing religious beliefs and customs. Persons who can be classed as beggars and living on the charity of the people exist in the Muhammadan, Hindu and other communities whose religious sentiments are so strong that they consider it a religious virtue to give alms. If they were prevented from begging, it would create dissatisfaction among the orthodox people. The solution of the question is also impossible from the financial point of view as it involves the expenditure of an enormous sum annually which cannot be met, as stated by the Honourable Mr. Curtis, from Provincial revenues or by Municipal taxation. [The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the view of the Honourable Mr. Curtis to the effect that the introduction of the obligation to obtain a license to beg would be an interference with ancient customs, and opines that the suggestion made by Honourable Mr. Patel to provide industrial homes for certain classes of beggars is proper.]

Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 11th Dec.

31. The Honourable Mr. Bhurgri has laid the rayats in Sind under a great obligation by getting a Committee appointed to inquire into the *Sarbarai* question. The trouble undergone by the rayats when officials visit their villages excites great indignation, and the system prevails everywhere. We do not know why our Honourable Members do not ask for the appointment of a Committee for our part of the Presidency also. Government servants on small pay have to tour and their pay and allowances do not suffice for their expenses and they are compelled to get money by other means. It is well known that village officers compel rayats to serve and also to lend their carts, when big officials go on a tour. We suggest, therefore, that the Committee to be appointed should not inquire only about Sind but also conduct a full inquiry into the question throughout the Presidency.

Sandesh (116), 9th Dec.

32. The last Legislative Council meeting could not get through even half the amount of work on the agenda, although it discussed several important questions. This clearly shows that the Council should meet more often during the year and that each meeting should be spread over a larger number of days. This reform has now become imperative and should be introduced at once. In the alternative Government should accept the Honourable Mr. Kamat's suggestion to hold Divisional Darbars. Unfortunately his motion which would have facilitated the work of the Council was defeated. It is most undesirable that a considerable time of the Council should be taken up by the discussion of minor questions. We would also urge upon the notice of the non-official members the need for closer co-operation. The spectacle of one non-official member opposing another is most unedifying.

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the Agricultural Conference at Poona.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 13th Dec.

33. The *Bombay Samáchár* regards the speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor at the recent session of the Agricultural Conference as Poona as highly illuminative in the matter of the development of agriculture and allied industries. It greatly commends the advice given by His Excellency to the agricultural experts to create a body of men who can instruct the class of agriculturists in this country to bring about the best possible results at the minimum of cost. It believes that as long as the agriculturists are not enabled to put into practice agricultural inventions, with beneficial results, those inventions are of no material value. The paper also emphasises the importance of promoting the spread of agricultural knowledge and accordingly suggests the circulation, among the cultivating classes, of agricultural literature, throwing light upon useful inventions, written in the different vernaculars of the country. It further supports the views expressed by His Excellency in favour of employing scientific methods for the better nurture and improvement of the breed of agriculturel cattle and, dwelling upon the present difficulties of the agriculturists in the direction of grazing their cattle, suggests that Government should accord them increased facilities for the purpose by throwing open to them grazing grounds and forests free of charge.

Comments on the present situation in Russia.

Gujaráti (17), 9th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 11th Dec.

34. In connection with the present situation of Russia in the war, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—It cannot be said whether the present Russian muddle will end in peace. However, peace in the near future is not likely because the interests of Germany lie in enabling herself to retain conquered territories by increasing the present chaos in Russia. The Russians are not alive to the fact that Germany is not likely to relinquish Poland, Lithuania and Courland, nor to the fact that she would not allow Russia to retain Armenia which the latter has conquered from Turkey. The shortage of men to fight against Germany that has been caused by Russia going out of the war cannot be supplied from any other quarter except India. If, accordingly, peace is not concluded the war might extend to the year 1919 because it appears that it will be the end of 1918 before America will have made thorough preparations. But it is necessary for the British Empire to make a stand till that time at any sacrifice. Preparations, therefore, should at once be made for recruiting in India additional armies on a large scale for reinforcing the French and British troops in France. [Dwelling upon the perfidy of Russia implied in her intention to conclude a separate peace, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the announcement made by the Russian Maximalists repudiating the liability of Russia to repay her foreign debts. It attributes this to the instigation of the enemy and regards it as an indirect way of making Russia declare war against the Allies. The paper also regards it as a practical fruit of the remonstrance recently addressed by the Russian Foreign Minister to the American and French attachés and speculates if it cannot be a step preliminary to some other deceit of a graver type in the future.]

Comments on the demand of security from the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Young India (14), 12th Dec.; **Rást Goftár* (31), 16th Dec., Eng. cols.

35. "The news of the decision of the Chief Presidency Magistrate to demand security from Mr. Horniman as printer and publisher of *The Bombay Chronicle*, which comes too late for full comment in this issue, will be received with indignation throughout the Western Presidency, and in fact, the whole country. One would have thought that the much-vaunted desire to preserve an atmosphere of peace and calm at this juncture would have at least shamed those responsible for this latest assault on public liberty into waiting to deliver their blow until Mr. Montagu has left India." [The *Rást Goftár* remarks:—"The Press Act has not been much in

evidence in the Bombay Presidency, because there are very few papers whose tone is objectionable, and the temper of the present Bombay Government also is excellent. It is a pity that recourse should be had to the Press Act during Mr. Montagu's visit to India, and particularly in view of his approaching visit to Bombay. We cannot of course say to what particular writings in the *Bombay Chronicle* exception has been taken, for these are only known when the security is forfeited."]

Some defects in the working of the Bombay Police Courts.
Hindusthán (21), 8th Dec.

36. Animadverting upon some defects in the working of the courts of the Presidency Magistrates in Bombay, the *Hindusthán* makes suggestions for the remedying of those defects. It refers to the excessive enthusiasm on the part of some Magistrates in bringing about a compromise between the parties and to the pressure they bring to bear upon complainants to compound their cases. It remarks that such a practice on the part of Magistrates is likely to result in miscarriage of justice. To remedy this state of things the paper suggests that Magistrates other than the Chief Presidency Magistrate should not be allowed even indirectly to hint at compromising a case unless with the previous permission of the latter, and similarly the Chief Presidency Magistrate also should, in cases tried by him, obtain permission from the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court. It also suggests that, since according to the present procedure in the case of conviction for minor offences the party convicted can go to the High Court only in revision, which it regards as a method of relief of no practical value, the Chief Presidency Magistrate should be empowered to hear appeals from the judgments of other Magistrates in such cases and that he should be given no other original work. The paper further goes on to refer to the practice recently adopted by some Magistrates, for artificially curtailing work, of striking off the roll those cases in which the complainant or his pleader is not present just at the time the Court commences its work for the day. It maintains that Magistrates are paid for hearing and disposing of cases and not for so readily striking them out.

Comments on the recent Government Press Note on the constitution of Excise Advisory Committees.
Praja Bandhu (28), 9th Dec., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (25), 9th Dec.

37. "We welcome the gradual change in the views of the authorities in connection with the constitution of the above committees as reflected in a Press Note issued by the Revenue Department, Bombay Government, during this week......... The consensus of indigenous public opinion, however, is that such committees should consist of a majority of non-official members for the very obvious reason that being more in touch with the public at large they are in a better position than their official colleagues to decide such matters as come up before the committee. Notwithstanding this, we welcome as stated already this improvement, and shall await with interest the result thereof in due course." [The *Kaisar-i-Hind* makes similar remarks and adds that such committees will be of no practical use so long as the official president can override their recommendations. It suggests that where the Collector and the Committee disagree the question should be referred for final decision to the Commissioner of Excise.]

Kesari (106), 11th Dec.

38. It is an old demand of the popular party that there should be a non-official majority in the Abkari Committees and that these should be established where they did not exist before. But Government have not yet granted it. Government have slightly changed the constitution of the Committees. The number of officials and non-officials is to be equal and if the President likes he may appoint a non-official but he should be from the classes that do not regard drinking as a sin There is no doubt that he will vote against the total abstinence movement. Under the new rules the Bombay Government have not given to the non-

officials a clear majority and have empowered the President to create a *Bhasmasur* (name of demon) who would oppose the suggestions of the advocates of temperance. This is what goes by the name of statesmanship!

Difficulties of rayats in the Kárwár District.
Kánara Vritt (35), 5th Dec.

39. Last year at about this time about a dozen wild elephants from Mysore destroyed much of the crops in Basolli and Kirtigaddi villages of Kumta Taluka (district Kárwár). People are naturally panic-stricken as a herd of about 15 elephants has entered the taluka and is attempting to destroy crops. It is said that they gathered the crops in a hurry, before they were fully ripe. They hold no licenses for fire-arms and they try to frighten the elephants by fire-works. We understand that these attempts have proved fruitless and that crops have been partly destroyed. Are people able to protect their crops from such dangerous wild elephants? Who but Government can protect them? Though the Assistant Collector for the Division had personally satisfied himself about the destruction of crops last year, he referred the rayats to their landlords, when asked for remission. When the landlords were not given remission, will they give remission to the rayats? Last year 1,000 *mooras* of paddy crops were washed away in Venkatapur near Bhátkal (district Kárwár) by a tidal wave. Government themselves know what remission they have granted in this case. When is the remission to be granted if not in such a case? Our rayats on the Mysore frontier have crossed the frontier and are living happily in Mysore. We understand that they have gone to Mysore because of the forest privileges they enjoy there. We hope the officials will take proper steps and not allow the idea that they do not care for the rayats even in their difficulties, to take root in the minds of the latter.

Alleged failure of crops in the Kaira District.
Hindusthán (21), 12th Dec.

40. Referring to the failure of crops in Kaira District, the *Hindusthán* says:—Generally the Government officers assume the agriculturists to be contumacious in the matter of paying assessment and ascribe their harshness to this circumstance. To collect Government revenue is the duty of the officials, but at the same time the condition of the cultivator should also be taken into consideration. The competence of an officer should not be gauged by the amount of revenue he collects. The agriculturists allege that over seventy-five per cent. of their crops have failed. In the event of failure of crops Government generally call for a report from their subordinate officers and base their decision on it; but we request Government to be pleased to appoint two persons, one, an experienced officer from the Secretariat and another a non-official member of the Legislative Council to see for themselves the condition of crops during the current year and to inquire whether the demand made by the agriculturists is genuine.

A complaint against the regulation for the issue of firewood permits.
Kánara Vritt (35), 5th Dec.

41. The *Kánara Vritt* objects to the recent measures taken by the Forest Department to stop the issue of firewood permits to rayats residing within 7 or 8 miles of any place containing a Depôt, and observes that these measures would prove prejudicial to the growth of the sugarcane industry in Kánara and even to the subsistence of the poor rayat. It further remarks:—The Forest Department has been busy depriving poor people of the many forest privileges which they have been enjoying from time immemorial and this new restriction upon the right of rayats to collect firewood from neighbouring jungles for the preparation of *jagri*, will in the long run entirely stop the indigenous preparation of *jagri* and necessitate its importation from outside. We hope that the Revenue authorities will now protect the people from the reactionary policy of the Forest Department as they did on former occasions. We advise the rayats to shake off their silence and place their grievances before the district authorities.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the passing of the Honourable Mr. Patel's Compulsory Education Act.

Kesari (106), 11th Dec.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 12th Dec.; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (82), 11th Dec.

42. Referring to the passing of Mr. Patel's Primary Education Bill, the *Kesari* congratulates the Bombay Government and His Excellency Lord Willingdon and says that it would have been better if such a Bill had been passed in the Imperial Legislative Council. It doubts whether the Provincial Governments can bear the increased expenditure on primary education if they themselves have to shoulder the burden. In its opinion, the Bill does not clearly provide for the share to be borne by the Provincial Government, in case some Municipalities decide to introduce compulsory primary education in their area. It wants all these points to be made clear, and remarks that unless the Imperial Government show their sympathy in action, Mr. Patel's Bill will not be of much use. It further adds:—Mr. Gokhale's Bill was applicable to District Local Boards also, but in one respect Mr. Patel's Act is better than the former because it is not necessary under the latter measure to have 33 per cent. of the school going population in schools before the introduction of compulsory education. The age-limit has been raised to 11 and education has been made free as well as compulsory. Provision has been made to apply the Act to girls as well as boys. But people should not be misled. Nobody is responsible for seeing the Act enforced and until that is done, it cannot be said that the principle of compulsion has been really introduced. Mr. Patel's measure is in a way a test and the Municipalities of the Bombay Presidency should take up the work at once. They should not take back now; we have fortunately got an opportunity to set an example to the whole of India. If we lose this opportunity, we need not hope for better days. [The *Dnyán Prakásh*, writes in a similar strain but objects to the change made by the Council in section 11 regarding the employment of children. It further suggests that instead of contract grants, Government should be ready to bear a fixed proportion of expenditure. The *Karnátak Vaibhav* writes:—Government should declare what portion of the expenditure they will bear, war or no war. Otherwise it will be very difficult for our Municipalities, already in a poor condition, to introduce compulsory education. Government can raise objections stating that the Municipalities have no money, no good teachers, etc. But we hope they will view the question sympathetically and that they will set the Municipalities on the way to progress.]

Islámic Mail (141), 10th Dec., Urdu Edition.

43. Referring to the rejection of some amendments to the Primary Education Bill proposed by the Muhammadan Members of the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Islámic Mail* says that it is essential that Muhammadan students should be taught through the medium of Urdu, there being no books on Islam in Marathi or Gujarati, that it is proper that the Managing Committees of Schools should be partly composed of Musalman members, and that Moslem girls of eleven years observivng the purdah should not be compelled to go to school. It holds that amendments embodying the foregoing provisions were lost because the Hindu Members in the Council are swayed by religious (racial ?) prejudices, and makes it an argument for opposing the grant of Home Rule to India because it is fraught with danger to the welfare of Indian Musalmans.

EDUCATION.

How the backward class students are prevented from entering the Training Colleges.

Jágaruk (102), 7th Dec.

44. It is the duty of every lover of his country to encourage the backward classes to acquire education, but instead of giving special facilities to students of the backward classes several difficulties have been created in their path. One of these is the rule that a candidate obtaining not less than 45 per cent. of the marks should be considered eligible to appear at the entrance examination of the Training Colleges. Our benign Government desires that this rule shuld not be made applicable to the backward classes. But the subordinate educational authorities interpret the term 'backward classes' to mean only the untouchable classes and the Muhammadans and thus exclude the other non-Brahmin communities from the benefit of this rule. Our interests would not have been thus ignored if we had any representatives in the Legislative Council.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the alleged appallingly insanitary condition of Hyderabad (Sind) and the total failure of the Municipal Committee of Management.

Sind Journal (10), 29th Nov. and 6th Dec.

45. "The wail of misery that is heard in the town of Hyderabad owing to the stark insanitary conditions prevailing there must have reached the ears of the Bombay Government also, but as yet no practical steps have been taken to awaken the official Committee of Management to a due sense of their responsibility in the matter.......... The laxity of supervision by the former Health Officer and the Sanitary staff has resulted in the town being converted into a vast sink of filth. The sickness among scavengers has also contributed to the deplorable condition of the town. But neither the Committee of Managament nor the Executive of the Committee seem to realize their terrible responsibility in allowing things to drift for so many days. The result has been the appalling insanitary condition of the town which assails the ears and eyes of passers-by almost at every step. The high mortality among the towns-people is an alarming sign of the havoc which the insanitary state of the town is working upon the human constitution.......... The long list of public grievances which the *Sindvási* has been publishing from day to day leaves no room for doubt that the Committee of Management is an utter failure.......... The state of Hyderabad demands a thorough investigation by a competent authority to lay bare the defects and drawbacks of the present regime. [In the subsequent issue the paper writes :—" The public feeling has so much been roused by the failure of the Committee of Management to provide for even the ordinary comforts and amenities of life that several speakers (at the public meeting held at the Holmstead Hall on the 30th November) suggested the non-payment of taxes and filing of civil and criminal cases against the Committee of Management as a remedy. While the people have been smarting so keenly, the Bombay Government has refused the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri permission to move his resolution for the restoration of the Hyderabad Municipality in the Legislative Council of which he had given notice on the ostensible ground that the matter was not of 'general public interest'. We cannot comprehend the mystery as to why the resolution, 'to provide at as early a date as possible a street ambulance service for Bombay for the conveyance of injured persons to hospitals' which is included in the printed agenda of the current session of the Council is of general public interest, while the resolution for the restoration of the Hyderabad Municipality, on which depends the well-being of over seventy thousand unoffending citizens, should not be deemed as such. The Committee of Management has so far proved to be merely a punitive body, and may we not hope that the Bombay Government would, in view of the representations from the citizens and rate-payers, be pleased to restore the Municipal franchise to the city which has already suffered much, even though the period of three years' sentence has yet to run its course."

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the formation of Cutch-Káthiáwár political association in Bombay.

Hindusthán (21), 13th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 15th Dec.; *Indian Loyalist* (23), 13th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 13th Dec.

46. Referring to the Cutch-Káthiáwár Popular Assembly that has been started in Bombay recently, the *Hindusthán* remarks that it is the rulers of the Native States in Cutch and Káthiáwár that will reap the greatest benefit from the introduction of democratic institutions in the States, which is one of the objects of the Assembly. It observes that the party next to profit from such a change is the British Government and that the party benefiting next to the British Government will be the subjects of those States themselves. In view of the great probability of the constitution in British India being influnced in a very large measure by democratic principles in the near future, the paper remarks that the rulers of Native States in India cannot afford to maintain within their territories institutions of bygone days without their acting as so many drags upon the civic progress of their people. It advises the Native Chiefs of Cutch and Káthiáwár to look upon the promoters of the present movement with a kindly eye for the sake of their own and their successors' best interests. [The *Bombay Samáchár* welcomes the formation of the Assembly and, expressing sympathy with its objects, remarks that if this body is cautious enough in making its progress it will bring great benefit to the people of Káthiáwár. Commending the action of those who set on foot the present movement, the *Indian Loyalist* hopes that if these persons carry on their activities in a peaceful and moderate manner their legitimate demands are sure to be recognised by the British Government as well as the Native Chiefs. It wishes the latter to remember that a State exists not for the glorification of its ruler but that it exists for the welfare and the industrial, educational and economic advancement of its people.* The *Jám-e-Jamshed* apprehends that it is likely that the leaders of the new association might incur the displeasure of some narrow-minded Indian Chiefs. It hopes that these rulers will not hastily condemn the promoters of the Assembly and prematurely regard its existence as unwelcome.]

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 21st December 1917.

---

*Reported in advance.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] **[No. 51 of 1917.**

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 22nd December 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters: Failure of crops in Gujarát 26

Bombay Legislative Council:

- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji's resolution regarding the students' circular issued by the Bombay Government 23
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's Jury resolution . . . . 21—22

British rule:

- Alleged intention of Government to have the Defence of India Act permanently on the Statute Book of India 11
- Alleged unchecked sports of Bureaucracy in India 9
- Appeal to Government on behalf of Arjunlal Shethi interned at Vellore. 12
- Appeal to Government to stop landlords in Bombay from raising rents. 15
- Comments on the Agricultural Board Conference at Poona 14
- Government should conduct an inquiry into the allegations of Lala Harkishenlal before the Industrial Commission at Láhore . . . 13
- Suggestion for remedying the evil of *Sarbarai* 16
- What India has to suffer because of the fetish of prestige . . . 10

Excise: Comments on the Press Note regarding licensing of liquor-shops . 24

Indian Political Reforms:

- Alleged favoritism of the Madras and Bombay Governments in selecting deputations to wait upon Mr. Montagu 6
- Comments on the rejection of the address of the Presidency Social Reform Association 7
- Complaint about the treatment given to Mr. Montagu during his Indian tour . . . . 2—5
- Government are not willing to part with real power 1
- Why the backward classes do not support the *Swarájya* movement . 8

Public Service: Alleged waste of public money on the language examination of temporary I.M.S. and other officers 25

War:

- Comments on Lord Lansdowne's letter regarding peace in the *Daily Telegraph* 19
- The Allies are responsible for the defection of Russia 18
- The present outlook of the — 17
- What Japan will do if Russia repudiates its financial obligations. 20

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Income Tax Bill 27

EDUCATION—

Complaint that fellows from the Karnátak are not nominated 28

Second Grade Arts College at Surat 29

H 411—*a* CCN

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Government are not willing to part with real power.

Kesari (106), 18th Dec.

1. It is but natural that the Secretary of State should feel rather tired of receiving deputations and granting interviews. How long is the same thing to be done? What he heard at Delhi and Calcutta, he will have to listen to in Madras and Bombay. Many will ask for *swarájya*. Few will say that even something less than the Congress-League scheme will do. Scarcely any will be found who will say that everything is all right and that nothing need be given. If Mr. Montagu thinks that he will non-plus our leaders in personal interviews and elicit from them the admission that *swarájya* is not wanted, it is a vain desire. As the Congress-League scheme is a temporary and provisional scheme containing our irreducible minimum of demands nobody will contend that no objections can be raised against it. The scheme is only an indication. Its details can be changed but its central principle of granting political power to the people will never change. Government are welcome to adopt any scheme whereby they intend to grant political power. People are hungry for political power not for political schemes. These answers are possible to the Congress Scheme framed by our famous leaders and approved by the Congress:—(1) We shall grant *Swarájya* in accordance with the scheme (2) We shall grant *Swarájya* in consonance with our own scheme, (3) We shall not grant the powers asked for. It will not do to give the third answer now; people will become discontented. The first answer will make the people happy and they will help the Government in all ways. If the second answer is given, the people will remain quiet till the Government scheme is produced and discussed. It is quite necessary that the scheme should be forthwith produced. Though people do not think that Government will grant whatever thay ask, yet Government also have not got strength to impose their will and Mr. Montagu is consequently in India. Many people suppose that the fate of *Swarájya* depends on the merits of the scheme. If Government are feeling any difficulty it is because they are unwilling to part with their powers, not because they cannot frame any scheme. We know it is difficult to draft a scheme but we know also that Government want a scheme whereby they will not have to part with real power but it will be thought that something is given. If Government determine to give what the people ask for, there is not the least difficulty of a scheme. Our Government are not willing to produce their scheme or accept ours. They do not want to appoint a Commission, the findings of which will be unquestioningly accepted. They want to pick holes in the Congress-League Scheme and to exhibit their surprise and distrust as to how it can be introduced. No danger is to be feared, if Government adopt the Congress-League Scheme. Real desire to grant power is necessary; if Government do not feel any such desire, we have no other way but agitate so strenuously as to create such a desire in Government.

Complaint about the treatment given to Mr. Montagu during his Indian tour.

Young India (14), 19th Dec.

2. "No Purda lady belonging to the most conservative Indian family could have been more jealously screened from the public gaze, or consigned to a more rigorous social segregation than has fallen to the lot of Mr. Montagu. And why? The phenomenon is uncommon enough to merit attention even as a freak of bureaucratic orthodoxy, but unhappily it is not possible to dismiss it as such. Indications on the contrary point to a less fortuitous and more serious explanation. As Mrs. Besant has pointed out, unless appearances are deceptive, the reception of Mr. Montagu to which we have referred is *part of a policy*. It is a policy at once unjust and unwise. It is a policy, moreover, which the Indian public must clearly and unhesitatingly condemn—for it is directed as much against them as against the Secretary of State—and which the leaders of the community should lose no further time in seeking to have rectified......... Apart from grounds of public policy, it is the simple fact that ever since the time when Mr. Montagu

so brilliantly acquitted himself as the worthy lieutenant of Lord Morley, he has won a distinct place in the affection and gratitude of all thinking Indians, and they would be false to their own traditions and instincts if they omitted to make it clear that there is a true Indian welcome for a courageous and sympathetic friend of India from the heart of India—even though its expression and demonstration should so far have been repressed by the amazing ineptitude of the powers that be. The practical point is to make the omission good, while there is yet time. Bombay has a special responsibility in this matter.......... At Delhi he was the inmate of a tent in the grounds of Viceregal Lodge, his suite being similarly lodged alongside, and so far as his public appearances were concerned he was throughout made to play second fiddle, as the Allahabad *Leader* put it, 'almost obtrusively and to such an extent as to have evoked audible comment from members of the deputations.' In Calcutta Mr. Montagu was made to take the back seat even to Lord Ronaldshay, and His Excellency of Bengal must have felt vastly pleased with himself.......... Apart from the graciousness of these proceedings, however, what of their propriety ? In due time, no doubt, the matter will be canvassed. Meanwhile from their point of view, and in so far as they are concerned, the Indian public must assert themselves, must express the feelings they entertain for Mr. Montagu, and must insist upon according him a fitting *national* reception. Let Bombay undo its 'poisonous precedent' by one worthier of her, of her public life and patriotism, and shame the devil."

Hindusthán (21), 16th Dec., Eng. cols.

3. "The feeling of disappointment engendered by the bureaucratic treatment of the Moslem deputation has not in any way been relieved by the repetition of aggressiveness in regard to other deputations. In various parts of the country Mr. Montagu's Ushers have refused to receive important and really representative deputations because, forsooth, they are pledged to the support of the Congress-League Scheme. It is, indeed, not difficult to guess why this is so. With the facts before us, we are of opinion that the officials have hitherto given the Imperial Government and its accredited representatives to understand that the Congress-League Scheme embodies no more than the opinions of an infinitesimally small section of educated people, whose interests are not the same as those of the large majority of people. If Mr. Montagu had his own way during his sojourn in this country, the chances are that he would come to a conclusion far different from the one which he has been enjoined to accept as the only one possible in the circumstances. In order to prevent such a consummation of course, the officials have taken the 'wise' step of spoon-feeding him in respect of Indian affairs. .... We are sorry for the petulant exhibitions of bureaucratic narrowmindedness. But if Mr. Montagu is thereby convinced of the hopless inadequacy of bureaucratic government to the present times, we should be amply rewarded."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 17th Dec., Eng. cols.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 21st Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 21st Dec.

4. "There has been, from the first, a murmur of dissatisfaction at the programme of Mr. Montagu's movements laid down by the authorities. The murmur is now getting very audible, as Mr. Montagu moves from place to place, without any opportunity being granted to the people of a free and informal interchange of views and greetings with him.......... We think it speaks volumes for Mr. Montagu's modest and unassuming character, that he is content to be thus moved from place to place like a puppet........ And this bald and silent progress is in curious contrast with the noise, pomp, and circumstance, that usually attend the tours of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of Indian Provinces.......... For aught that the Indian public knows, Mr. Montagu might have stayed at Whitehall and read the memorials of the various deputations there, and the Government of India might have forwarded their comments along with the addresses. The whole attitude of the officials in the matter of Mr. Montagu's visit appears to us to be exceedingly narrow, and calculated to cause quite unnecessary bitterness." [The paper in a subsequent issue remarks :—It is unfortunate that the authorities have not deemed fit to afford an opportunity to the nation to give a suitable

welcome to the special representative of the crown bringing a message of good-will and peace from His Majesty for India. The nation considers it its duty to express its gratitude to the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu for coming, and through him to His Majesty for sending him, to this country with a mission which he has been entrusted to perform with a view to satisfying the national aspiration, and its only wish is that it should be allowed to discharge this duty. We venture to say with feelings of sorrow that the policy adopted is neither British nor consistent with the motto of sympathy and confidence set forth by His Majesty. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that though the nation is very anxious to express its gratitude to the Imperial Government for their generosity in sending their representive in Mr. Montagu, official arrangements in regard to his movements are such that it can not fulfil its cherished desires. It regrets the denial of such a privilege and adds that the policy adopted has caused deep sorrow and keen disappointment. It appeals on behalf of the Bombay public to His Excellency Lord Willingdon to make an alteration in the programme of the Secretary of State's arrival in Bombay so as to give him a public reception. It says that if the appeal is responded to the people of Bombay will be highly gratified.]

Rást Goftár (31), 16th Dec.; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 16th Dec.

5. Has the Secretary of State come to this country simply to receive personally memorials of Indian reform demands? If that was his only important mission, it could have been accomplished by him in his office in London. The object of inviting him to this country and his accepting the invitation can only be that he should become acquainted with the habits of living, ambitions and feelings of the Indian nation, its loyalty and ideals, its literacy and skill, its intellectual power and its fitness for self-government and place the information before the British Government and the British nation after satisfying himself as to the facts. But how will this important mission be fulfilled by going to three or four cities of the country and putting in his pocket addresses of demands from certain associations? [The *Gujaráti Punch* speaks in a somewhat similar strain and inquires whether the policy adopted would prove beneficial.]

Alleged favouritism of the Madras and Bombay Governments in selecting deputations to wait upon Mr. Montagu.

Kesari (106), 11th Dec.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 20th Dec.

6. The *Kesari* remarks that the bureaucratic officials did not give an opportunity to the people to welcome Mr. Montagu and that he is treated as an ordinary guest. In its opinion, the proper thing was to consult Mr. Montagu and decide according to his opinion about interviews and deputations. It thinks that the bureaucratic officials must have carried their point obstinately in refusing an interview to Mr. Mahomed Ali and rejecting the address of the Moslem League. It further remarks:—Many associations in Madras were not allowed to present their addresses. Is it not clear injustice and favouritism to allow non-Brahmin Nairite Associations and to refuse the Madras Presidency Association under the leadership of Diwan Bahadur Keshav Pillay? It is quite reprehensible that all the powers have been appropriated by local officials and that Mr. Montagu is treated like a lion in a cage or like a *purdanashin* lady. If he is not to have even this much freedom, he could have asked for the addresses to be sent to London. Why did the Viceroy press him so much to come over to India? But the Viceroy never invited Mr. Montagu. He invited Mr. Chamberlain but Mr. Montagu came. This attempt is probably being made to somehow dispose of the matter. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says:—We regret that our local Government also has shown favouritism like the Madras Government which first decided not to allow non-Brahmin Associations supporting the Congress-League scheme to see the Secretary of State. Nobody thought Lord Willingdon's Government would follow the unpraiseworthy attempt of the Madras Government to support the Nairites. The All-India Maratha Association of Belgaum has not been allowed by the Bombay Government to present an address. At first it was contended that the address was not received in time but afterwards it was said that the Secretary of State had no time. One is likely to feel a suspicion that the officials of the Bombay Government have rejected the address led by the

desire of the Madras Government to show that the non-Brahmins in general do not approve of the Congress-League Scheme. We do not think that the head of the Government or his Executive Councillors want to show any such discrimination. This Association supports the Congress-League Scheme and condemns communal elections. All may not approve of their views. But the Secretary of State is not here to listen to particular views but to all views. The rejection of a non-Brahmin address supporting the Congress-League Scheme on any ground cannot be supported. We hope the Bombay Government will correct their mistake without waiting for an agitation like the Madras Government."]

Comments on the rejection of the address of the Presidency Social Reform Association.

Subodh Patrika (43), 16th Dec.

7. The Honourable Mr. Basu's appointment on the India Council was universally hailed with satisfaction as he is well-acquainted with the aspirations of the people. Also the decision that he should accompany Mr. Montagu during his tour in this country led to the expectation that the Secretary of State would benefit by his experience. We confess, however, that we have been totally disappointed in one respect. The Social Reform Association of Bombay has been informed that its address could not be accepted. This institution is well-known to Mr. Basu and he recognises the importance of social reform. Why was then this respectable institution thus insulted? Until people are assured that Mr. Basu tried his level best on behalf of this institution they will want to know why he did not take the necessary steps to secure the acceptance of the Association's address.

Why the backward classes do not support the *swarájya* movement.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 15th Dec.

8. Mr. A. B. Latthe writes in the *Dnyán Prakásh*:—The non-Brahmins do not support the *swarájya* movement because they are afraid that it will lead, if successful, to the dominance of the advanced classes. A few years ago the Extremists aimed at obtaining 'unadulterated' *swarájya* and that too immediately. The Moderates disapproved of that course as they thought it would not conduce to the welfare of the country even if it were practicable. Their disapproval, however, was not sufficiently pronounced as they had never devoted any thought to the social condition of the backward classes. The only course open to these classes, therefore, was to oppose all those who were striking at the root of the British power which guaranteed equal opportunities to all in social and religious matters. The war has completely changed the whole situation and the need for granting more rights to Indians has now become imperative. It is no longer to the interests of any community to sit quiet and throw the responsibility of safeguarding its interests upon the British Government. There is one glaring defect in the Congress scheme of *swarájya* which aims at securing the internal administration of the country while leaving its defence to others. Some people do not recognise that it is unwise to resort to dishonest methods even in politics. As there are recruiters who collect men for the army by fraudulently obtaining their thumb impressions, so there is no lack of persons who do not scruple to secure the assent of ignorant men to the scheme of *swarájya* by similar methods. Hundreds of men will be found in the Belgaum District alone who have thus assented to the scheme of *swarájya* without knowing what they have subscribed to. The English may have impoverished and emasculated the country but the advanced classes have dehumanised the masses. No one says that the English are here simply to look after our welfare. England is not fighting for Belgium but she is fighting because the independence of Belgium will serve also her selfish interests. Although British dominance is considerably detrimental to the economic and social progress of the country, the lower classes acquiesce in it because it at least assures them the treatment of human beings. We know the faults of British rule. But we are equally aware of the more numerous faults of the upper classes. The acceptance of British domination is the price the country has to pay to overcome the tyranny of the advanced classes.

Alleged unchecked sports of bureaucracy in India.
Kesari (106), 18th Dec.

9. The situation in England must have been a hundred times more delicate than in India. But still the Defence of the Realm Act is enforced oftener and more severely here than in England. Why is there this inverse ratio? The answer lies in the irresponsible autocratic administration in India and *Swarájya* and the independent atmosphere in England. In this country therefore the bureaucracy can issue at its sweet will any orders it likes. But if there is any such attempt in England, the authorities are taken to task severely and they have to apologise. A long-standing and influential paper like the *Hindu* of Madras is censored before it is allowed to circulate in Burma. The Behar correspondent of the *Amrit Bázár Pátrika* and the *Bengalee* is at once interned. The Editor of *Al-Hind* of Delhi is at once arrested and prosecuted under the Defence of India Act and he is even refused bail. A notice is issued to the *Bombay Chronicle* all of a sudden to furnish a security of Rs. 2,000. The bureaucracy sports in this manner not once, nor twice but hundreds of times in this country. No body can check it.

What India has to suffer because of the fetish of prestige.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 17th Dec., Eng. cols.

10. "It may safely be admitted that perhaps in no other country in the world—excepting Germany—so much oblation is paid to the fetish of Prestige, as it is in India......... What injustice is not committed for the sake of prestige, what arrogance we have to put up with on behalf of this mischievous fetish, what insane absurdities we have to listen to when an official clothed in brief authority gives utterance to absurd *obiter dicta*, what insults we have to pocket, how much of our self-respect is lost or immolated at the altar of Prestige, how undignified our position is and humiliating too, when our sages and savants, hoary with age and profound in wisdom, have to listen tamely to the foolish prattle of a beardless official who ignorant of the very alpha and omega of the subject, with the pretentious look of a Solomon, preaches and advises those whose little fingers know more of the subject than his whole body. Yes, in India and in all countries where the rule of bureaucracy prevails, we have to suffer and to bend our knees to this harrowing fetish of Prestige."

Alleged intention of Government to have the Defence of India Act permanently on the Statute Book of India.
Kesari (106), 18th Dec.

11. Referring to the Committee appointed to inquire into cases of detenus in Bengal, the *Kesari* says anybody can see what the conclusions of the Committee will be, judging from the terms of reference, and remarks that Government need not take the trouble of appointing the Committee and burdening the rayats with thousands of rupees and that the farce of the Committee is not necessary. It holds that the bureaucracy was quite satisfied when it acquired the weapon of the Defence of India Act under which no inquiry is needed and there is no trouble of proving its case needed. This Committee was appointed in its opinion to find out a way to enact the Defence of India Act as a permanent measure, as it is now to end with the war. It further remarks:—The officials must show that the movement of conspiracy is spread all over the country and if the Committee also comes to the same decision Government can introduce the Bill. If the Committee further decides that the evidence in such cases cannot be tested by cross-examination, the necessity of the new Bill will be proved. The last question about laws necessary to put down these conspiracies will be solved if the Committee says they should be of the type of the Defence of India Act. The Committee is not for the release of the young men arrested on suspicion and rotting in prison but to have permanently in the hands of Government the powerful weapon of the Defence of India Act. How far our inference is true will be proved by the recommendations of the Committee. The elected Councillors should be prepared to counteract the game of bureaucracy from now.

Appeal to Government on behalf of Arjunlal Sethi interned at Vellore.
Jain Mitra (79), 20th Dec.

12. From the recent transference of Pundit Arjunlal Sethi from the Jaipur jail to one at Vellore in the Presidency of Madras the *Jain Mitra* infers that he must have been interned at Jaipur at the instance of the British Government and not in pursuance of any orders from the Maharaja of Jaipur. It writes:—The question now is why Government are undermining his health by allowing him to rot in prison without any trial. Like other interned persons Sethi has not been interned under the provisions of the Defence of India Act, because that Act was passed after he had been interned. It appears that he was interned on the suspicions of the Criminal Investigation Department, but within British territories no individual should be made to suffer hardships, on mere suspicion, for more than three months. After that period he must either be convicted or released. Will Lord Chelmsford and the Right Honourable Mr. Montagu, representatives of our kind King-Emperor George, listen to the prayer of the Jain community and relieve him soon from this terrible affliction?

Government should conduct an enquiry into the allegations of Lala Harkishenlal before the Industrial Commission at Lahore.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 20th Dec.; *Kesari* (106), 18th Dec.

13. Referring to Mr. Karimbhoy's evidence in Bombay before the Industrial Commission about Government contracts and Lala Harkishenlal's evidence in Lahore about the alleged part taken by European Banks in bringing about the failure of Indian Banks, the *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the Commission should have inquired fully into the matter. It holds that it was not beyond the powers of the Commission as it has been appointed to inquire into circumstances harmful and obstructive to Indian industries. The evasion of cross-examination, it continues, had a very bad effect on the minds of the people. It adds:—If the allegation of Lala Harkishenlal that the Government officials also assisted European Banks is true, everyone will stongly condemn the responsible officials. It is essential that Government should conduct an inquiry as the Commission has not done its work. [The *Kesari* writes in a similar strain and says that Government do not care for Indian industries and that it is not possible for new industries to thrive in these days of competition, if Government neglect them.]

Comments on the Agricultural Board Conference at Poona.

Dnyán Prakásh (37), 19th Dec.

14. His Excellency Lord Willingdon takes a keen interest in agriculture and his speech, therefore, at the last Agricultural Conference was marked by genuine sympathy for the agriculturists. In other countries when it is once decided to carry out a reform in some public work the questions of scientific research, popular instruction and provision for the necessary funds are simultaneously taken up for consideration. It is not so in this country. The principal characteristic of all our schemes is the delay in giving effect to them. A couple of generations do not suffice in this country to bring into force a reform which hardly requires a year or two in other countries. Although the needs of agriculture have been discussed several times no effort was ever made to supply them immediately. We do not of course suggest that no progress whatever has been made in this direction. We are constrained to say, however, that the progress made is only a drop in the ocean compared to the numerous investigations and the number of appointments of fat-salaried officials. We agree with Mr. Pillay that Government will not be faced with the necessity of opening agricultural schools for two more generations if they wait for all the agriculturists to demand them. Indeed a question like this is to be settled in accordance with the wishes of the educated classes. If the principle that education was not to be imparted to an ignorant person until he asked for it had been universally accepted from the beginning an educated man would have been a *rara avis* in this wide world!

Appeal to Government to stop landlords in Bombay from raising rents.

Hindusthán (21), 19th Dec.

15. Strongly condemning the great enhancement of rents by house-owners in Bombay at the present critical time when it has become hard for the majority of the people, especially lower and middle classes, to live, the *Hindusthán* remarks that landlords seem to have left no course for their tenants but to choose either to leave the city or to commit suicide or die of starvation. High prices of articles are perhaps irremediable as supplies are scarce owing to want of steamers and rolling stock and other railway materials. But why should the house owners vie with each other to raise rents? Some of them have now made it their business to raise them every three or four months. If they will be allowed to enhance rents in this fashion unchecked the result will certainly be that a day will come when middle-class men will be compelled to send away their families home and there would be a further increase in the population of infamous women. Steps have accordingly become necessary on the part of Government to remedy the situation, the chief and easiest being that they should issue without delay an order prohibiting house owners to demand from tenants more rent than what it was a year ago and to force any one to vacate unless he has been proved a bad character. Government have powers vested in them under laws specially enacted to enforce such a prohibition as a war measure.

Suggestions for remedying the evil of *Sarbarai.*
Indu Prakásh (40), 22nd Dec.

16. Commenting on the *Sarbarai* question, the *Indu Prakásh* says that the practice of entertaining official and non-official guests in villages is an ancient one but the cow should not be milked till it bleeds. It further adds :—There are now many touring departments and the expenditure incurred in making arrangements for them is very great. Government and the people try their best to lessen the exactions of *Sarbarai* but it is all in vain. As long as the officials have the power to do evil to the people, these things will go on. No one is puritan enough to refuse things, if he can have them free. Government give these officials travelling allowance, mileage, etc., but their desire to exact things from the villagers is not lessened very much. Government should order the village officers to note down the actual expenses and make a grant. The real remedy would be to have permanent settlement and to hand over village questions to village punchayats and Divisional Council, which will lessen evidently the necessity of tours.

The present outlook of the war.
New Times (7), 18th Dec.

17. Under the heading "The international outlook", the *New Times* writes :—"A writer in the *Daily News* says :—'Though the temper of the country was never more firm in regard to the object of the war, its mind is disquieted by the conduct of the war'. Sir William Robertson Nicoll has already spoken boldly and levelled his attack againt the Cabinet ; and the *Globe* and the *Morning Post* have criticised the conduct of the War under the ministry of Lloyd George. Mr. Lovat Fraser, well-known to the Indian public, has a long article in the *Daily Mail*, in the course of which he says :—'We are weary of discussion about war aims and what we mean to do to Prussia some day, and what is to happen to Poland ten years hence and things of that sort . . . . We have spent *five thousand Million pounds.* We are a practical race. We want those in authority to stop ladling rhetorical pap and to give us an account of their stewardship. We want no more fine phrases, but a clear and practical statement of the existing situation and of the current possibilities of the war.' The international situation is one which, as Mr. Lovat Fraser rightly points out, calls 'not only for making the ultimate issue doubly sure but for shortening the process'. Russia seems no longer able to stand the strain of the war. In Italy the war has been changed into one of national defence. Germany has been swallowing one kingdom after another every year ; Belgium was taken in 1914 ; Serbia succumbed in 1915 ; Roumania was ravaged in 1916 ; and Russia's withdrawal from the war has given Germany an opportunity to attack Italy in 1917. As an Italian journal points out : 'henceforth it is no longer a question of a foot more or less of territory but of Italy's fighting efficiency.' And, strange enough, the Central Powers have, through all the fluctuations of war, maintained a startling solidarity ; the submairne is still at work and Germany has apparently not yet reached the point of economic exhaustion. On the other hand, it must be remembered, that the Empire's resources are rich, England's naval power is unshattered by the submarine campaign and the entry of the United States into the war is an event fraught with a great future. England and France and India and the Colonies have fought heroically, and the death of the brave sons of these nations will for a long time illumine the records of history and be remembered as a precious part of the heritage of man. But it seems the World-Peace for which many hearts in many lands cry out to-day is still afar. Chaos has wrecked the world from end to end ; and it seems to us the two

hopeful signs of the world's future are the growing aspiration for Peace and the daily deepening Vision of National Freedom."

The Allies are responsible for the defection of Russia.

Young India (14), 19th Dec.

18. "Bewildering as the recent conduct of the Russian democracy may appear, there is reason to think that the Allies have themselves to thank for it. As if the sudden unchaining of the forces of reaction was not sufficient to produce anrachy in Russia, a prolonged compaign, we are told by an English contemporary, in important sections of the Allied press against the Russian democracy, of such incidents as the openly expressed approval of a military conspiracy against the Revolution, the prime mover in which is still being praised in the Allied press, the official reception and the journalistic exploitation of General Gourko, who was exiled from Russia because two days after the ex-Tsar abdicated he wrote to him expressing the hope that he would return to the throne and hinting at an organisation to effect that end, must have contributed equally powerfully to make the Russian democracy keenly suspicious of Allied intentions. The contradictions and inconsistencies among British ministers, too, seem to have had their share. It is now a matter of common knowledge that the Russian democracy demanded as early as June last for an Allied war aims conference and after four months' needless delay they were promised such a conference at Paris by Mr. Lloyd George, whose statement on this subject left absolutely no room for doubt. But this promise was somehow repudiated by Mr. Bonar Law, who, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, stated that the conference would not concern itself with war aims. Considering that the Russian democracy had attached much importance to this conference, the change of front displayed at the eleventh hour must have come to them as a great surprise. In view of this, therefore, the conduct of the Russian democracy, however regrettable from the point of view of the commonweal of all the Allied States, cannot be surprising in the least."

Comments on Lord Lansdowne's letter regarding peace in the *Daily Telegraph*.

Sind Observer (12), 4th Dec.

19. "We fail to see that his Lordship's views deserve the condemnation which is being poured upon it by the *Times* and other leading journals.......... Lord Lansdowne has formed a very correct estimate of the method in which the military caste in Germany are keeping the people together.......... Do the Allies desire the annihilation of Germany as a great Power? We do not think there is any responsible statesman who asserts that they do. Moreover, looking to the military situation, we do not believe it is possible that the Allies would succeed in the endeavour, and we are of opinion that it would be highly impolitic of them to attempt it. We will defeat Germany and her Allies and obtain the peace we are fighting for but that is a very different object to removing Germany from the list of first class Powers. Even if we could crush her to that extent we consider such a step would be exceedingly unwise. Do the Allies seek to impose on the German people a form of Government they do not desire? The very principles which we are defending answer that question in the negative......... If war weariness dominates the people of Germany we think it is for the Allies to encourage their inclination towards peace by frankly informing them of our war aims, and combating the efforts of the Kaiser's party to maintain them in a state of desperation which obliges them to continue the war as the only hope of escaping destruction. Parading the vast preparations which America is making and reiterating our determination to see the business through is very good in its way, but that is exactly what the German Government is making capital of. The Kaiser's minions point to us as a bloodthirsty league which they must overthrow or perish, because no intermediate course by way of an honourable peace is possible. We cannot aid in prolonging the slaughter of these dupes. With our great resources it is folly for Germany to continue the struggle, but the leaders are inveterate gamblers and have made up their minds to fight on hoping to win by a tremendous success on one front or the other. Should the Allies refuse to enlighten the German people?"

What Japan will do if Russia repudiates its financial obligations.

Bombay Samáchár (60), 19th Dec.

20. Referring to the overtures of the Russian Maximalists to the Allies to join them in concluding peace with the enemy the *Bombay Samáchár* regrets the shamelessness of such a proposal. It then alludes to the repudiation of their liability as regards foreign loans raised by the former Russian Government and remarks:—Since the European Powers have been occupied in the war they will not be able at present to recover their loans but Japan is not likely to sit quiet. The present European war has wrought an extraordinary improvement in the economic, industrial and political condition of Japan. Moreover, the Japanese people have greatly added to the strength of their army and their navy. Sooner or later Japan will demand territorial security from Russia and Russia will have no other alternative but to give such a security.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Patel's Jury resolution.

Karnátak Vaibhav (82), 18th Dec.; *Chandrodaya* (34), 17th Dec.; *Shubhodaya* (89), 14th Dec.

21. Commenting upon the Honourable Mr. Patel's Jury resolution the *Karntak Vaibhav* says:—Men who are in love with the exercise of autocratic powers are not willing to part with the smallest of their powers to others. They fully believe that others however long they may be educated are not fit to enjoy these powers. Our Government also are in the same position. They are much exercised over the grant of even small powers. It is the duty of Government to entrust the people with more powers as they become more educated. Are our people who are under British rule for the last hundred years still unfit for the Jury system? Is this creditable to the British system of administration? Are the inhabitants of Ahmedabad and Surat much more educated than those of other districts? Why is trial by Jury going on in these districts smoothly? Those who say that it is a new right and that it should be introduced cautiously do not know anything of our caste and village punchayats. The discussion in the Legislative Council strengthens the idea that without *swarájya*, such small reforms cannot be introduced. It only shows how weak is our Council. [The *Chandrodaya* remarks:—The resolution failed because of the most strenuous and illiberal opposition by Government. The Honourable Mr. Lawrence in the course of the debate showed that he did not know whether the sessions cases were conducted in the Vernacular or English. If the Honourable Sir M. B. Chaubal could not answer properly the Honourable Mr. Patel, he should have kept quiet. It is not at all creditable to him to make a speech insulting to the Honourable members. The *Shubhodaya* says:—The Honourable Sir M. B. Chaubal attacked the Honourable Mr. Patel knowingly and absurdly.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 18th Dec.; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 16th Dec.

22. Endorsing the views expressed by the Honourable Mr. Patel in regard to the splendid success with which the Jury System has worked in the Presidency, in support of his resolution, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* says:—It cannot be disputed that the success of the system depends upon the proper selection of jurors, but we think, in view of the progress the Presidency has made during the last three decades, to say that competent jurors are not obtainable is rather an exaggeration. If care is taken to select educated men for the jury in every district, there would be no difficulty in securing such jurors in all the principal towns of the different districts. It is no wonder that as the present method of the preparation of jury lists is very perfunctory it should result in a choice of persons as jurors who cannot discharge their responsible duty satisfactorily. It is, therefore, desirable that the work of the preparation of lists should be delegated not to Police officers but to responsible and experienced officials. [The *Gujarát Punch* opines that the Honourable Mr. Patel was fully successful in making out his case in support of his resolution for the extension of the Jury system and expresses astonishment at the opposition to it of some of the official members. It refuses to accept the contention of the Honourable Sir M. B. Chaubal that a district should have a sufficent number of educated persons prior to the introduction of the system in it and remarks that when the municipal Government was introduced in districts, its introduction was not made subject to this condition. It adds that the plea put forward by His Excellency for not accepting the resolution without full inquiry into the success or failure of the working of the system is flimsy and evasive and holds that Government have made a grave blunder in rejecting it.]

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji's resolution regarding the students' circular issued by the Bombay Government.
Gujaráti (17), 16th Dec.

23. Referring to the resolution brought by the Honourable Mr. Manmohandas Ramji in the recent session of the Bombay Legislative Council urging Government to revoke their circular prohibiting students from attending public meetings, and adversely commenting upon the said circular, the *Gujaráti* remarks :—Are Indian students so very weak-minded that they would neglect their studies and would be led astray unless rules of discipline are rigidly enforced upon them ? Is it just that the whole student-world in India should be punished in that manner only because a very small number out of hundreds of thousands may have gone astray? When liberal-minded Englishmen in the past commenced the system of imparting education in India through the medium of the English language they entertained no apprehension about students attending discussions on political subjects ; but when adverse criticisms were made by educated youths against the actions of the present-day authorities, the latter began to see imperfection in the method of education and a want of discipline in schools and colleges, and as a result, steps were taken to keep the whole student class aloof from the currents of public life in their country ! And what is the effect of such measures ? If a student is detected while attending a public meeting he is placed on the black list of Government throughout his life and wherever he goes he has to live under the surveillance of the Criminal Investigation Department. He is never free from his condition as a suspect and his life is thereby rendered bitter as wormwood. Teachers are also made something like creatures of the Criminal Investigation Department. They have to supervise the actions of students from a political point of view and to disclose to Government the names of offending students and to punish them. The result is that students, on that account, learn to hate their teachers. Instead of a student becoming honest, courageous and straightforward he becomes a deceitful dissembler. Who will say that such a relation between the teacher and taught will benefit the cause of education ? [The paper winds up the article by raising a doubt if principals of colleges will, even if they are allowed discretion in the matter of permitting their students to attend public meetings, dare to go against the wishes of the head of the Educational Department.]

Comments on the Press Note regarding licensing of liquor shops.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 17th and 18th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 19th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 19th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 18th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 22nd Dec.

24. Commenting upon the Press Note recently issued by the Bombay Government declaring that the licenses for selling country liquor in the Bombay Presidency would be put up to public auction and the present fixed-fee system would be abolished after the 1st of April 1918, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that the present decision on the part of Government will not only be received with regret by the present licensees but it will not find favour with the general public. While recognising whole-heartedly the necessity of removing the evil of corruption that has been prevalent long since among the Abkári officials, it fears that the proposed auction system will, instead of removing that evil as anticipated by Government, accentuate it by attracting ignorant speculators to the liquor trade. In the subsequent issue the paper requests Government not to extend the auction system to *toddy* licenses. It opines that such an extension will, besides making *toddy* dearer, encourage adulteration. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while commending the decision of Government to utilise any increase in revenue that may result from the reintroduction of the auction system, towards educational and sanitary purposes, suggests that, instead of adopting that old system which has proved to be a failure, Government should appoint a small committee composed of officials, public leaders and representatives of liquor licensees to inquire into the question and recommend a middle course. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regards the decision contained in the Government Press Note as one calculated to cause disappointment not only to liquor licensees but to the public. Is it justifiable, it inquires, to introduce a system ruinous to the interests of the licensees because of corruption on the part of Excise Inspectors? It doubts if the auction system would check that evil. The paper also enquires how it is that Government do not impose similar restrictions on the traffic in foreign liquor. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also joins in the general chorus of disapproval of the proposed system of auctioning licenses. It suggests that in order to remove the defects associated with both the fixed-fee system and the auction system, Government should take up the whole liquor traffic, including both the manufacture and sale of liquor in their own hands. [Over the signature of "Daruvala" the *Jám-e-Jamshed* publishes in its issue of the 22nd December a letter in which the writer suggests a change in the present inspecting staff of the Excise Department, rather than the reintroduction of the old objectionable system of putting up liquor licenses to auction, for the purpose of doing away with corruption among Abkari officials. He further writes that instead of dealing with corrupt officers departmentally they should be prosecuted criminally in order to set an example to other officers similarly inclined. The writer inquires why Government are so very severe upon liquor licensees in spite of their liberal contributions amounting to lakhs of rupees towards the War Fund.]

Alleged waste of public money on the language examination of temporary I. M. S. and other officers.
Sind Observer (12), 7th Dec.

25. "Recently about forty temporary Lieutenants in the Indian Medical Service appeared at Karáchi for an examination in Baluchi. What advantage to Government is to be gained by the knowledge of this language by temporary officers of the medical department, and how the grant of rewards from public funds for passing the test is justified in their case, it is difficult to imagine. These officers are here to-day and miles away to-morrow, and even in Karáchi Baluchi is scarcely spoken. Surely there is some audit authority to put a stop to this needless expenditure of public money, all of which will have to be recouped from the tax-payer. If the rules as they stand permit of every person holding a temporary Commission appearing for an examination, the passing of which entitles him to a reward, they should be altered, and oblige him to show how the earning of such a reward will be of utility to Government."

Failure of crops in Gujarát.
Gujaráti (17), 16th Dec.

26. Referring to the failure of crops in Gujarát on account of heavy rains during the concluding portion of the last monsoon and also referring to the alleged practice of the local authorities to postpone taking relief measures till people actually begin to feel the effects of starvation, the *Gujaráti* observes:—What have the authorities done towards preserving the sanitary well-being of the people in spite of the facts that plague has been working havoc in Gujarát and Káthiáwár, that people are fleeing from cities and villages and that some villages have been depleted of three-fourths of their population? Have Government, the protecting guardians of the agriculturists, made mention in the slightest degree, of their unfortunate condition in Gujarát and Káthiáwár, during the session of their Legislative Council that was held last week? On the contrary the work of collecting subscriptions for various funds has been going on merrily in the districts as if people were prospering. Accordingly, at places where the authorities seem to be indifferent towards the task of protecting the lives of the people, it is the duty of the latter to hold public meetings at many places and obtain redress of their grievance by insistently and powerfully ventilating their miserable condition. [The paper then goes on to refer to the petition recently addressed to the Bombay Government by the people of Nadiád, praying for at least a partial remission of land revenue this year in the Kaira District and advises the people to approach the Collector of that district with a request to postpone its collection till Government send their reply to the said petition.]

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Income Tax Bill.
Bombay Samáchár (60), 11th Dec.

27. Discussing some of the important provisions of the Income Tax Bill, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that though some of the new clauses are useful, yet no provision seems to have been made in it to meet the longstanding grievances of the people. It regards the present system of the examination of accounts by inspectors and examiners as objectionable and observes that the demand of merchants that their appeals in the matter of the assessment of incomes should be heard by law courts has gone unheeded. The system, it says, causes a good deal of unnecessary inconvenience to merchants as Assistant and Deputy Collectors are touring officers. It would be better to transfer the power of hearing appeals to judicial officers so that the merchants may be saved the trouble of running after the touring officials. It doubts whether the contemplated changes in clause 3 requiring all income of religious and charitable institutions, except that portion of it which is actually used for religious and charitable purposes, to be brought under the operation of the Act, would be acceptable to the people.

EDUCATION.

Complaint that Fellows from the Karnátak are not nominated.
Chandrodaya (34), 17th Dec.

28. Replying to the interpellation of the Honourable Mr. Belvi about the number of Fellows nominated by the Chancellor from the Karnátak during the last 12 years, to the University Senate, Government replied that three were appointed out of whom two are from Native States and one from Poona now living in Southern Division. It means that the Chancellor has not appointed during the last 12 years a single Fellow knowing Kánarese or whose mother-tongue is Kánarese. Can it be said that representatives of the whole of the Bombay Presidency are in the Senate, if men from Bombay and Poona, Sángli and Kolhápur are in it? Is it not necessary to have representatives from the Karnátak in the Senate?

Second Grade Arts College at Surat.
Indu Prakásh (40), 20th Dec.

29. The *Indu Prakásh* welcomes the permission given by the Bombay University to the Sarvajanik Education Society of Surat to open an Arts College there and remarks:—Do the numerous objections raised by the University to grant the necessary permission betoken the zeal of that body for the spread of education? It may perhaps be right to stipulate that the College should start only the 'First Year' and the Inter classes. But why is the College required to admit only a certain number of students in each class? It is also undesirable to withhold permission to open a College until the promoters are able to collect the prescribed sum. Men who are responsible for an undertaking of this kind can safely be trusted to find the necessary means for conducting the institution.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 27th December 1917.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 52 of 1917.

Report on Indian Papers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the Week ending 29th December 1917.

District Magistrates and Political Agents are requested to send to Secretary, Special Department, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated; what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British rule:

- Alleged abuses in the bestowal of honours in British India . . . 11
- Comments on the alleged omission of a paragraph in praise of Dr. Mann from Sir Claude Hill's address before the Agricultural Conference. 10
- Comments on the prohibition of two Punjab Muhammadan Barristers from landing at Zanzibar 13
- If the Ali Brothers are released after the date of the commencement of the Moslem League session, the release will not evoke the slightest feeling of gratitude in the people 8
- The bureaucracy and the caste system 9
- The relations between rulers of Native States and Political officers . 12

Excise: Protest against the proposed reintroduction of the system of auctioning liquor-shop licenses . . . . 27 & 28

Indian National Congress:

- Comments on Mrs. Besant's presidential address at the Calcutta National Congress . . . . 18—21
- Comments on the reasons given by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal for not attending the National Congress 23
- The duty of the National Congress in connection with the Reform question 22

Indian Political reforms:

- An appeal to Marathas not to carry on an anti-Brahmin movement . 5
- Comments on the Deccan Rayats' Association's address to the Secretary of State 3
- Comments on the deputation of Musalmans of the Bombay Presidency received by the Secretary of State 2
- Mr. Montagu in Bombay 6
- Mr. Montagu should be allowed to have a hearty send-off from the people of India 7
- Protest against the rejection of certain addresses to the Secretary of State 4
- What will be the result of ignoring the demands of the Congress-League scheme 1

Postal and Telegraph Department: Alleged grievance of the Telegraph signallers at the Konkan ports 30

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Press Act ;

Comments on the demand of security from the *Bombay Chronicle* . 24
Comments on the forfeiture of the security of the *New Era* newspaper . 25
Public Service : Comments on the appointment of Mr. Chitre as Acting Chief Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay 26
Revenue matters : Protest against the orders of the Commissioner, S. D., directing boundary stones of certain lands to be replaced by wooden posts 29
Viceroy : Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Madras Foodstuffs Exhibition . . . . 14 & 15
War : The present situation in the — . . . . 16 & 17

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

What will be the result of ignoring the demands of the Congress-League scheme.

Mahrátta (5), 23rd Dec.

1. "Whatever the Anglo-Indians, official and unofficial, may say as to the contentment of the masses of India, facts cannot be changed by false assertions. Howsoever loudly it may be affirmed that the masses in India do not recognise the educated classes as their leaders, the fact remains that they are recognised as such....... The Government of any country rests primarily not on the support of the ignorant masses, but on the support of the enlightened classes. It is suicidal to ignore this elementary truth. It is because the educated classes in India have, for one reason or another, never seriously thought of working against the Indo-British Connection that that connection has never been seriously threatened. The present movement for Responsible Self-Government has its origin not in any desire to end or loosen this connection, but in the desire to strengthen and make it as permanent as it is given for human arrangements to be. As such this movement deserves to be blessed and not to be cursed by responsible Imperialists of sound minds. It is in the interest of the Empire to put a summary end to the policy of distrust which has been mother to the endless brood of most unhappy measures which rule India with a recklessness that defies comparison.......... Why do we fear that the *call of the Empire* may not move British statesmen to go as far as they ought to in regard to the reconstruction of our Government? There are several reasons. The announcement of August 20th last is very halting and indicates that the draftsmen have unreasonable faith in the bureaucrat on the spot and are prepared to trust him largely in the matter 'judging of the time and measure of each advance' towards the goal of India. Mr. Montagu who came out to India to ascertain the views and sentiments of the people, has not had fair opportunities to form a correct notion of the volume and depth of the popular feeling against bureaucratic governance of the country.......... Naturally views which directly and indirectly support more or less the Anglo-Indian desire to give Indians as small a share as possible in the management of their affairs, have been dinned into the ears of Mr. Montagu very much oftener than they were entitled to be heard, considering the number and 'quality' of the holders of these views.......... The pressure of the organised bureaucrats, the noise of the Anglo-Indian exploiters of Indian resources, the inspired or ignorant, but much boomed 'slow pace' cry of the handful of reactionaries from our own camp, are all bound to have their effect on Mr. Montagu and his colleagues. Then there is the Sydenham clique in England......... Is it not likely that in the circumstances briefly described above, *the call of the Empire* may be lost upon the men at the helm and after all the fuss and ferment *re* 'Substantial Steps,' India may be asked to content herself with a poor fraction of the *minimum*, namely the Congress-League Scheme? What will be the effect of this possible result of all our agitation? For one thing it is clear that agitation on a much more extended scale than has been thought of hitherto and of a bitterness absent from the present one will be organised in this country. Secondly, the next war that may be forced on the British Empire by the ambitions of its foes will find India in no mood to respond enthusiastically to the call of the Empire. Discontent and its unhappy brood will increase from day to day and who may foretell what all this may end in?"

Comments on the deputation of Musalmans of the Bombay Presidency received by the Secretary of State.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 25th Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (57), 27th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 27th Dec.

2. Referring to the Musalman deputation which is to wait on the Secretary of State under the leadership of Sardar Syed El Edroos, the *Sánj Vartamán* says that the memorial which the Honourable Sardar and others will submit and the views the deputation will express cannot at all be regarded as those of the Musalmans of the Presidency as it has received no authority from them, inasmuch as the latter were not even consulted in the matter. It adds that the deputation is self-appointed and its members neither command any influence nor have they any status

in the community. Referring to the anti-Congress and anti-Home Rule League views of the Honourable Sardar the paper observes that this move on his part is to please Government with a view to winning honours, and remarks:—If he would not advocate the bureaucratic rule and defend it, who would nominate him on the Council? [Note—The Honourable Sardar Syed El Edroos is an elected member of the Council.] [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that those who have raised a protest against the present action of the Honourable Syed Ali El Edroos ought to have, in support of that protest, sent a telegram to the Secretary of State for India, through His Excellency the Viceroy, requesting the former to take a note that the memorial which was going to be presented to him under the leadership of the Honourable Syed Edroos on behalf of the Muhammadans of the Bombay Presidency was not a duly accredited memorial inasmuch as the Muhammadans of the Presidency were not consulted in the matter. The paper believes that if some such step were taken by those who have raised the protest it would serve the Honourable Syed as a good lesson in the future for his present arbitrary conduct. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also publishes a letter from a Moslem correspondent from Surat, strongly deprecating the action of the Honourable Syed Edroos in securing from some unsophisticated Muhammadans of Surat their signatures upon the memorial without letting them know the exact nature of its contents. Does the Syed Saheb, inquires the writer, expect by his present move to belittle the importance of the act of least a lakh of Muhammadans of the Bombay Presidency who have put their signatures to the joint Congress-League Scheme? The correspondent regrets that a leader of the Moslem community and its representative on the Legislative Council like the Honourable Syed should have thought of misleading the community in that manner.]

Comments on the Deccan Rayats' Association's address to the Secretary of State.

Sandesh (116), 23rd Dec.; *Jágaruk* (102), 28th Dec.

3. Commenting upon the Deccan Rayats' Association's address to Mr. Montagu, the *Sandesh* writes:—Mr. Montagu will certainly laugh in his sleeve to hear the opinions of this Association. It demands that 50 per cent. of the appointments in the Civil Service should be given to Indians, out of which half the number should be reserved for the backward classes. The Association's demand, however, does not stop here. It asks that if all the posts reserved for the backward classes cannot be filled up, then the vacancies should be given to Europeans but not to their Indian brethren! We can only observe that this policy is absolutely suicidal. [The *Jágaruk* on the other hand supports the Association's address and says that the conflicting interests of the several classes in India cannot be ignored while considering the question of reforms, adding that whoever tries to overlook the "Indian Ulster question" will not fail to come to grief.]

Protest against the rejection of certain addresses to the Secretary of State.

Kesari (106), 25th Dec.

4. The Bombay Government has surpassed the Madras Government in rejecting addresses to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. The Madras Government had to withdraw their orders so far as the Madras Presidency Association and the Andhra Parishad were concerned because of the determination shown by the local leaders. But as the Bombay Government did not publish their programme in advance and as Bombay is not unfortunately so united and determined as Madras, the bureaucracy has omitted many important institutions really representing public opinion and has allowed the deputations of self-constituted leaders with a handful of followers, at its sweet will. The discreditable partiality of Bombay officials is clearly shown by the rejection of the deputation of the All-India Maratha Conference of Belgaum and by the trick resorted to in rejecting it. The Central Provinces officials were more high-handed than the Bombay officials and they rejected the Provincial Moslem League address. It is said that they informed some institutions to send only particular delegates! The *penchant* which the bureaucracy has acquired for nominating members to the Legislative Council, it wants to introduce also in the case of public institu-

tions. But what can the bureaucracy do? It is about to lose altogether the right of nominating members to the Legislative Council. Just as a sinking man catches at a straw, the bureaucracy wants somehow to catch hold of insignificant fellows and draw out from them anti-Home Rule statements.

An appeal to Marathas not to carry on an anti-Brahmin movement.
Kesari (106), 25th Dec.

5. Mr. Dhondo Amritrao Shete, Patil of Shirval, writes to the *Kesari* deprecating the anti-Brahmin movement and he remarks that if anything has ruined the Marathas it is their love of liquor, and he holds that Brahmins have agitated to wean them from this vice. He thinks that the agitation carried on by Brahmins for the introduction of free and compulsory education, for the repeal of the Watan Act, for the grant of commissions and for the celebration of the Shivaji festival was for the benefit of non-Brahmins and that it did not evidence any hatred against them. We say we are the descendants of Shivaji, he continues, and should we not, therefore, observe his vow of "Protection of cows and Brahmins"? He advises the Marathas not to oppose the demand of *swarājya* and asks them not to quarrel amongst themselves, because as a matter of fact Government is not yet prepared to grant *swarājya*, just like the Bania who is not willing to give full measure.

Mr. Montagu in Bombay.
Young India (14), 26th Dec.

6. "Mr. Montagu arrives in Bombay today (Monday) in the normal course of things, and we offer him on behalf of the city a cordial welcome......... The fiat has already gone forth that the gates of the Victoria Terminus are to be 'barred, banged and bolted' in the face of the public between 6-30 and 9-30 this morning! Only the 'chosen' few of the 'little tin gods' here may be present on the platform to receive him and prepare him for the ordeal of deputationising and interviewing which is to commence almost the moment he sets his feet within the sacred grounds of the Government House. While Mr. Montagu will miss the rousing cheers and warm reception which Bombay alone knows how to accord to its honoured guests it goes without saying that for the first time in our civic annals a great personage—decidedly greater than our bureaucrats and autocrats —will be hustled privately into Government House lest the inquisitive gaze of the public should fall on him. It is needless to recapitulate that 'jealousy, incredible jealousy' is alone responsible for this sad episode in the civic record of Bombay. We feel, however, assured that Mr. Montagu has now fully realised the helplessness of the people of this country under the terrestrial providence of a relentless and unrelenting officialdom, and that the lack of outward manifestations of public rejoicing at his visit is not so much due to want of reciprocal good-will on the part of the people as to the unhappy dispensation of the bureaucracy. We hope he will, therefore, take the will for the deed, and overlooking the absence of external evidences of pomp and splendour, regard it all as in the course of the day's work. We trust also that it will convince him all the more of the extremely narrow and clannish spirit of that bureaucracy, which interposes itself as a solid wall of resistance between the Indian people and the noble, generous instincts of the British Government and the people of England."

Mr. Montagu should be allowed to have a hearty send-off from the people of India.
Mahrātta (5), 30th Dec.

*7. "Will it be too much to hope that before his final departure, Mr. Montagu may be allowed to have a hearty send-off by the people of India? We think it is worth while approaching the Government of India on the subject. The executives of the Congress and the Moslem League, the Premier National Bodies in the country, may take it upon themselves to make a final request to Government to allow the Indian people as a whole to meet Mr. Montagu in a public meeting at Bombay, where he may be presented with an address making fitting reference to his mission in India and expressing the Nation's thankfulness for the work he has already done. It should be supplemented by a fair statement of the pressing grievances of the hour which the addresses so far presented have not been allowed to ventilate....... If this ventilation is allowed, then the plea of 'want of time' which has been urged as a reason for restricting the number of addresses and *censoring* their contents will be accepted by the people as an honest one....... The Indian people desire through their representatives to place their grievances *directly* before the Secretary of State with the hope and expectation that their Sovereign and his Cabinet may learn the truth and take such measures as may be deemed necessary. To prevent them from doing so is to deny them the exercise of an ancient right which they have freely exercised for thousands of years in pre-British times. The people cannot take such a denial lying down. The Indian authorities may look upon their treatment of the Alis' Release Deputation as a small matter. But herein they are grossly mistaken. The people cannot sleep over the matter, though the authorities may not give another thought to it. There is an apparent lull in the atmosphere now. But that is only the proverbial precursor of a great storm. We appeal to the Government of India to consult Mr. Montagu and to announce by a special communiqué that the Secretary of State will gladly meet the people in a public meeting, say, at Bombay, on a certain date to receive such an address as they are eager to present to him on the eve of his departure to England. Such a communiqué presently issued will go a long way to soothe and pacify the people, who are at present justly indignant over the several indignities which officialdom has subjected them to, perhaps quite unconsciously!"

If the Ali Brothers are released after the date of commencement of the Moslem League session, the release will not evoke the slightest feeling of gratitude in the people.
Mahrátta (5), 30th Dec.

***8.** Commenting upon the All-India Ladies' Deputation to the Viceroy and Secretary of State, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"One notable incident occurred while the members of the Deputation were being introduced to the Secretary of State. Mrs. Hasrat Mohani, wife of the famous internee of Aligarh, while being introduced to the Secretary of State, asked him to release the Muslim and other internees just as Sinn Feiners as were given amnesty in Ireland. She also gave him a copy of the *New Era* to read an article dealing with the question of the Muslim internees. This copy happens to be that of the 8th December which has been forfeited to Government owing to the article headed 'Musalmans and Mr. Montagu.'......... Has the action of Mrs. Hasrat produced any effect on Mr. Montagu, beyond that of surprising him agreeably (or disagreeably?)? While we write this (Wednesday), a voice, very feeble yet one that we would fain believe, speaks from within our bosom that we may yet hear of the release of Mr. Muhammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, before the 30th instant on which day the sittings of the All-India Moslem League are to commence at Calcutta. If the Ali Brothers are released by the 30th instant Mr. Montagu will be considered to have scored a grand victory agaist the bureaucracy. If the wished for release comes about Mr. Montagu will raise great hopes in the people of this country as regards his future efforts in connection with the reconstruction of Indian Government, for in the release, belated though it be, the people will recognise a happy assertion of the 'liberal' principles which Mr. Montagu is supposed to be a champion of. If the Ali Brothers remain interned on Sunday next—then their release after that date whenever it may come, either before or after the departure Mr. Montagu from the Indian shores, will fail to evoke the slightest feeling of gratitude in the people who will have made up their minds about Mr. Montagu's 'principles' and about what to expect of such a man."

The bureaucracy and the caste system.
Indian Social Reformer (3), 30th Dec.

***9.** "Two years ago the Maharaja of Darbhanga stumped the country on a mission on behalf of *varnashrama dharma*, the socio-religious system based on the division of castes, which he confounded with the *sanatana dharma*, which may be called the ethical basis of Hinduism. He did another thing. He had drawn up a prayer, or rather proposed to draw up one, invoking blessings on the King-Emperor, and this proposal was placed as the first item on the agenda of the meetings which he addressed. This had all the appearance of an audacious bid for an alliance between the bureaucracy and the caste system, and the Bombay Government fell into the trap. They sent down their Indian member to the meeting held at Madhav Baug with instructions to state that they had seen the resolution and approved of it. This was, of course, the resolution regarding the proposed prayer, but the populace does not make nice distinctions, and as the Maharaja himself was at the time a member of the Behar Government, though in *mufti*, the impression created was most unfortunate. Either the Government have realised their mistake or the Maharaja does not think it worth while to continue his mission, as for some time past we have heard nothing further about this *varnashrama dharma* and prayer for the King-Emperor scheme. It does not seem to be dead, however. In his Convocation address to the Punjab University Sir Michael O'Dwyer took occasion to enlarge on caste as a means of reform. Considering that, in the experience of every practical reformer, caste has been and is the greatest obstacle to social reforms, His Honour's juxtaposition of the two sounds as pardoxical as 'hot ice'.......... The beneficial results which His Honour attributed to caste in the Punjab have nothing to do with the institution, and his encomiums on this ancient institution were forced and irrelevant. There as elsewhere caste is a dividing influence, and your bureaucrat has an instinctive affection for lines of cleavage. (The Germans are emphasising the difference of interests between the Flemings and the Waloons who together form the Belgian nation.) Those of our friends who, from fear of caste, wish the bureaucracy to be perpetuated, might take a lesson from His Honour's observations."

Comments on the alleged omission of a paragraph in praise of Dr. Mann from Sir Claude Hill's address before the Agricultural Conference.
Kesari (106), 25th Dec.

10. Once a person incurs the wrath of the bureaucracy, he is persistently pursued whether he is white or black and whether he is a Government servant or an independent person. Sir Claude Hill who had come down for the Poona Agricultural Conference had made an honourable mention of Dr. Mann in his speech to be delivered at the Conference. But when he heard of the invitation given to Mr. Horniman by Dr. Mann to lecture at his College, he omitted the paragraph in praise of Dr. Mann. Two days before his work was satisfactory, but it became at once unsatisfactory and the bureaucracy thus punished Dr. Mann by omitting to praise him. But Dr. Mann is not an official to cringe, tempted by such praise, and he will care very little either for recommendation or condemnation at the hands of a person like the Honourable Sir Claude Hill.

Alleged abuses in the bestowal of honours in British India.
Young India (14), 26th Dec.

11. Commenting on the debate in the House of Lords on abuses in connection with the bestowal of honours, *Young India* writes :—" It is clear that in our day honours are as surely a commodity as when James I invented the baronetcy as a means to fill the Royal purse. Such differences as there are between purchase now and then are on the whole creditable to James, for at least he admitted that his baronetcies where for sale whereas Ministers and Whips have not hesitated to traduce the name of Public Service by making it a cloak for the sale and purchase of titles of honour. Such is the pointed language which the *Manchester Guardian* has used to describe the somewhat shady transactions in the distribution of honours that take place with a tiresome periodicity in the annals of the British nation. The severely cynical reflection is the result of the amazing disclosures that were made during a debate in the House of Lords. The debate was raised by Lord Loreburn, who once again called attention to the abuses connected with the bestowal of honours.......... Compared with what is happening in this country, the evil in England is less open to censure and infinitely smaller.......... Instead of serving as an incentive to the public for rendering honourable and voluntary public service, the system of conferring honours has degenerated into a regular department in which titles are bartered not for money but for other considerations. Reactionary

officials employ it with no small amount of success to defeat and circumvent popular opinion. Notoriously incompetent officials or private individuals of mediocre talents are all marked out in quick succession for the bestowal of titles of honour. Unfortunately it is not hard to find men in any country who can be induced to sacrifice public interests for the sake of their own aggrandisement.......... We could give numerous instances in which the only claim to recognition in the public eye appears to be the palpable disservice rendered by the patentee to the popular cause.......... The feeling in respect of the evil practice that has grown up with the growth of the Party system was accute even in such an unregenerate assembly as the House of Lords. So much so that it was very rightly felt that if no check was imposed, it would lead to the suffocating and withering of the vaunted public life of England. When that is the case at the very fountain-head of democracy, it is small wonder, that a Government dominated by a bureaucracy, struggling with all its might and main against the resurging tide of nationalism and all that it connotes, should use a weapon, at once so tempting to the vanity of unprincipled and unscrupulous men and so delicate, to deploy some of the vital elements that go to constitute the public life of the country against itself. Having regard to the alarming extent to which the practice has spread, it is not too early to make a bold stand against the system and prevent its further swamping our public life by its poisonous influences. It is for the public to destory this corrupting evil in our public life."

The relations between rulers of Native States and Political officers.

Young India (14), 26th Dec.

12. "We drew attention on a previous occasion to the sinister attempt which is going on in certain quarters to mix up the Native States in the constitutional struggle that is taking place in British India.......... It is not difficult, of course, to perceive the game they are up to, though they have tried to cloak their purpose with pious intentions of showing adequate recognition of the magnificent loyalty and devotion of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs and their subjects to the paramount power. Nothing can be more foolish than for these people to imagine that either the Native Princes or the people of India would be deceived by so alluring a thought as that the already confused problem of reform in British India should be made still more confused by the needless dragging in of Native States into a consideration of domestic Indian Political problems.......... Few people in British India are able to realise the humiliations, restrictions and indignities which those unfortunate rulers have daily to undergo at the hands of the Political officers. It is a misnomer to call the system which is responsible for the infliction of 'dangerous officials' on them, as the 'Political' Department. The department and its servants are anything but politic in their dealings. On the contrary, the system which had its origin in 'a policy of mistrust', at a time when the state of India under the British was practically unsettled, has gradually degenerated into a department of 'espionage' .... It has helped to kill all initiative and enterprise in the rulers and tended to act as a drag on their progressive tendencies, always looking with suspicion and mistrust on their beneficient policies and intentions, discouraging all generous impulses and noble desires. Even the biggest or the most influential of the States are not free from the 'haughty, impolitic, impertinent, ironical' providences of the junior subaltern or the 'middle-aged, middle-class colonel' or lieutenant-colonel......... If the critics of the Congress-League scheme are sincere in their professions for upholding the status and dignity of the Native Princes and Chiefs and showing an adequate recognition of their magnificent rally to the Empire in this titanic struggle they cannot do better than exert themselves for obtaining for the Princes and and Chiefs a welcome release from the tiresome and oftentimes tyrannical enslavement to the Political Department. If any change for the betterment of the rulers is to be successful, it is very essential that this antiquated system of 'espionage' should be swept away. And until that is done, all talk of the rulers as being 'our allies' must seem to sober minds as a futile form of political hypocrisy."

Comments on the prohibition of two Punjábi Muhammadan Barristers from landing at Zanzibar.

Kesari (106), 25th Dec.

13. Here in India a discussion is proceeding about the form and measure of *swarájya* to be given to us and India has already been given a place by the side of the self-governing Dominions in the Imperial Conference. But still the stamp of 'undesirability' has not been removed from the brow of Indians. Two Barristers from the Punjáb, Messrs. Ghulam Rasool and Mirza Badruddin, went to Zanzibar, to practice there. But the British authorities held them to be 'undesirable aliens' and did not allow them to land. Their passports are all in order; is it not surprising therefore that they were not allowed to land at Zanzibar? Is it not a wonder that the situation that prevailed when patriot Gandhi went to South Africa in 1896 should not have changed after the lapse of 21 years and after the great war? We shall know how far the angle of vision has really changed after we learn the result of the telegrams sent to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State by the Punjáb Moslem League and the Punjáb Bar Association in the matter.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the Madras Foodstuffs Exhibition.

Jám-e-Jamshed (24), 24th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 24th and 25th Dec., Eng. cols.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 26th Dec.

14. Commenting upon the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at Madras at the opening ceremony of the Madras Food Exhibition the *Jám-e-Jamshed* observes:—Though Lord Chelmsford characterized as an unfortunate blunder the line of policy taken by the British Government in checking the attempt made by the Madras Government some years ago to foster indigenous industries, it deserved to be condemned in more severe terms than the phraseology used, from the national point of view. Had the attempt received the required support from that Government, the country would have prospered and Indians and Indian factories availing themselves of the ready opportunity offered by the war to expand their trade, could not only have manufactured articles required for domestic consumption but contributed a considerable share in the supply of war materials and brought in foreign wealth, apart from the fact that it would have made Great Britain independent of foreign countries for its supplies of Stores. We, however, receive with satisfaction the pronouncement that the British and Imperial Governments have revised their opinion on most subjects as others have done and that accordingly the former Government have recognized their duty of fostering Indian industries to the best of their ability. Though the recognition has been late, we appreciate it and the authorities, we hope, will act up to it. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* takes the statement in His Excellency's speech regarding the old *laissez faire* policy as demonstrating his solicitude for the development of Indian industries and emphasising the importance of the utterance regards it as valuable in regard to the economic progress of India, and says that the nation would ever be grateful for the decision. It agrees with His Hxcellency that agriculture is the greatest industry of India and will occupy a front rank in future too. It opines that in its development lies not only the interest of India but that of the Empire as well. In a subseqent issue the *Praja Mitra* makes similar remarks in its English columns. The *Bombay Samáchár* also expresses similar views and welcomes His Excellency's announcement as gratifying to the Indian public.]

Gujaráti (17), 30th Dec., Eng. cols.; *Indian Social Reformer* (3), 30th Dec.

***15.** "Though it is no use deploring what has happened in the past, we are not sure that there will not be a relapse after the cessation of the war and that it will be possible for Government to maintain a strictly impartial attitude as between the interests of Indian and British industries after the heavy strain imposed by the exigencies of war has ceased. We therefore wish to raise a note of warning in time. At the same time it is very gratifying to find that His Excellency the Viceroy, who declared himself in favour of the industrial development of the country in one of his speeches immediately after his appointment as Viceroy, has still kept up his enthusiasm and attaches very great importance to the economic regeneration of India.......... 'Many of us', said His Excellency, 'have during these last three terrible years revised our opinions on most subjects, and in this matter of industrial enterprise I doubt if there are any now who would not say that it is the bounden duty of the State to foster industrial enterprise to the utmost of its ability. Personally, I put the matter of industrial development in the forefront of my policy.' This is a most gratifying declaration and we congratulate His Excellency on the wisdom, courage and candour he has displayed in thus avowing his views." [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes :—"A review of the administrative measures adopted by the Government of India brings out the fact that, after a good deal of delay, caused by ridicule and opposition, the Indian view has almost uniformly prevailed in many matters. The latest example is the declaration of His Excellency the Viceroy, in the course of his speech in declaring open the great Exibition of Indian-made articles in Madras, that the policy of *laissez faire* in industrial matters is dead. This is the second institution, if we may so call it, connected with the Indian administration whose death it has been Lord Chelmsford's lot to announce, the first being the Indian Volunteer system. We hope it will not be the last. Indian opinion has never reconciled itself to the Manchester doctrine of unrestricted competition as the best policy to adopt with reference to the industries of a country and, though we are not without anxiety as to the policy which will take the place of the old *laissez faire*, we are glad that there will henceforth be one economic dogma the less for Indian industrialists to contend with."]

The present situation in the War.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 27th Dec.; Eng. cols.

16. "Italy has made a notable rally, and although there is still cause for considerable anxiety, the grave danger of the plains of Italy being overrun by German and Austrain hordes has been stayed for the present. But the complete cessation of fighting on the eastern front intensifies the problem that the Allies will have to solve. Time will soon show the number of German divisions which, released from the eastern front, will be sent to the western and Italian fronts. Meanwhile, the armistice has not only put a stop to the fighting in the east, but has opened commercial relations which will be utilised to the utmost by the Germans. Thus there will be a fresh source of supplies which will indefinitely put off the economic exhaustion of Germany. The task before the Allies is far more serious than it was at the commencement of the war, for they have not only to fight their own battle and the battle of the small States, but also the battle of the largest though at present the weakest State in Europe. If Germany retains permanent possession of the territory in Europe which she has acquired by force, the object of the Allies will be never achieved. The complete defeat of the Central Powers can alone bring about the restoration of European territory seized by Germany. Is such a defeat anywhere yet in sight?"

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 28th Dec.

17. Referring to the orders recently issued, one after another, by the Russian authorities for disbanding their troops, prohibiting further manufacture of munitions and permitting the formation, under their own officers, of divisions from the enemy troops that had once surrendered, and that too just near the Russian capital, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is inclined to consider these Russian authorities to be a set of veritable madmen. It believes that by their present actions they have entirely placed themselves at the tender mercies of the enemy and doubts if they would ever be able to extricate themselves from his clutches. Practically speaking, observes the paper, Russia, which was once a mighty empire, has sunk to the level of a dependent or tributary state of the enemy.'

Comments on Mrs. Besant's presidential address at the Calcutta National Congress.
Sanj Vartamán (32), 26th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 27th Dec.; *Hindusthán* (21), 26th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (24), 27th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchár* (60), 28th Dec.

18. Commenting upon the presidential address delivered by Mrs. Annie Besant at the recent session of the Indian National Congress, the *Sanj Vartamán* characterises it as a very spirited and highly intellectual pronouncement. It remarks that Mrs. Besant has, in the course of her speech, declared in clear terms and in an independent manner the desires of the Indian people on the subject of *Swarájya*. The paper observes :—Mrs. Besant has, in the course of her address, taken a review of the points in which the Indian administration has failed to give satisfaction to the people and has fully demonstrated that the grave defects which have come to be associated with the present administration will not be removed until a system of government which is responsible to the people is established. [While commending Mrs. Besant's address the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* fears that the tone of her speech will not be palatable to the official class. It remarks that she has justified her selection as President of the recent session of the Congress by the graphic manner in which she has described the condition of India and has expounded the needs and aspirations of the Indian people. While regarding some of her demands as rather hasty, the paper expresses its belief that in the carrying into effect of some of the reforms suggested by her lies the interest not only of India but of the whole British Empire. The *Hindusthán* regards Mrs. Besant's speech as very valuable and remarks that it has adequately proved not only the justice and propriety of India's demand for *Swarájya* but also that the people of India have attained fitness for its enjoyment. While characterising Mrs. Besant's speech as a very learned pronouncement, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* does not believe that all the views she has expressed in her speech will be unreservedly endorsed by the Moderate party. It remarks that the Presidential address is something like an echo of the views of the Nationalists and that it reflects the programme of the Tilakite school. The paper observes that the picture delineated by Mrs. Besant of India's present awakening in various directions, though pleasant to look at, is rather overdrawn. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to a remark made by Mrs. Besant during her address to the effect that if Government failed to give satisfaction to India on the present occasion by the introduction of suitable administrative reforms they should be prepared for a more vigorous agitation from the people in that direction, and regrets that such a statement should have been made by the President of an influential body like the Indian National Congress. It wishes that the method suggested by Mrs. Besant for more effectively attacking the problem of utilising the man-power of India for the purposes of the war might receive sympathetic attention from Government.]

Indian Social Reformer (3), 30th Dec.

*19. "The address which Mrs. Besant delivered from the presidential chair of the thirty-second Indian National Congress was well worthy of the occasion. It is a comprehensive statement of the case for Indian constitutional reform, transfused by a passionate love of liberty and hatred of wrong. There is of course nothing new in the address. All the main points of its argument have been repeated many times before by other publicists and by Mrs. Besant herself. That the present administrative system has fallen very much behind the requirements of the time, is evident to any one who approaches the question with an unbiassed mind. The appalling illiteracy of the population, after a century of British rule, is of itself a most damaging proof of the lack of vision in that system. Even the claim to have ensured peace and order should be taken with some qualification in the face of such an occurrence as the disgraceful and brutal riots in Arrah during the last Mohurrum. Lord Carmichael truly said the other day that discontent is growing in India among people of almost every class. The rate of mortality in the country continues to be high. The Government policy in regard to liquor has utterly failed of its avowed object, the decrease of consumption. Social legislation has been permanently relegated to the back ground, while repressive measures have been adopted in quick succession during recent years.......... Reform, it is as true as it is trite to say, should begin at the bottom. But whatever might have been the case in ancient India, to-day it is not the village community but the Secretary of State with the Governments in India who is the top and also the bottom of the administration. We must begin, therefore, by reforming him and them: the rest will follow as a matter of course. The idea of artificially reproducing the ancient vallage as the unit of future self-government, at a time when railways, motor cars, posts and telegraphs cry out against the very idea of isolation, is chimerical. We may as well think of calling back the dead to life."

Sandesh (116), 27th Dec.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (37), 27th Dec.; *Indu Prakásh* (40), 28th Dec.

20. Mrs. Besant's speech as President of the Indian National Congress is remarkably graceful. It gives inspiration to the young and food for serious thought to the old. It has the power of compelling statisticians to revise their theories, and it reflects the noble and lofty sentiments of the Indians. It

alludes with pride to India's share in the war and vividly depicts the evil consequences resulting from foreign control over the internal administration of the country. Mrs. Besant has made it plain that she is not prepared to accept anything short of the scheme of *swardjya* outlined by the Congress and the Moslem League. She has made it equally plain that the nation will carry on the agitation with redoubled vigour until the demands of the Congress are fully satisfied. Her speech is indeed an unfailing weapon refuting the arguments of our adversaries. [The *Dnydn Prakdsh* also writes in praise of the speech as a forceful utterance and remarks:—We trust our leaders will now act up to Mrs. Besant's suggestion to send a deputation to England. It is quite necessary that some of our leaders should carry on the *swardjya* movement in England immediately after Mr. Montagu's return there. The *Indu Prakdsh* writes in a similar strain.]

Jdgaruk (102), 28th Dec.

21. Mrs. Besant's message to her blind followers would lead one to suppose that the British regime has become far more oppressive than the Peshwas' rule when the swords of the Pindaris harried the innocent rayats. It is most reprehensible that a woman who has absolutely no connection with India and who but eight years back did not hesitate to decry the Indian leaders should indulge in such misleading statements. Mrs. Besant avers that the different classes are not so sharply divided in India as they are in England where a rich man living in his mansion keeps severely aloof from an humble individual occupying a cottage. Any one who has the least regard for truth will admit that this assertion is positively mischievous. This woman is bent upon upholding the cause of the Brahmins and is pledged, therefore, to support the caste system which is an article of faith with them. She is not so dull as not to understand that the caste distinctions dehumanise millions of people of the backward classes; but what does she care for these things when her sole object is to gain cheap notoriety?

The duty of the National Congress in connection with the Reform question.

Kesari (106), 25th Dec.

22. The *Kesari* says that the question of *swardjya* has become a settled fact from the popular point of view. It holds that all Indians except a handful of Anglo-Indians and a few communities misled and instigated by them have supported the Congress-League Scheme. It further adds:—The responsibility of settling the future lines of work lies with the Congress and the nation is watching how it will be met. From the Government point of view also the grant of *swardjya* has become a settled fact by the declaration of 20th August 1917. However angry bureaucrats in England like Lord Sydenham, greedy of power, may get, whatever selfish Shylocks like Sir Hugh Bray may cry, however much the self-constituted leaders of the backward classes who glory in the contemptible title of "Ulsterites'', may struggle, the British ministry cannot treat the August Proclamation as a "scrap of paper". It is impossible as well as beyond the powers of the British ministers to throw away what has been deemed desirable for the convenience of the Indian administration and the security of the British Empire because of the threats of a handful of roughs. The Congress can now concentrate its attention only on the resolution of *swardjya* instead of passing various resolutions on many topics. When the Congress met at Lucknow, the intentions of Government could not in any way be foreseen and the representatives of the Congress asked for a small instalment of the rights of *swardjya*. Government say that they will grant responsible Government step by step. We understand that the Subjects Committee of the Calcutta Congress has decided to ask that the Provincial Executive Councils should be responsible to the Provincial Legislative Councils and that things should continue as they are in the Imperial Legislative Council. We know a hue and cry will be raised against this proposal by Anglo-Indians and their creatures. But we have nothing to do with them. We have only to take into consideration the views of Parliament and the British electors. Mr. Baptista writes to us that the idea of *swardjya* by compartments is considered to be strange by the British people. We hope, however, that the Subjects Committee will consider all the pros and cons.

Otherwise it will be best to stick to our old scheme. But what arrangements are we giving to make to see that Mr. Montagu will take up the Bill of *swarájya* after he goes to England? What steps should we take to protect the scheme from the bites of black serpents lying in wait like Lord Sydenham? Is it not the chief and prime duty of the Congress to solve these questions satisfactorily? The real fight for *swarájya* will take place in England and our enemies in the disguise of friends have made their complete arrangements there by establishing the Indo-British Association. Should we not make arrangements for a campaign in England to meet their contrivance successfully? Agitation in India should not cease till we get our rights according to the Congress-League Scheme and we should maintain a deputation in England permanently till the Bill is finally passed.

Comments on the reasons given by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal for not attending the National Congress.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 29th Dec.

23. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* cannot accept as satisfactory the reasons given by His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India as well as by Lord Ronaldshay, Governor of Bengal, for their not being able to attend the recent session of the Indian National Congress. It remarks that by a slight change in their programme the two first-named authorities could easily have obviated their difficulty. The paper traces the real clue to their denial in the reason assigned by the Governor of Bengal, who stated that his attendance at the Congress session might lead other parties to believe that Government were partially inclined to one side. It regards such a reason as untenable and tries to show that it is inconsistent by a reference to the presence of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State at the Bengal Club and the Byculla Club, which are both political bodies representing the views only of the Anglo-Indians. The paper has no objection to their knowing at first hand the views of the latter, but it remarks that by their refraining to attend the Congress session or taking part in any entertainment given by the Indians they have rather created an invidious distinction. It adds that their present action does not save their attitude from appearing one-sided to the outside world.

Comments on the demand of security from the *Bombay Chronicle.*
Kesari (106), 25th Dec.

24. If anybody had an idea that the repressive sports of bureaucracy would be suspended at least while Mr. Montagu was present in India, he must have been soon disillusioned. Repression seems to be particularly on the increase during the current week. The bureaucracy is not satisfied with discourteously prohibiting the lecture of Mr. Horniman at the Agricultural College. The declaration of the *Chronicle* had to be changed nearly five times, since it began its publication. Will the Magistrate tell us how he was inspired to take security from Mr. Horniman, though it was never before demanded from the *Chronicle*? The law however comes to the rescue of the Magistrate. Reasons are not to be given for demanding security but for not taking it. When a declaration is however made and security is not asked for, the law means that the Magistrate becomes *functus officio* and Government only can demand it. We do not wish to comment further on the case as it is *sub judice*. But it only shows in how many ways a person has to bear persecution once the bureaucracy turns its evil eye on him.

Comments on the forfeiture of the security of the *New Era* newspaper.
Kesari (106), 25th Dec.

25. The Press Act claimed suddenly the *New Era* of Lucknow as a victim this week. The paper was the fruit of the awakening of Lucknow last year when the Congress-League met there. Its independence and specially its advocacy of the cause of the Ali Brothers could not be tolerated and its security of Rs. 2,000 was at once forfeited. The Editor has decided to stop its publication and Mr. Mahomed is going to start another paper. However cruelly the Press Act be enforced, the days are gone when opinions would be changed or concealed under its fear. Nowadays a paper is continued though it may be repeatedly mulcted and persecuted by the bureaucracy and if it is not possible to continue it, a new journal is started. The pastime of the bureaucracy of claiming papers as its victims will be stopped when two papers are started in place of one discontinued. It is doubtful, however, whether the present uncontrolled powers of the bureaucracy will continue long unchecked. Clear signs are visible now that the irresponsible power of the bureaucracy has not a long life before it.

Comments on the appointment of Mr. Chitre as Acting Chief Judge of the Small Causes Court, Bombay.

Kaiser-i-Hind (25), 23rd Dec.

26. Commenting upon the appointment of Mr. Chitre as Acting Chief Judge of the Small Causes Court the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—The means devised in the Secretariat, which should be called nothing less than manoeuvres to re-appoint Mr. Chitre, require to be protested against in most severe terms. We do not wish to enter into details as to the competency of Mr. Chitre, but we cannot help mentioning for the sake of bare justice that he does not possess long and valuable experience essential for the determination of intricate commercial questions which the Second Judge, Mr. Jhaveri, has. The Government may, if they see the necessity, appoint Mr. Chitre as an additional sixth Judge, but to re-appoint him, in spite of his having enjoyed the favour of the authorities for an year, as Acting Chief Judge and to overlook the claims of Mr. Jhaveri, is tantament to violation of the law recently amended and is disgraceful not only to a learned Judge entitled to the post but also to the dignity and traditions of the Small Causes Court. If the authorities will thus adopt the practice of extending favours to outsiders, passing over the claims of rightful claimants, how would they maintain their prestige as an honest and impartial administration?

Protest against the proposed reintroduction of the system of auctioning liquor-shop licenses.

Kesari (106), 25th Dec.

27. Commenting on the Press Note on the disposal of the right of vend of country liquor, the *Kesari* says that the fixed-fee system was never popular because it created a new race of watandars though watandars of other sorts had been almost destroyed. It does not also support the auction-system now proposed to be introduced. It says that it would have been better if Government had openly stated that they wanted to introduce the auction-system because of the increased revenue it might yield. It further remarks:—The public at large should have been consulted before the system once condemned was introduced. But what need do the autocratic officials feel for doing so? The scheme of extracting more money from the people by addicting them to drink is always very reprehensible. Whatever attempts may be made to give it an attractive form, people cannot but turn away from it in disgust. Government say that any additional receipts that may be realised will be spent on education and sanitation. But we do not think even a mad man will consent to such increased expenditure of money derived from making people drink more. This is but an empty assurance because Government have reserved their right of increasing the still-head duty and the proceeds therefrom will not be devoted to education or sanitation. The maximum selling-price could have been abolished without introducing the auction-system. The short measures of the shopkeepers will never become full, so long as they are the favourites of Government. We are not prepared to believe that Government have no power to punish severely deceitful shopkeepers and to prevent bribery. There would have been no difficulty in fixing fees in the absence of maximum selling-price. Government know what extra expenses the shopokeeper will have to bear per gallon and at what price he can afford to sell. We have to infer that Government entertain a desire to re-introduce the auction-system and fill their coffers. Since the war began Russia, France and America have been freed from the vice of drinking. Is it not a wonder that the auction-system which will encourage drinking is again introduced in unfortunate India? We have to keep quiet because we are helpless as against autocratic power.

Gujarát Mitra (18), 23rd Dec.

28. Commenting on the Press Note regarding the proposed sale of liquor shops by auction, the *Gujarát Mitra* remarks that it is incomprehensible how the Government will achieve the end in view by reviving the old practice of putting licenses to auction which has proved unsatisfactory

in its working. It says that the auction sale will bring competition into operation in which very high bids will be made, as has been seen in Surat, the natural consequence whereof would be that licensees will try to make up the high sums paid by them by resorting to dishonest practices. The paper observes that relieving the Excise Inspecting staff of their present duty of preventing the licensees from giving short measure or charging rates higher than the scheduled ones will entail hardship on the consumers. It observes that Government will not succeed in remedying the evil of corruption which they intend to do, as the licensees, it asserts, will not remain free from seeking the favour of Excise officers because they understand very well that the latter can harass them one way or the other, if they wish to do, in view of the powers which still rest with those officers in connection with the prevention of adulteration of liquor.

Protest against the orders of the Commissioner, S. D., directing boundary stones of certain lands to be replaced by wooden posts.

Kánara Vritt (35), 19th Dec.

29. The *Kánara Vritt* complains of the circular issued by the Commissioner of the Southern Division requiring that the boundary stones of *Gajani* lands should be replaced by wooden posts 6 feet high and 8 inches in diameter. It further remarks:—Gajani lands are always washed by sea water and boundary stones last long. Government themselves erected wooden posts round Narnapur Gajani lands near Sanikatta (Kárwár) about 15 years ago and not one of them can be seen now. The wooden material used for sluice gates at Sanikatta is rotten and the life of such posts cannot be longer than three years. A *Gajani* land requires from 500 to 1,000 posts and every post costs Rs. 8. The present stones have remained intact since the survey settlement. Government should not persist in their attitude but should reconsider the matter.

Alleged grievance of the Telegraph signallers at the Konkan ports.

Satyashodhak (117), 23rd Dec.

30. The Telegraph signallers at places on the sea-coast such as Murud, Harnai, Ratnágiri, &c., are required to exercise extra vigilance on account of the war and have also to pass their nights in the telegraph offices. They are not, however, paid any additional remuneration for this trouble. As there is no immediate prospect of their getting any relief in their work, we trust the Postal authorities will look into their grievance and sanction an axtra allowance for them.

M. K. SHAIKH,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government,
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 4th January 1918.

BOMBAY: PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS.

H 414—4 CON